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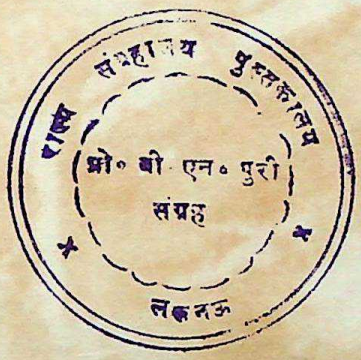

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INDIAN CULTURE

Vol. XI, No. 1 (July—September 1944)

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OPINIONS ON 'THE INDIAN CULTURE'

Dr. W. Stede.—The new magazine is a very admirable undertaking, embodying the best product of intellect of our Indian colleagues and fellow students. I cannot but pay the highest tribute of admiration to this new publication.

Dr. F. O. Schrader.— . . . admirable . . . shows the high standard which is expected of a scientific journal and astonishes one by the richness of its contents.

Mons. Louis Finot.— . . . full of interesting matter and forebodes a bright future. My best congratulations for this success !

Dr. M. Winternitz.—I congratulate you and your collaborators on the publication of No. 3 of *Indian Culture* which is again full of interesting matter relating to various branches of Indology.

Dr. Louis de la Vallée Poussin.— . . . contains many good things. I am much interested by the remarks of Prof. Winternitz on the Śramaṇa-Literature. It is the most interesting and useful journal for philosophy and history.

Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most interesting number and if the standard of achievement is maintained you will have secured a very valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals issued in India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, *C.I.E.*—May I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your *Indian Culture* and my congratulations upon the completion of a whole volume, with Index and Table of Contents—a very important appendage? The volume contains a large number of articles of a scholarly and serious character and *is a credit to India.* Many of the authors of the articles are old friends of mine, and I would gladly plunge into the fray again, if I could only get free from my present entanglement in Central Asian studies. You have an army of capable contributors.

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—The *Indian Culture,* I am glad to see, still maintains the same high level of scholarly excellence.

Dr. J. Przyluski.— . . . Fine Journal . . . . .

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

Mr. Charles E. C. W. Oldham.—May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the standard being maintained by the *Indian Culture* and the success you have achieved with this Journal.

Mr. C. W. Gurner, *I.C.S.*— . . . a publication of a very high standard.

Director, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Deccan.—I congratulate you heartily on the excellence of the articles published in the first number and I hope the standard will be maintained under your able management.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient history of India and her great culture. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make *Indian Culture* rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch-making Journal, the *Indian Antiquary.* This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the *Indian Antiquary,* it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India today. We wish it all success.

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graphs he has already published, have not only been enthusiastically received by scholars all over the world, but they rank as authoritative works on the subject. In the monograph under review the author has once again covered the whole field of his research, and though it contains much of the materials that he had already published, yet the variation in the details of content, emphasis and treatment of subject-matter infuses a new and refreshing air into it, and reflects abundantly the author's continued research on the subject and his intensive attention to improve the results of his previous study by shedding new light on many obscure points.

Besides a final chapter devoted to the history of 72 miscellaneous and minor tribes, there are in this book 74 other chapters each comprehensively and systematically dealing with the history of almost all the important tribes of north, south, east, west or central India who had some rôle to play in the early history of India. When it is remembered that the early history of India merely consisted of the story of the supremacy or hegemony of some of these tribes, the importance of this monograph as a factual basis for the writing of ancient Indian history would at once be evident. In the preparation of this monograph the author has ransacked all available sources of information—literary and epigraphic, numismatic and monumental, Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Jainic, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. Richly packed up as it is with all relevant information on the subject, it can indeed be justifiably called an Encyclopaedia of Ancient Indian Tribes, and the inclusion of a comprehensive index makes the abundance of material in the volume more readily available.

The Mahabodhi Journal (Nov.-Dec. 1944).—A book that makes the Indian history complete and which no deep student of Indian history should fail to study. Only an erudite investigator in the field of research and a master of many languages could produce so scholarly a publication. It has certainly required untiring effort to bring out so masterly a volume. There are over seventy tribes mentioned, and the history of each is entered in upon with the greatest care and erudition. The style is such as makes prose poetic and the book is a romance as well as a scholastic production. One feels as living in the past in going through the pages; there is a spirit there that touches the heart as well as the brain.

A map of India, showing the different kingdoms, adds greatly to its interest and a complete index facilitates the study.

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (Vol. V, Part II, December 1943).—To the students of Ancient Indian History, Dr. Law is well known as a student of the history of the tribes of Ancient India, and the present work, which is a continuation of his earlier studies on the subject, contains accounts of as many as seventy-five tribes, which in their own days played a part in the political and cultural history of the country. Tribes from all parts of India are included.

The book gives a systematic and critical account of the history and achievements of most of the important tribes. All relevant sources of information have been utilized by the author. If in some cases the account appears to be sketchy, the fault is generally of the material and not of the author. The work will serve as a very useful source book to the students and research workers in Ancient Indian History. It comprises of so much useful information so carefully collected.

While dealing with the history of the Yaudheyas, the Sibis, the Kulūtas, the Kuṇindas, the Arjunāyanas, the Lichchhavis and the Audumbaras, the author has utilized the numismatic evidence as well.... (Reviewed by Dr. A. S. Altekar.)

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KALYĀṆAVARMAN'S SĀRĀVALĪ: FRESH LIGHT ON ITS DATE[1]

By SADĀSHIVA L. KĀTRE

Kalyāṇavarman's *Sārāvalī* is an old and important metrical work on astrology. Nothing need be said here regarding its merits from the astrologer's point of view as it has enjoyed a position of high authority for ages and has been of late also available in print.[2] Only the words[3] of its learned editor, Mr. V. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, may be cited here: 'The style of the work is chaste and flowing. The information is certainly more copious and valuable than can be found in any of the current astrological works.'

Complete and authentic old MSS. of the *Sārāvalī*, however, are rather scarce. This difficulty was experienced by the learned editor who with his best efforts could procure for his *editio princeps* in 1907 but a few imperfect MSS. from which he could piece out only 'nearly' the whole work. He feels a few concluding chapters missing and lacunas have remained in the chapters pieced out by him even in the course of the third edition. Further, many of the readings adopted by him are not construable and are not even up to his own satisfaction as is evident from the interrogation marks inserted by him. As such, a thorough and critical edition of the *Sārāvalī* with the help of further genuine MSS. is still a desideratum.

The Manuscripts Library (Prācya-Grantha-Saṁgraha) of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, possesses among others[4] a 425 year old MS.[5] of this work. It bears Accession No. 2349 and was acquired from Lashkar-Gwalior in 1934. Its Folio 1 is missing and it now consists of Folios 2 to 133 of brownish country-paper

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[1] This paper was read, with the kind sanction of the editor of this Journal, on 1-1-1944 at the twelfth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares.

[2] Published by N.S.P., Bombay, first in 1907, third edition in 1928.

[3] Preface to the *Sārāvalī* (N.S.P., 1928), page ii.

[4] The other two MSS. of the *Sārāvalī* bear Accession Nos. 125 and 4407 respectively. Vide *Catalogue of MSS.*, Part I (Ujjain, 1936), page 52, Serial No. 1369 and Part II (Ujjain, 1941), page 91, Serial No. 2042. Both these MSS. are incomplete and broken, the former being in Jaina Devanāgarī and the latter in Śāradā script. The former, though undated, is considerably old in appearance and is scribed legibly and correctly.

[5] *Catalogue of MSS.*, Part I, page 52, Serial No. 1372. So far as I am aware, this is the oldest dated MS. of the *Sārāvalī*.

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of the size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches with a margin of about an inch left on the four sides of each page. Each page bears about eight to nine lines with about 45 Devanāgarī letters of the Hindi type written in dark-black ink on each line. Corrections and marginal emendations are found only in a few cases. Some of the folios are considerably damaged and the MS. on the whole is extremely decayed and wears further at each handling.

However, the MS. appears to have been scribed with considerable caution and seems to be of value from the textual point of view. On a close inspection it reveals several points of divergence with the printed edition. Although it is a complete MS. except for the loss of Folio 1, its concluding chapter is numbered only 45th, whereas the number of chapters in the printed edition is 54 and the editor still feels two more chapters missing! Not only several verses (e.g. V. 1–11, X. 115–117, etc.) but in some cases whole chapters (e.g. VII, LIV, etc.) of the printed edition are absent in the MS., while in a few cases a single chapter therein runs on to the extent of two chapters (e.g. IV and V) of the printed edition. Many verses and some chapters[1] are located quite differently while halves of some verses are combined with halves of other verses (vide below). Variations in reading are numerous and in many cases the MS. presents happier and more reasonably construable readings. A few of these deviations, selected at random, are noted below by way of specimens:—

Edition Reference.	Reading in Edition.	Reading in MS.
V. 21–24 ..	उच्चबलं कन्यायां बुधस्य तुङ्गांशकैः सदा चिन्त्यम्। परतस्त्रिकोणजातं पञ्चभिरंशैः स्वराशिजं परतः॥ उच्चं भागत्रितयं वृष इन्दोश्च त्रिकोणमपरेंऽशाः। द्वादश भागा मेषे त्रिकोणमपरे स्वभं तु भौमस्य॥ दशभागा	विंशतिरंशाः सिंहे त्रिकोणमपरे स्वभवनमर्कस्य। उच्चं भागत्रितयं वृष इन्दोः स्यात्त्रिकोणमपरेंऽशाः। द्वादश भागा मेषे त्रिकोणमपरे स्वकं तु भौमस्य। उच्चफलं कन्यायां बुधस्य तुङ्गांशकैः सदा चिन्त्यम्॥ परतस्त्रिकोणजातं

[1] E.g., Chap. XXXVI *Raśmicintā* occurs betwixt the Chaps. *Rājayoga* and *Pañcamahāpuruṣayoga* in the printed edition, while it occurs early betwixt the Chaps. *Ariṣṭabhaṅga* and *Dvigrahayoga* in the MS. The Chaps. XIII *Candravidhi* and XIV *Veśivāśyubhāyacaryā* of the printed edition are traced in the MS. at a late stage betwixt the Chaps. *Rājayogabhaṅga* and *Āyurdāya*.

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Edition Reference.	Reading in Edition.	Reading in MS.
	ईज्यस्य च त्रिकोणमपरे स्वभं चापे। शुक्रस्य तु त्रिकोणं पञ्चभिरपरे स्वभं जूके॥ त्रिंशतिरंशाः सिंहे त्रिकोणमपरे स्वभवनमर्कस्य। कुम्भे त्रिकोण-निजभे रविजस्य यथा रवेः सिंहे॥ —Page 11.	पञ्चभिरंशैः स्वराशिजं परतः। दशभिर्भागैर्जीवस्य त्रिकोणफलं स्वभे परं चापे॥ शुक्रस्य तु तिथयोऽशास्त्रिकोणमपरे घटे स्वराशिश्च। कुम्भे त्रिकोण-निजभे रविजस्य रवेर्यथा सिंहः[1]॥ —Folios 6[b] ff.
V. 52 ..	.....सौम्याः कल्याः स्वजनहृष्टाः॥—Page 14.	.....सौम्याः कल-हाससंहृष्टाः॥—Folio 8[a].
IX. 50 ..	विपुलविमलमूर्तिः स्वोच्चगो वा स्वराशौ गुरुसितयुत इन्दुर्बोधने-नानुदृष्टः॥.... —Page 24.	विपुलविमलमूर्तिः स्वोच्चगो वा स्ववर्ग्यैर्गुरुसितनिशिनाथैर्बोधने-नाथ दृष्टः॥ ..... —Folio 14[a].
X. 114 ..	..... मरणं हि जन्मभाजामप्यन्तकबद्ध-रक्षाणाम्॥—Page 33.	..... मरणं हि जन्मभाजामप्यन्तकबद्ध-लक्ष्याणाम्॥—Folio 16[a].
XII. 2 ..	.....पूजाकरः खलु यथा दुरितैर्ग्रहाणाम्॥—Page 35.	....पूजाकरः खलु यथा दुरित-ग्रहाणाम्॥—Folio 17[a].
XVI. 2 ..	तेजस्वी निपुणमतिः शास्त्रकला-गोष्ठिपानरतः। नृपकृत्यकरो धीरो रविशशिशशिजैः सहै-कस्थैः॥—Page 43.	तेजस्वी निपुणमतिः शास्त्रकला-शीधुगोष्ठिपान(र)तः। नृपनृत्य-करो धीरो रविशशि(शशि) जैस्तथैकस्थैः॥—Folio 20[b].
XVI. 11 ..	अतितप्तो वाचाटो भ्रमणरुचिः प्रोषितो गुरुभिः।..... —Page 44.	अतिशास्त्रो वाचाटो भ्रमति च देशान्निराकृतो गुरुभिः।..... —Folio 21[a].

[1] It would appear that the reading in the MS. notes the planets in their serial order.

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Edition Reference.	Reading in Edition.	Reading in MS.
XIX. 8 ..	प्रायो दरिद्रदुःखी मूर्खः षट्पञ्च-संयुतैर्विहगैः। अन्योन्यदर्शनादपि फलमेतत्कन्दलाः प्राऽः ॥ —Page 51.	प्रायो दरिद्रदुःखितमूर्खाः षट्-पञ्चभिर्युतैर्विहगैः। अन्योन्य-दर्शनादपि फलमेवं स्कान्दिलः[1] प्राह ॥—Folio 26[a].
XXI. 52 ..	मित्रान्विताः सुवचसः शास्त्रपरा गेयवाद्यनिरताश्च। सुखभाजो बऽभट्या वीणायां कीर्तिता मनुजाः ॥—Page 58.	प्रियगीतनृत्यवाद्या निपुणाः सुखि-नश्च धनवन्तः। नेतारो बऽ-भट्या वीणायां कीर्तिताः पुरुषाः ॥ —Folio 31[b].
XLIII. 2 ..	मूलं दशाधिनाथस्य विबलस्य दशा यदा। बलिनः स्यात्तदा भङ्गो दशारिष्टस्य तद्ध्रुवम् ॥ —Page 176.	अन्तर्दशाधिनाथस्य विबलस्य दशा यदा। मलिनः स्यात्तदा भङ्गो नवोद्यातस्य च ध्रुवम् ॥ —Folio 110[b].
XLV. 31 ..	....स्त्री ब्रह्मवादिनी स्यादनेक-शास्त्रार्थकुशला च ॥ —Page 182.	....स्त्री ब्रह्मवादिनी स्यादनेक-शास्त्रकुशला च विख्याता ॥ —Folio 114[b].
XLV. 32 ..	जन्मकाले विवाहे च चिन्तायां वरणे तथा। चिन्त्यं स्त्रीणां तु यत्प्रोक्तं घटते तत्यतिष्यपि ॥ —Page 183.	जन्मकाले विवाहे च चिन्तायां मरणे तथा। चिन्त्यं स्त्रीणां तु यन्नोक्तं घटते तत्यतिष्यपि ॥ —Folio 114[b].
LIII. 53 ..	स्थलजलराशिविभागा नागर-भवनेषु लग्नसंस्थेषु। स्थलजल-चरसत्त्वानां जनयन्ति भवं हि विटपानाम् ॥—Page 211.	स्थूलजराशिविभागा नागरभवनेषु लग्नसंस्थेषु। स्थलजलचरसत्त्वानां जनयन्ति सवं हि टिट्टिभादीनाम् ॥ —Folio 133[a].

[1] As per reading in the MS. we have here an allusion to an ancient author named Skandila who is not mentioned in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in S. B. Dikshit's 'भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास.' Our MS. No. 125, too, corroborates this allusion, its reading being फलमेतत्स्कन्दिलः प्राह (Folio 46[a]). The MS. used by Sudhakara Dvivedi appears to have read फलमेवं मन्दिलः प्राह. Vide his *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī* (Benares, 1933), page 17.

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Edition Reference.	Reading in Edition.	Reading in MS.
LIII. 54 ..	....श्वकोरभासाश्च जायन्ते ॥ —Page 211.	.....श्वकोरहंसाश्च जायन्ते ॥ —Folio 133[a].
LIII. 55-56 ..	सिंहोदये तथाद्ये सूच्यांशे रविनिरीक्षिते सूतिः। कुक्कुटमयूरतित्तिरपारावतचन्तुनादीनाम् (?) ॥ स्थिरभोदये तदंशे शेषौ(?)ग्रहसंयुते च दृष्टे च। प्रासादगृहादीनां भूताग्निः पूर्ववज्ज्ञेया ॥—Page 212.	सिंहोदये नवांशे सूच्यांशेऽथ रविवीक्षिते सूतिः। कुक्कुटमयूरतित्तिरपारावतवञ्चुलादीनाम् ॥ स्थिरभोदये तदंशे सौरे ग्रहसंयुते च दृष्टे वा। भासादीनामपि पुनरुत्पत्तिः पूर्ववज्ज्ञेया[1] ॥ —Folio 133[a].

Of course, it cannot be pressed that the MS. is in the right in all cases, still its importance from the textual point of view is clearly established. On the strength of its evidence, which is further emphasized on account of its being 425 years old, one may well question the genuineness and antiquity of the big portions not traced therein, unless it be presumed that there are different old recensions of the work.

Yet the main importance of the MS. lies in its concluding portion which I reproduce below:—

.....पूर्ववज्ज्ञेया ॥ छ ॥

इति श्रीभट्टकल्याणवर्म्मविरचितायां सारावल्यां वियोनिचिंताध्यायः ॥ छ ॥ समाप्तः पंचचत्वारिंशोऽध्यायः ॥ छ ॥

वर्षशतानां मध्ये न केनचित्पूरिता भता च जनैः।
भट्टोत्पलस्तु पूर्णां चकार सारावलीं (स)कलां ॥

सारावली समाप्ता ॥ छ ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ छ ॥

संवत् १५७५ समये जेष्ठ शुदि ४ (=१४ ?) चतुर्दसि सनिवासरे ॥ छ ॥ श्रीनारायणकमलचरणायुगलेभ्यो नमः ॥ छ ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ छ ॥ राम राम.....

[2] मिश्रश्रीमज्जटमल्ल स्वपठनार्थे पुस्तक लिषापितं श्रीसुलित्राणिसिकंदरशाहात्मजइबराहिमशाहिराज्ये वर्तमाने ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥—Folio 133[a].

[1] This is the last verse of the concluding chapter, numbered 45th, of the MS.
[2] The owner's colophon is scribed by a different hand in a different ink.

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The extract shows that the MS. was written by an anonymous scribe for its owner, one Jeṭhamalla Miśra, on Saturday, the 14th day of the bright half of the month of Jyeṣṭha in the year 1575 of the Vikrama era, i.e. about 11th June, 1519 A.C., during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Shah, son of Sikandar Shah. The Sultan referred to is undoubtedly identical with Ibrahim Lodi, the last Afghan king of Delhi, who had succeeded [1] his father Sikandar Lodi just some months ago in December 1517 and ruled till April 21, 1526, on which day [2] he was defeated and slain at Panipat by Babar, the first Moghul emperor of India. The place where the MS. was written is not mentioned, but it is not unlikely that the scribe and the owner lived at some place near the old town and fort of Gwalior where lay the scene of some major military operations both of Sikandar Lodi [3] and of Ibrahim Lodi.[4]

The verse 'Varṣaśatānām madhye, etc.' in the extract furnishes us with a very important detail. Bhaṭṭotpala's relation with the *Sārāvalī* has been generally known to go only to the extent of his quoting largely from it, as a work of undisputed authority, in his commentary *Jagaccandrikā* on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* and other works. In this verse we are told that he was actually responsible for a fresh and complete recension of the *Sārāvalī* inasmuch as he for the first time added some wanting portions or topics to Kalyāṇavarman's original work which had already gained much currency among astrologers. Thus this verse possibly seems to ascribe a portion, howsoever big or small, of the current *Sārāvalī* to Bhaṭṭotpala himself.

The verse possibly also takes us some steps further in the solution of the problem of the age of the original *Sārāvalī* on which much has already been said by renowned scholars. Sudhakara Dvivedi opines [5] that the work was composed in the age of Brahmagupta, i.e. about 628 A.C. In Duff's *Chronology of India* [6] A.C. 578 is given as the probable date of Kalyāṇavarman. S. B. Dikshit is

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[1] Ishwari Prasad: *History of Mediaeval India* (Allahabad, 1928), page 442.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 459.
[3] *Ibid.*, pages 437, 440, 441, 442.
[4] *Ibid.*, page 452.
[5] *Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī*, pages 16-17. His argument is based mainly on the similarity of the epithets 'Śrīvyāghramukhe nṛpe' in the concluding verses (श्रीचापवंशतिलके श्रीव्याघ्रमुखे नृपे शकनृपालात्। पञ्चाशत्संयुक्तैर्वर्षशतैः पञ्चभिरतीतैः॥ ब्राह्मः स्फुटसिद्धान्तः सज्जनगणितज्ञगोलवित्प्रीत्यै। चिंशद्वर्षेण कृतो जिष्णुसुतब्रह्मगुप्तेन॥) of the *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* and '*Vyāghrabhaṭeśvaraḥ*' in I. 5 (vide below footnote 9. The third line in Sudhakara Dvivedi's MS. reads घोरां व्याघ्रभटेश्वरो रचयति, etc.) of the *Sārāvalī*.
[6] Page 44.

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inclined,[1] but possibly not with much justification,[2] to identify Kalyāṇavarman with Vitteśvara who is stated by Alberuni to have composed the *Karaṇasāra* about 900 A.C. The gross view,[3] generally accepted and warranted by the hitherto known external evidence, is that Kalyāṇavarman flourished some time after 505 A.C., the date[4] of Varāhamihira who is mentioned[5] in the *Sārāvalī*, and before 966 A.C., the date[6] of Bhaṭṭotpala who quotes profusely from the *Sārāvalī*. However, the period of 461 years lying between these two limits is too big and deserves to be reduced, if possible, in the light of further genuine evidence. Use of the plural form 'Varṣaśatānām', instead of the singular form 'Varṣaśatasya' or the dual form 'Varṣaśatayoḥ', in the verse clearly indicates that the period between Kalyāṇavarman and Bhaṭṭotpala covers at least about three hundred years. Thus the lower limit for Kalyāṇavarman's

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[1] 'भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास' (Poona, 1913), page 486. Vide also pages 312ff.

[2] The only reason furnished by him for the identification is that 'Kalyāṇavarman was also known as Vaṭeśvara'. The details regarding Kalyāṇavarman are found in the *Sārāvalī* probably only in I. 5-6 (देवग्रामपुरप्रपोषणबलाद् ब्रह्माण्डसत्यङ्करे कीर्तिर्हंसविलासिनीव सहसा यस्येह भात्यातता। श्रीमद्व्याघ्रपदीश्वरो रचयति स्पष्टां स सारावलीं होरा-शास्त्रविनिर्मलीकृतमनाः कल्याणवर्मा कृती॥ होराटप्पणतानां शिष्याणां स्फुटतरार्थशिशिरजला। कल्याणवर्म-शैलान्नदीव सारावली प्रसृता॥) and LIV. 10 (इत्थं होराशास्त्रं रचितं कल्याणकोविदेनैव। पूर्वाचार्यैर्निर्मित.....दैवज्ञः (?)॥) of the printed edition. From these passages we can only gather that Kalyāṇavarman was a renowned, pious, liberal and learned king of a region named Vyāghrapadī with his capital at a town called Devagrāmapura and that he wrote the *Sārāvalī* on the lines of his predecessors for the use of students in astrology. Even on a close inspection of our MSS. and the printed edition of the *Sārāvalī* I could not trace therein the name Vaṭeśvara given as an alias of Kalyāṇavarman. Did the name occur in Dikshit's MS. of the *Sārāvalī* in the third line of I. 5 where the printed edition reads श्रीमद्व्याघ्रपदीश्वरो, etc. and Sudhakara Dvivedi's MS. reads होरां व्याघ्रभटेश्वरो, etc.?

[3] Vide P. K. Gode: *Date of Sārāvalī of Kalyāṇavarman* (*A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XVI, pages 147-148) and others. Mr. V. Subrahmanya Śāstrī in the Preface to his first edition of the *Sārāvalī* had, possibly due to some misapprehension, assigned Bhaṭṭot-pala to the age of the Moghul Emperor Jehangir and he was rightly corrected, though after about thirty years, by Mr. Gode in his note referred to here.

[4] S. B. Dikshit: 'भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास,' pages 210, etc. and others.

[5] Vide I. 2 (विस्तरकृतानि मुनिभिः परिहृत्य पुरातनानि शास्त्राणि। होरातन्त्रं रचितं वराहमिहिरेण संक्षेपात्॥) and XXXIX. 9 (बज्रताडनसंप्राप्तौ यां करोत्येकवर्णताम्। वराहमिहिरा-चार्यः सा न दृष्टा पुरातनैः॥)

[6] S. B. Dikshit: 'भारतीयज्योतिषशास्त्राचा इतिहास,' pages 234, etc. and others.

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date is on the strength of the evidence of this verse easily pushed back to *c.* 666 A.C.

It cannot be decided if the verse, which forms an encomium to the *Sārāvalī* and occurs before the colophon 'Sārāvalī samāptā' in the MS., was composed by Bhaṭṭotpala himself, the main difficulty, though slight and not insurmountable, in such an assumption being the use of the perfect form 'cakāra'. However, it cannot by any means be fathered on the scribe himself whose ignorance of the use of accurate and appropriate forms of Sanskrit is amply evinced in his colophon. It must have been present in the earlier MS. or MSS. that were used as prototype for the present MS. and seems to follow an old tradition which may possibly be traced in other works. Sudhakara Dvivedi mentions[1] this verse with slight variations only as orally repeated by astrologers per tradition.

On a close perusal of the printed edition and of our MS. No. 2346 I came to find that the *Sārāvalī* mentions not only Varāhamihira but a host of other authors and works. The biggest number of these allusions go to Yavana mentioned variously as Yavana, Yavananarendra, Yavanapati, Yavanarāja, Yavanavṛddha, Yavanādhipati, Yavanādhirāja, Yavanendra, Pūrva-Yavanendra, Vṛddha-Yavanācārya, etc. and a Yavanendradarśana, too, has been mentioned. The other allusions in the printed edition are to Kanakācārya (page 207), Kandala (51), Cāṇakya (14, 183, 190), Cūḍāmaṇi (11, 164), Devakīrtirāja (156), Bādarāyaṇa (19, 154), Maṇittha (21), Maṇindha (154), Maya (154), *Mahendraśāstra* (154), Māṇindhas (154), Lokākṣa (133), Varāhamihira (1, 164), Vātsyāyana (16), Vṛddha-Gārgya (56), Śeṣācārya (58), *Satyamata* (190), Satyācārya (176), Siddhasena (184) and Hari (14). Our MS. No. 2349 confirms the allusions to Kanakācārya (Folio 130^{b}), Cāṇakya (only in two of the three cases, 8^{a} and 119^{a}), Cūḍāmaṇi (6^{b}, 102^{b}), Devakīrtirāja (95^{a}), Bādarāyaṇa (10^{b}, 17^{b}), Maṇittha (12^{a}), Maya (17^{b}), Lokākṣa (82^{b}), Varāhamihira (only in the second case, 102^{b}), Vātsyāyana (9^{a}), Vṛddha-Gārgya (29^{b}), Śeṣācārya (31^{b}), *Satyamata* (119^{a}), Satyācārya (110^{b}), Siddhasena (115^{b}) and Hari (8^{a}) and replaces Kandala, Maṇindha, *Mahendraśāstra* and Māṇindhas with Skandila (26^{a}), Maṇittha (17^{b}), *Mahāśāstra* (17^{b}) and Māṇitthas (17^{b}). The concluding chapter of the printed edition not extant in our MS. further mentions (page 213) Agnikeśa, Atri, Garga, Guḍa, Citragupta, Pauliśa, Bharadvāja, Romaśa, Vāsiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and Śakti. Throughout the work several old authors are also alluded to under general terms like Ācāryas, Purātanas, Pūrvācāryas, Munis, Munīndras, Anye, Apare, Eke, Kecit, Pare, etc.

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[1] *Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī*, page 16.

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However, the most important passage from our present point of view is XI. 2 of the printed edition:—

उडुपतिकृतरिष्टानां भङ्गस्तावन्निरूप्यते पूर्वम् ।
सम्यक् शेषाणामपि यथामतं ब्रह्मपूर्वाणाम् ॥—Page 34.

The corresponding verse in our MS. No. 2349 reads:—

उडुपतिकृतरिष्टानां भङ्गस्तावन्निरूध्यते सम्यक् ।
शेषाणामपि पचनाद्यथा मतं ब्रह्मपूर्वाणाम् ॥—Folio 16[a].

The same verse in our MS. No. 125 reads:—

उडुपतिकृतरिष्टानां भङ्गस्तावन्निरूप्यते सम्यक् ।
शेषाणामपि पश्चाद्यथा मतं ब्रह्मपूर्वाणाम् ॥—Folio 29[b].

Despite other deviations in reading, the three sources are quite unanimous as to the portion 'yathā matam Brahmapūrvāṇām' and we have here an allusion to the view of some writers (like Varāhamihira, etc.) on the subject that preceded the celebrated author 'Brahma'. We may safely conclude that by 'Brahma' the *Sārāvalī* means Brahmagupta himself, since no other epoch-making author bearing a similar name has been known to exist in the sphere of Jyotiṣa about this age. On the strength of the evidence of the allusion in this verse we must fix the upper limit for Kalyāṇavarman's date some time after 628 A.C., the assumption, of course, being that the passage belongs to Kalyāṇavarman's original work.

Thus taking all these facts into consideration, Kalyāṇavarman's exact date may be fixed somewhere about 650 A.C.

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AUTHENTICITY OF THE WORKS OF BHĀSA[1]

By A. D. PUSALKER

Bhāsa was no more than a mere name to us, known only through references in literary works and quotations in anthologies, when in the year 1910, the world of orientalists was startled by the announcement of the discovery of a collection of MSS. of Bhāsa's plays in the South. MM. R. NARASIMHACHAR, then Director of Archaeology, Mysore State, came across a palm-leaf MS. of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, and almost simultaneously, MM. Dr. T. Ganapati SASTRI of Trivandrum collected, in his tours for search of MSS. at various places in the Travancore State, the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and some other works of Bhāsa, their number finally reaching thirteen. It has subsequently been found that the MSS. of these plays are not so rare as was thought at first. The important facts in connection with the MSS. of Bhāsa's works are that hitherto they have come only from the South; that they are on palm-leaf; and they are in the Grantha script. The MSS. are about 300 years old.

Absence of the name of the author in the prologue or in the colophon in any of these works has been the subject of a fierce controversy as to whether they are the genuine plays of Bhāsa. So long, no incontrovertible proof has been advanced either by the supporters or antagonists of the Bhāsa theory, that can effectively silence the other party and no longer be met with by an equally plausible reply.

On account of their peculiar technique, where the stage direction *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ* precedes the benedictory stanza and the prologue is styled *sthāpanā*, these works can be separated from the works of Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and other classical dramatists; whereas from the South Indian plays and southern MSS. of *Śākuntala*, *Nāgānanda* and *Vikramorvaśīya*, etc., which present similar structural features, these works can be isolated on account of the absence of the name of the author and of the work in the prologue. These plays, thus, form a separate and distinct group by themselves, in contrast to the northern and southern plays.

It will not be out of place at the outset to make some general observations on these plays. According to the type of rūpaka

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[1] Paper prepared for the symposium on Bhāsa at the Benares Oriental Conference. All details and references will be found in my *Bhāsa—A Study*.

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represented by each, these plays may be classified as: (1) Nāṭakas: *Abh* (Abhiṣeka), *Bāl* (Bālacarita), *Avi* (Avimāraka), *Svapna* (Svapnavāsavadatta) and *Prat* (Pratimā); (2) Prakaraṇa: *Cār* (Cārudatta); (3) Samavakāra: *Pañc* (Pañcarātra); (4) Īhāmṛga: *Pry* (Pratijñāyaugandharāyana); (5) Aṅka: *Karṇa* (Karṇabhāra), *Dgh* (Dūtaghaṭotkaca) and *Ūru* (Ūrubhaṅga); (6) Vyāyoga: *Mv* (Madhyama); and (7) Vīthi: *Dv* (Dūtavākya). On the basis of their subject-matter, however, they may be grouped into: (1) The Mahābhārata plays: *Mv, Dv, Dgh, Karṇa, Ūru* and *Pañc*; (2) The Rāmāyaṇa plays: *Prat* and *Abh*; (3) The Kṛṣṇa play: *Bāl*; (4) The Udayana plays: *Svapna* and *Pry*; and (5) Romances: *Avi* and *Cār*. The *Mahābhārata* plays take some well-known short episodes from the Great Epic and freely dramatize them, with many new situations and incidents added by the poet. Thus, the *Madhyama* deals with the union of Bhīma with Hiḍimbā, and the *Dv* and *Dgh* speak of the embassy of Kṛṣṇa and Ghaṭotkaca to the Kauravas, the latter being purely out of the poet's imagination. The *Pañc* relates to the incidents, invented by the poet, preceding the marriage of Abhimanyu and Uttarā, and the *Karṇa* to the generalship of Karṇa. The *Ūru* deals with the pounding of the thighs of Duryodhana by Bhīma. Of the *Rāmāyaṇa* plays, the *Pratimā* shows the inventive genius of the poet, whereas the *Abh* mostly follows the *Rāmāyaṇa*; together they dramatize the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Rāma's proposed coronation as Crown Prince to his final coronation after the destruction of the Rākṣasas. The *Bālacarita* depicts adventures of Child Kṛṣṇa, probably based on the source of the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. The Udayana plays deal with the marriage of Vatsarāja Udayana with Vāsavadattā of Avanti (*Pry*) and with Padmāvatī of Magadha (*Svapna*). The *Avi* is a romance in which supernatural elements figure, picturing the love and marriage of Avimāraka, a supposed outcast but a Sauvīra prince in reality, with Kuraṅgī, a Kuntibhoja princess. The *Cārudatta* depicts the love of a hetaera for a poor merchant.

I need not enter here into the details regarding these plays, such as characterization, descriptions and narrations, sentiments and figures, metres, style and dialogues, critical appreciation, social conditions, etc., which I have elaborately discussed in my books. Most of such topics, however, depend more or less on subjective grounds and one's opinion naturally inclines in favour of or against these plays according as one takes them to have come from Bhāsa or to be spurious.

Various considerations lead us to the conclusion that these are the works of one and the same author. Without going into details,

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some important pointers towards common authorship may be noted here: Structural similarities; disregard of the rules of Bharata; agreement with regard to technique (*niṣkramya praviśya, ākāśa-bhāṣita, patākāsthānaka*); descriptions and narrations; water on stage (*āpastāvat*); community of ideas; similar dramatic situations; metrics; grammatical solecisms and archaisms. Nearly all supporters of the Bhāsa theory and some of the antagonists believe in common authorship of these plays, and that, no doubt, is the correct conclusion.

The discovery and publication of the thirteen plays in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series did indeed revolutionize some prevailing notions about Sanskrit drama, and will go down to posterity as the most epoch-making landmark in the history of Sanskrit drama. Much has been written in support as well as against the Bhāsa theory. Opinion is yet sharply divided, and nothing like a definite solution of the problem seems to have been reached even after two decades of heated controversy; the problem has, on the contrary, become more complex.

The views hitherto expressed on the problem fall into three main schools, viz. (1) the supporters of the Bhāsa theory, (2) the antagonists, and (3) those that have found a *via media* and hold only the *Svapna* and *Pry* to be from Bhāsa and are doubtful about the other plays. MM. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri, the discoverer of these plays, first ascribed them to Bhāsa, and many orientalists including Drs. Banerji Sastri, Belvalkar, Jacobi, Jayaswal, Jolly, Keith, Konow, Lesny, Lindenau, Morgenstierne, Sarup, Haraprasad Sastri, Thomas and Weller have lent their whole-hearted support to the Bhāsa theory. The first dissentient note of non-belief was sounded by Prof. Ramavatara Sarma Pandeya and Pandit Bhattanatha Swami, and among the anti-Bhāsites figure such eminent scholars like Drs. Barnett, Charpentier, K. C. Chattopadhyaya, Kane, Kunhan Raja, Sylvain Lévi, Pisharoti, Hirananda Sastri, Kuppuswami Sastri and Woolner, who pronounce these works to be spurious and late productions. It may be of some interest to note that Dr. Lévi and Prof. Pisharoti were former believers in the Bhāsa theory. Drs. Sukthankar, Winternitz and De are the champions of the *via media* school. It does not matter much which of these parties commands majority; for, as aptly stated by Dr. Winternitz, 'in science, truth is not found out by the majority of votes, but by the majority of arguments' (*Cal. Rev.*, Dec. 1924, p. 330). Majority of arguments and consequently the truth, as will presently be shown, is on the side of Bhāsa. Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar, who believes in the Bhāsa theory, seems to imply in his latest work on Bhāsa that the supporters

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of the theory are 'a few', as compared to 'many' who cast their votes against the genuineness of these works.

Now, we turn to the main question of the Bhāsa problem, where we shall give the principal arguments of each school, followed by refutation of contrary views.

It is indeed unfortunate that the plays nowhere mention the name of Bhāsa (or any author)—neither in the prologue nor in the colophon, and we have to depend on inference in ascribing them to Bhāsa. MM. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri attributes the authorship of these dramas to Bhāsa principally on these grounds: The prologue in these dramas is styled *sthāpanā* instead of *prastāvanā*, and the non-mention of the poet's name or the title of the work therein indicates pre-classical period for these dramas. All these dramas directly begin by the entry of the Sūtradhāra with the stage direction: *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*; who recites the benedictory stanza; whereas in the classical dramas the recitation of the *nāndī* precedes the entry of the Sūtradhāra. It is to this technical peculiarity that Bāṇa alludes in his famous stanza in the *Harṣacarita*, as a feature of the plays of Bhāsa:

सूत्रधारकृतारम्भैर्नाटकैर्बहुभूमिकैः ।

सपताकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देवकुलैरिव ॥

Bāṇa states herein that Bhāsa's dramas were begun by the Sūtradhāra, and were rich in characters and episodes; and these characteristics, as we shall presently show, are applicable to all the plays in the group, and hence they are the productions of Bhāsa. Rājaśekhara (eleventh century) from Mahārāṣṭra, in his *Sūktimuktāvali*, states that Bhāsa wrote a number of plays, and that the *Svapna* was the best among them. As the *Svapna*, one of the plays of the group, is ascribed to Bhāsa, the whole group, which proceeds from one and the same author, is also Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra. Many citations from these plays are found in the works of rhetoricians, indicating these to be well-known works of antiquity. Thus, on the testimony of Bāṇa who mentions the characteristics of Bhāsa's works, and of Rājaśekhara who not only mentions a play by name but definitely associates it with the name of Bhāsa, the whole cycle of these plays has been ascribed to Bhāsa.

Besides the above, the preponderance of the epic metre, deviations from the rules of Pāṇini, peculiarities of the Prakrit, and the non-observance and contravention of the rules of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* also indicate the antiquity of these plays.

Now, the first problem regarding authorship is to prove the identity of the *Svapna* as published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit

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Series with the *Svapna* as known to ancient writers and rhetoricians, before it can be definitely linked up with Bhāsa on the testimony of Rājaśekhara. The following are the direct references to the *Svapna* arranged chronologically:—

(1) Ācārya Abhinavagupta (tenth century) from Kashmir, (i) in his commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (I. 74) states: क्वचित् क्रीडा यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्तायाम् which evidently refers to the krīḍā mentioned in the stage direction to the second act of the printed *Svapna* (p. 40). (ii) In his commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka*, Abhinavagupta cites the following stanza as from a *Svapna* in connection with दृश्यन्ते च कवयोऽलंकारनिबन्धनैकरसा अनपेक्षितरसाः प्रबन्धेषु of the *Dhvanyāloka*: यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्ताख्ये नाटके—

सञ्चितपद्मकवाटं नयनद्वारं स्वरूपतडनेन ।

उद्घाट्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं मे नृपतनूजा ॥

This verse is not found in the printed *Svapna*, and there is a difference of opinion among the supporters of the Bhāsa theory as to whether this stanza can find suitable place in the *Svapna*. It is said that in the present play there can be no possible accommodation for this verse, and hence either this is not the genuine *Svapna*, or Abhinavagupta is not correct in his citation. I am, however, of opinion that this stanza may have occurred in the dream scene of the *Svapna* after Vāsavadattā makes her hasty exit (p. 112). The context there fully justifies the criticism by Abhinavagupta that this metaphor occurs at a place where *rasa* should have predominated. The stanza may, therefore, have occurred in the *Svapna* at the time of Abhinavagupta. Its omission from the MSS. constituting the printed text may either be intentional in deference to Abhinavagupta's criticism, or due to scribal mistake. Such omissions are found in the different MSS. of the Trivandrum group of other Bhāsa plays, as also in numerous other MSS. In connection with such omissions, I may as well state my view at the outset that it is unreliable and inconclusive to argue about the genuineness of a particular work from the absence or omission of a certain verse therefrom, because there are so many causes operating in the case of old MSS. regarding the insertion or omission of readings. A work should not lose its genuineness simply on account of the absence of a certain verse, just as a man should not lose his identity only because of the loss of a limb.

(2) Bhojadeva (twelfth century) in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (Chap. XII) mentions these incidents from a *Svapna*: स्वप्नवासवदत्ते पद्मावतीमवस्थां दृष्टुं राजा समुद्गगृहकं गतः। पद्मावतीरहितं च तदवलोक्य तस्या एव शयनीये सुष्वाप।

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वासवदत्तां च स्वप्नवदस्वप्ने ददर्श। स्वप्नायमानश्च वासवदत्तामाबभाषे। स्वप्नशब्देन चेह स्वापो वा स्वप्नदर्शनं वा स्वप्नायितं वा विवक्षितम्। It will be seen that these closely resemble the events described in the fifth act of the printed *Svapna*.

(3) Śāradātanaya (twelfth century) in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* (pp. 238-9) illustrates Praśānta Nāṭaka by discussing in detail the entire plot of a *Svapna*. The printed text generally answers the details in structure and quotation, with some minor discrepancies which can be explained on the assumption of different recensions of the play. It may be observed that the printed texts cannot be taken as the only versions. Further finds of new MSS. may lead to more complete texts. It is found that the existing editions offer some verses not found in the *editio princeps*.

(4) Sarvānanda (twelfth century) in his *Amarakośaṭīkāsarvasva*, while explaining different kinds of Śṛṅgāra, remarks: त्रिविधः शृंगारो धर्मार्थकामभिन्नः। तत्राद्यो यथा नन्दयन्त्यां ब्राह्मणभोजनम्। द्वितीयः खदिग्रमात्मसात्कर्तुमुदयनस्य पद्मावतीपरिणयोऽर्थशृंगारः। तृतीयः स्वप्नवासवदत्ते तस्यैव वासवदत्तापरिणयः कामशृंगारः। It is said that according to Sarvānanda, Udayana's marriage with Vāsavadattā is the subject-matter of the *Svapna*, and the printed text, therefore, is not the genuine *Svapna*. But the quotation illustrates three kinds of Śṛṅgāras by two plays, the *Svapna* instancing both the Artha and Kāma Śṛṅgāras. The description no doubt applies to our *Svapna*, as it refers to the incidents relating to Vāsavadattā's marriage also. However, for making the meaning clearer, MM. Dr. T. Ganapati SASTRI proposes to alter the positions of *tṛtīyaḥ* and *svapnavāsavadatte*.

(5) Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in their *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (p. 84) not only give a citation from the *Svapna*, but definitely ascribe it to Bhāsa: यथा भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते शेफालिकाश्लिलातलमवलोक्य वत्सराजः—

पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोद्यम चेदं श्लिलातलम्।
नूनं काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसा गता॥

Whether this verse is found in the present play or not is a different question; but if it is shown that it has its own little place in the play, then this evidence coupled with that of Rājaśekhara proves beyond doubt that the *Svapna* is the work of Bhāsa. The non-occurrence of this stanza in the printed text, however, has been taken as proving our text to be unauthentic and not the production of Bhāsa. But we need not go to such an extreme conclusion, as we find the elements of the stanza in the scene in the fourth act of the printed text. Dr. SUKTHANKAR has explained the situation

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in detail and has rightly concluded that the missing stanza may occur after तत्तभोदी पदुमावदी इह आअच्छिअ णिग्गदा भवे (p. 72) as राजा (प्रेक्षालिकाग्निलातलमवलोक्य) पादाक्रान्तानि, etc. There is no dislocation, no lacuna; what is required is the replacement of the verse at a point where there is a hiatus in our version. The probable reason of the omission appears to be the mistake of the scribe or difference in the recensions of the play.

(6) Sāgaranandin (thirteenth century) in the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa* (p. 51) apparently cites from the prologue of a *Svapna* which does not tally with the printed text: यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्ते, नेपथ्ये सूचधारः (उत्सारणां श्रुत्वा पठति)। अये कथं तपोवनेऽप्युत्सारणा। (विलोक्य) कथं मन्त्री यौगन्धरायणो वत्सराजस्य राज्यप्रत्यानयनं कर्तुकामः पद्मावतीयजनेनोत्सार्यते। इत्युत्सारणा-शब्दोऽत्र पूर्वकप्रयोगमुत्सार्य नाटकार्थप्रयोगसूचक इति प्रयोगातिशयः। There is, however, more of identity than difference between the actual passage and the quotation. It appears that the author was either giving the contents of the prologue in his own words or was quoting from a variant text.

(7) *Śakuntalāvyākhyā* (fourteenth century) refers to the prastāvanā of a *Svapna* in identical words as are found in the printed text: यथा स्वप्नवासवदत्तायाम्। एवमार्यमिश्रान् विज्ञापयामि। अये किन्नु खलु मयि विज्ञापनव्यग्रे शब्द इव श्रूयते, etc. (p. 30). It may also be observed here that the *Śakuntalāvyākhyā* mentions and quotes from several plays in our group referring to them by their present titles, such as *Cār, Dgh, Pañc* and *Avi*.

All the above authors, thus, refer to one and the same *Svapna*, and the printed text, in some cases, represents a variant text. Abhinavagupta refers to the second and fifth acts of our play, Bhojadeva to the fifth, Śāradātanaya to the first, fourth and fifth, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra to the fourth, and Sāgaranandin and *Śakuntalāvyākhyā* to the prologue of our play. The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and Rājaśekhara mention Bhāsa as the author of the *Svapna* which, as we have shown, is identical with the printed text; and as all these works proceed from one and the same author, the whole group is from Bhāsa.

Besides the above, there are other references mentioning some characteristics of Bhāsa's works, which also can be shown to be applicable to our plays.

Bāṇa, as already stated, refers to Bhāsa's dramas as begun by the Sūtradhāra, having many characters and episodes and being holy and pure like temples. The epithet *sūtradhārakṛtārambha*

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has been the subject of discussion in numerous articles on Bhāsa. There is no evidence to support the contention of some supporters of the Bhāsa theory that Bāṇa herein refers to some stage reform of Bhāsa in combining the functions of the Sūtradhāra and the Sthāpaka and in relegating the preliminaries to the green-room. On the contrary, Bāṇa's statement cannot be taken to refer to the dramas that were written centuries after him, nor can his statement be interpreted in the light of the statements of Viśvanātha. Bāṇa evidently refers to the practice of his own time, and mentions the special peculiarity of the plays of Bhāsa in contravention of the usual practice of *nāndī* commencing a play. The statement of Bāṇa, thus, does not go against our plays. The plays have, further, a large number of characters of various types justifying the remark *bahubhūmika*. Nearly all the plays contain minor episodes answering the term *sapatāka*. Holiness and sublimity pervading the plays wholly accounts for their comparison with temples. The whole stanza thus is found to apply in general to the plays in our group. Bāṇa in this stanza did not give the distinguishing characteristics of Bhāsa's plays, but he wanted to compare Bhāsa's plays with temples in the same words with some not very obvious objects of comparison. It may also be noted that the authorship or authenticity of the Trivandrum group is not sought to be proved on the statement of Bāṇa, but that the statement corroborates the conclusion already arrived at on the testimony of Rājaśekhara and Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra.

Rājaśekhara refers to the fire ordeal to which Bhāsa's works are believed to have been subjected, and to the *Svapna* as coming unscathed out of the ordeal, indicating thereby that in his time only *Svapna* among the works of Bhāsa had survived:

भासनाटकचक्रेऽपि क्वेकैः क्षिप्ते परीक्षितुम् ।

स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावकः ॥

We have no reason to cast any doubt on Rājaśekhara's testimony as the tradition of fire ordeal is found recorded in the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jonarāja.

Vākpatirāja refers to Bhāsa as 'a friend of fire' in his *Gauḍavaho* (St. 800): भासे जालणमित्ते, etc., and our plays more than deserve the epithet, as in them are descriptions of conflagrations and sacrificial fires, as also the appearance of Agni in human form besides references to Agni at numerous places.

Jayadeva calls Bhāsa 'the laughter of poetry' (भासो हासः). Though there may be some difference of opinion as to the significance to be attached to the term 'hāsa', it will be seen that the

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plays answer any interpretation we place on 'hāsa'. There are various instances of quiet and boisterous humour in these plays, and the scenes in which Santuṣṭa, Maitreya, Vasantaka and Śakāra figure also supply humour. As, however, Kālidāsa is said to be the 'vilāsa' of poetry in distinction to Bhāsa, it seems better to interpret 'hāsa' in a somewhat different sense. Hāsa is natural and easily understood even by a child, whereas vilāsa is artificial, it is ornamentation. Jayadeva refers to the simplicity of style and imagery and naturalness of Bhāsa by employing the word hāsa. Anyway, the epithet is applicable to our plays.

In his *Avantisundarīkathā* (p. 2), Daṇḍin refers to Bhāsa's dramas as possessing well-defined *sandhis*, such as *mukha*, etc., and also distinct and different *vṛttis*:

सुविभक्तमुखाद्यंगैर्व्यक्तलक्षणवृत्तिभिः ।

परैतोऽपि स्थितो भासः शरीरैरिव नाटकैः ॥

This is applicable to the printed texts; perhaps Daṇḍin indirectly alludes to the passage in the *Dv* where Vāsudeva assumes various forms, indicating Bhāsa's authorship of the *Dv*.

The features of Bhāsa mentioned by Bāṇa, Vākpatirāja, Jayadeva and Daṇḍin are found in the printed texts which strengthen our conclusion of Bhāsa's authorship of these plays. There are also indirect references to the other plays in the group without mentioning their names by Vāmana, Daṇḍin, Abhinavagupta, Kṣīrasvāmin, etc. It will thus be seen that various authors from all parts of India, in different times, have referred to Bhāsa, and their statements have been shown to be applicable to the printed texts.

Another circumstance indicative of the antiquity of these plays is the relation between the *Cār*, a play in this group, and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, to which a brief reference seems called for. The *Cār* and the *Mṛcch* present a unique phenomenon in any literature in that they are very closely related to each other thereby excluding the hypothesis of their independent origin. So we are faced with the alternatives of one being an amplification or an abstract of the other in accordance with the view we take of the matter. Broadly speaking, however, believers in the Bhāsa theory take the *Cār* as the original on which Śūdraka based his play, and the opponents take the *Cār* to be merely a stage version of the *Mṛcch*. Drs. Barnett (*BSOS.*, III, pp. 619-20) and Charpentier (*JRAS.*, 1923, pp. 593ff.), however, have accepted the priority of the *Cār* version. This is certain that these are works of different authorship and of different periods—not different versions of the same play. The

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Cār has come to us anonymously, and the *Mṛcch* proclaims for itself the authorship of King Śūdraka. A thorough investigation of the problem of the mutual relation of these works from various points has been made by Dr. MORGENSTIERNE, Dr. BELVALKAR, Prof. PARANJAPE and Dr. SUKTHANKAR, and the conclusion of Dr. SUKTHANKAR at least will surely be acceptable to all. He states: 'I merely claim that I have furnished here some *prima facie* grounds for holding that the *Cārudatta* version is on the whole older than the *Mṛcchakaṭika* version; hence (as a corollary) if our *Cārudatta* is not itself the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, then, we must assume, it has preserved a great deal of the original upon which the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is based' (*JAOS.*, 42, p. 74).

The theory of abridgment or, in other words, a late date for the *Cār* fails to account for certain obvious difficulties which are insurmountable. The priority of *Mṛcch* is incompatible with the uniformly archaic Prakrit forms in the *Cār*, as also with the consistently better readings offered by the *Mṛcch*, and the systematic preference by the (supposed) later writer for the changes for the worse and the deliberate introduction in the *Cār* of the incongruous *tithi* scheme.

Then again, the arguments advanced in favour of the posteriority of the *Cār* can very well be met.

The *Cār*, as we have it, is certainly incomplete, and if it had been completed by the poet, some future day will bring to us the sequel of the *Cār*. Sāhitya works mention both *Daridracārudatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭika*, but are silent as to the authorship of the former.

The bearing of the consideration of the relation of the *Cār* and *Mṛcch* on the Bhāsa problem is that the *Cār* (or any of the plays of the group) is not a stage version or a South Indian adaptation of an earlier play. The plays in our group are genuine works and can be fathered on Bhāsa.

Now to turn to the antagonists. I do not anticipate here all the arguments of the opposition, though they are well known, but shall confine myself merely to indicating the lines hitherto pursued by the opposition, and shall try to meet them in brief.

The antagonists answer the arguments advanced by the supporters by stating that the omission of the name of the author is due to the fact of the authors being mere plagiarists or adapters. With regard to the peculiarities of technique and disregard of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rules displayed by these plays, it has been contended that these features are shared by many South Indian plays and are due to Kerala influence. Then it has been argued that the *Pratimā* comes after Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya*. It is also urged that the absence of Bhāsa's name in rhetorical works with regard to citations

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from these plays shows that these plays are the works of compilers. Absence of anthology verses ascribed to Bhāsa in these works has been taken as proving the spuriousness of these works. As a last resort it is argued that though the works may have originally belonged to Bhāsa, they are, in their present form, merely adaptations or stage editions prepared by the Cākyārs from the original works of Bhāsa.

I am dealing at some length with the Kerala origin or adaptation or compilation of these plays as that is the principal ground of contention of the opponents of the Bhāsa theory.

Though South Indian dramas exhibit the same structural features and the same dramatic technique as found in these plays, most of the South Indian dramas contain names of their authors; and in anonymous works, there is not much trouble. The *Traivikrama*, *Vīṇāvāsavadatta*, *Dāmaka* and *Bhagavadajjukīya* are the only anonymous works brought forth by the supporters of the Kerala theory. Of these, *Bhagavadajjukīya* is ascribed to Bodhāyana Kavi, *Traivikrama* and *Dāmaka* are really works of some Cākyār and they exhibit no individual characteristics and are clearly compilations. I am inclined to identify the *Vīṇāvāsavadatta* with the *Vatsarājacarita* ascribed to Śūdraka.

The sharing of the same structural and technical features by South Indian plays can be explained on the ground of imitation of Bhāsa's works. The stage reform in Kerala dates after the tenth century, whereas Bhāsa's dramas have been known since the days of Kālidāsa, and one of the main structural features found in the southern works has been definitely associated with Bhāsa by Bāṇa in the seventh century. The Kerala dramatists were actors directly connected with the stage and the peculiar dramatic devices used by Bhāsa and the stageworthiness of his works must have appealed to these actor-adapters, and practical utility made them incorporate these factors in their works which later came to be regarded as Kerala practices.

Popularity of these works on the Kerala stage, again, cannot be taken to indicate Cākyār authorship. Many other works of known authorship besides these plays form part of the Cākyār repertory and are popular on the Kerala stage; but they are not ascribed to the Cākyārs. Besides, despite much that has been written on the subject, we do not yet know the exact part played by the Cākyārs in the work of revision or adaptation. There is no evidence as to the ability of the Cākyārs to compose Sanskrit dramas. Further, these Cākyārs stage only select scenes from these dramas, so that the particular scenes alone could be styled adaptations; but even these are uniform with regard to style and merit with the

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entire dramatic piece as a whole. Thus the select scenes even are not stage editions, and hence, not a single bit from these dramas can be ascribed to Cākyār authorship.

Now, we have to consider whether these works are adaptations or compilations. It has been proved that the plot and text of the original *Svapna* have not undergone any great transformation, and they have been attested at so early a date as to dispense with considerations of any Kerala influence; and the *Svapna* has been the most popular piece on the Kerala stage. There may have been minor changes here and there in these plays; but they do not alter their authorship. Every one of Bhāsa's plays has the mark of originality. There is always some original idea in these plays which presupposes an original poet or author and not a compiler.

With regard to the reference to Medhātithi in the *Pratimā* it will be readily seen that the Medhātithi of *Manubhāṣya* is certainly not meant. The reference is to *Śāstras* and not to *Bhāṣyas*, and it is put in the mouth of the prehistoric Rāvaṇa in his speech with Rāma. Hence even to a Kerala author it would be a ludicrous anachronism and an abysmal blunder to make Rāvaṇa allude to Medhātithi's *Manubhāṣya*. In all probability, Gautama's *Nyāya-śāstra* is meant.

Citation in literary works is not the criterion of literary merit. For one thing, we know that these plays were out of circulation for many centuries, and for another, rhetorical works only quote those stanzas that are on all fours with the particular *alaṁkāras* they want to illustrate.

Absence of even a single anthology verse out of the fifteen ascribed to Bhāsa in any of the extant works is not fatal to Bhāsa's authorship of these works and can be satisfactorily explained. Anthologies are not always correct. These are not the only works of Bhāsa so that the quotations may be from his works not discovered as yet or even they may be from lost recensions of the present works. Ten of the stanzas may have come from Bhāsa and some of these can find suitable context in the printed texts.

Moreover, had these been works of some South Indian playwright, rhetoricians or anthologists might have mentioned his name. If these are the stage editions, we are not told what the Cākyārs have done with the originals. It was suggested quite correctly that the publication of the stage editions of plays known to us in standard editions would show us the liberties this school of actors took with the text and the extent to which the originals may have been manipulated. No light, however, has yet been thrown on this point.

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These observations will make it abundantly clear that our plays have not come from Cākyār authorship nor are they adaptations or compilations.

The antagonists, again, state that Bāṇa's description of Bhāsa's dramas as *sūtradhārakṛtārambha* is vitiated by *ativyāpti*, as it is found to apply to many South Indian plays besides the Bhāsa dramas, as these also begin with *nāndyante*, etc. Now, most of these South Indian dramas mention the name of their author for whose identification we have not to depend on inference, and hence Bāṇa's statement clearly does not cover them. So the *ativyāpti* applies to but a few, all of whom come after the period of Bāṇa; so that his statement cannot cover them. It may, however, be observed here that Bhāsa's dramas have not come to us in the same state in which Bāṇa found them; for it appears that absence of the author's name was not a characteristic feature of these dramas at the time of Bāṇa.

The occurrence of the same antique forms in Prakrit in the South Indian plays has been taken to convey that these plays also come from the South. But the *Svapna* has been attested long before the appearance of the first dramatist in Sanskrit in the South. Hence the occurrence of this and other peculiarities of Bhāsa in the South Indian plays is due to their imitation of Bhāsa. The find-place of the dramas is immaterial in determining the origin of the poet. In medieval times, owing to religious persecution many rare manuscripts found their way to the South, which had rulers who were patrons of learning. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* cannot be said to be the product of the South because it was discovered there.

There are also certain features of these dramas which are incompatible with their South Indian origin. (i) These plays deal with countries of the North and do not refer at all to the southern countries like Cola, Kerala, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, etc. or to cities like Madurā or Kāñcī. (ii) Kings like Darśaka, Pradyota, etc. were comparatively unknown to Kerala dramatists. (iii) Rivers like Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Kāverī are not mentioned. (iv) These dramas depict patriarchal society and the veiling of women, which were alien to Kerala. (v) The sociological conditions portrayed in these plays show close similarities with the Mauryan conditions, which it would be impossible for a South Indian writer to depict. (vi) These plays exhibit characteristic merits which are quite different from Kerala Sanskrit in general. (vii) Cākyārs are not known to have produced dramas similar to our plays, not even a single piece.

Our plays are the genuine works of Bhāsa and Cākyārs have nothing to do with their authorship. All credit certainly goes

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to Cākyārs who preserved these dramatic masterpieces in Malayalam alphabet so carefully for centuries and enabled MM. Dr. T. Ganapati SASTRI to bring them to the notice of orientalists.

It may be stated in conclusion that the arguments of the opposition are neither conclusive nor fatal to the Bhāsa theory and they have been satisfactorily answered. Most of the antagonists have approached the problem with preconceived notions.

The theory of the third school which stands for *via media* is most guarded, cautious and sane and will commend itself to all. Dr. SUKTHANKAR has dispassionately considered the whole aspect of the Bhāsa problem in his article entitled 'Bhāsa Riddle: A Proposed Solution', and has indicated the various pitfalls, loopholes and weak points in various arguments advanced both by the supporters and the antagonists. The article merits a very careful perusal. It is undeniably proved that the *Svapna* and the *Pry* are the works of Bhāsa, and about the rest the authorship is doubtful; they may have come from Bhāsa. I fully agree with Dr. SUKTHANKAR. My only complaint is that the *via media* school does not go sufficiently as far as the evidence warrants and does not draw the naturally justifiable inferences. We do feel the common authorship of the group, and if the *Svapna* and the *Pry* are to be associated with Bhāsa, the whole group comes to be attached to him.

The upshot of the above discussion is that the thirteen plays are the genuine works of Bhāsa. As regards the newly discovered *Yajñaphalam*, I do not wish to cloud the issue any further by speaking about it. I have nothing to add to what I have written in the last number of the *JBBRAS.*, where I have tried to show that it is a work of Bhāsa.

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VṚTTAMUKTĀVALĪ, A RARE SANSKRIT WORK ON PROSODY BY KṚṢṆA KAVI, THE COURT-POET OF SEVAI JAISING (A.D. 1699–1743)

By P. K. Gode

Aufrecht[1] records some MSS. of a work on prosody of the title "वृत्तमुक्तावली" by Kṛṣṇa Kavi. One of these MSS. is *No. 551 of 1884–87* in the Govt. MSS. Library at the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, Poona. It appears to be a work dealing with Vedic metres[2] by "श्रीकृष्ण कवि" as stated in the colophon of the MS. The MS. represents the first chapter called "प्रथमः गुंफः" of the वृत्तमुक्तावली.

There is another MS. of the वृत्तमुक्तावली by श्रीकृष्ण कवि, viz. *No. 487 of 1899–1915* in the Govt. MSS. Library. This MS. was not known to Aufrecht and it is important as it seems to represent the second chapter ("द्वितीयः गुंफः") of this work, judging by the identity of the names of the authors, titles and names of divisions of the two works, viz. श्रीकृष्ण कवि, वृत्तमुक्तावली and गुंफ respectively occurring in both the MSS. The first MS. furnishes no historical information

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[1] *CC II*, 142— 'वृत्तमुक्तावली metrics by Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita', Rgb. 551 (incl. (= *No. 551 of 1884–87*).

CC III, 125—'Peters 5. 455.' This MS. is missing in the Govt. MSS. Library since 1908. It is *No. 455 of 1892–95* called छन्दोवृत्तमुक्तावली. I am not sure if this work was composed by Kṛṣṇa Kavi.

[2] This MS. begins:—

"॥ श्रीहयग्रीवाय नमः ॥ स्वविघ्नमस्तु ॥

बिभ्राणो वेदराशिं करकमलतले वामके सामपूर्वं

स्वाभ्यासात्तत्वमु.....द्भुतनरकविताबोधिकां दत्तहस्ते ।

सस्मेरस्वैरहासोल्लसदमलकलाशोभिचंद्राननश्री-

र्देवः श्रीवाजिमूर्द्धा मम हृदयगुहाध्वांतधारां धुनोतु ॥ १ ॥

वैदिकवृत्तसमूहं वितनोमि विनोदहेतवे विदुषां

भुजगेंद्रवदनविदितछंदःसूत्रानुसारेण ॥ २ ॥"

The MS. ends on folio 21:—

"इति वैदिकछंदसामुदाहरणानि संक्षेपतः प्रदर्शितानि ॥

॥ इति वृत्तमुक्तावल्यां श्रीकृष्णकविप्रकाशितायां वेदछंदप्रकरणं नाम प्रथमो गुंफः ॥ ९ ॥ ९ ॥"

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about its author or his patron and hence it may be left out of our consideration for the present. The second MS., viz. *No. 487 of 1899–1915* begins as follows:—

"॥ श्रीमद्दागणपतये नमः ॥ ॥ अविघ्नमस्तु ॥

अमंदस्वानंदप्रकरमकरंद इव भृतं
नखालीकिंजल्कद्युतिललितरक्तांगुलिदलं ।
सदा विद्वच्चेतो मधुपसुखहेतोर्विकसितं
भजे भूयः प्रांभोरुहरणयुगमंभोजसुभगं ॥ १ ॥

वंदे पिंगलनागमुद्भवति यः स्वच्छंदधीप्रच्छंदसा-
माचार्यत्वमुपेत्य पूरितकलावर्णप्रसारार्णवः ।
अत्तुं यो विधृतः स्वजातिविदुषा तार्क्ष्येण तस्मै पुनः
स्वां विद्यां प्रतिबोधयन् नतिजवः सिंधोस्तटांतं ययौ ॥ २ ॥

अस्ति प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपरिदृढवनितानेत्रनीराब्धिनिर्यत्-
कीर्तिश्रीपूर्णचंद्रद्युतिदलितनभोभूतलध्वांतजालः ।
आतन्वानः प्रतापावलिमनभिमतक्ष्मोणिसीमांतभीमां
श्रीमान् राजाधिराजः[1] सततमखगणप्रीतगीर्वाणराजः ॥ ३ ॥

जागर्त्ति ज्वलदुज्ज्वलोज्वलज्ज्वालावलीतांडव-
प्रक्षीणप्रतिपक्षपत्तनपुरग्रामाक्षधामालयः ।
आज्ञाकुंजरकर्णतालबहलोद्भूतप्रचंडानिल-
प्राप्तप्राज्यजवो जगत्यभिनवो यस्य प्रतापानलः ॥ ४ ॥

जातोज्जागर जेजिया[2] भिधकरस्तोमात्तभूमीरस-
प्रस्फूर्जद्यवनेंद्रभास्वति कलिग्रीष्मेतिभीष्मे नृणां ।
भाग्यैर्यः प्रविराजतां प्रमुदितोजस्वं सहस्रं समाः
सद्यः स्वोदयसंहृताखिलविपत्पीयूषपाथोधरः ॥ ५ ॥

मांधाता सगरो भगीरथ इति ख्याता धरारक्षिण-
स्तैः पूर्वं कृतवाजिमेधमुखसद्यज्ञैर्यदेवार्जितं ।

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[1] The title "राजाधिराज" was conferred on Maharaja Sevai Jaising of Amber on *12th June, 1723* (vide p. 124 of *Later Moguls* by Irwin).

[2] '*Jezya*' is the poll-tax which the Musulman law imposes on subjects who are not Muslims (vide p. 460 of *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell, 1903).

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तद्धर्माम्रतमिंदुसुंदरयशोवृंदान्वितं संप्रति
प्राज्ञानां सुखहेतवे वितनुते राजाधिराजः[1] स्वयं ॥ ६ ॥
अत्यर्थं हयमेध[2] मुख्यविलसद्यज्ञावलीकारिणो-
ये पूर्वं युवनाश्ववैण्यसगराद्याः संबभूवुर्नृपाः ।
तेषां कीर्त्तिरभूच्चिरेण भुवने सर्वत्र जीर्णेव या
तामेतां सुनवीकरोति स भवान् राजाधिराजो नृपः ॥ ७ ॥
भूभृन्मौलिकिरीटलालितपदांभोजद्वयस्य प्रभो-
स्तस्यातिप्रहृतप्रसादपरमप्रेमप्रमोदस्पृशा ।
अत्यर्थं कवितोन्मुखेन मनसा नित्यं प्रयुक्तः कविः
श्रीकृष्णः कुरुते रसज्ञसुखदां सद्वृत्तमुक्तावलीं ॥ ८ ॥"

The MS. adds on *folio 51*:—

"समाप्तो द्वितीयो गुंफः ॥ श्रीराधाकृष्णो जयति ॥"

On *folio 16* we have the following colophon:—

"इति श्रीकृष्णभट्टविरचित-छंदोमुक्तावल्यां द्वितीयो गुंफः"

In the गाथाप्रकरण we find the following reference to the poet's patron "राजाधिराज":—

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1 Kṛṣṇa Kavi in his ईश्वरविलासकाव्य (folio 8 of B.O.R.I. MS. No. 273 of 1884–86) states in the following verse that the Mogul Emperor conferred the title राजाधिराज on Sevai Jaising of Amber:—

"यस्यावलोक्य धरणीवलये समंतात्
सर्वेषु राजसु विशिष्टतरानुभावं ।
दिल्लीश्वरः सपदि जातमनःप्रसादो-
राजाधिराजपदमर्पितवान् प्रकामं ॥ २२ ॥"

2 In Chapters 4 and 5 of the ईश्वरविलासकाव्य the poet कृष्णकवि describes in detail the *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice performed by Sevai Jaising. This sacrifice is referred to in the following verse (V, 27) of the poem:—

"एवं सर्वाङ्गसंपन्नः सोऽश्वमेधो महामखः ।
लब्धो राजाधिराजेन श्रेयसः प्रतिभूरिव ॥ २५ ॥"

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Folio 4—

"श्रीरामांघ्रि[1] ध्यानप्रोद्भूताशेषकल्याणः ।
धर्माध्व त्राता द्य श्रीमान् राजाधिराजो यं ॥ ३१ ॥"

On *folio 9* the poet quotes one "जयगोविंद[2] वाजपेयि" as follows:—

"उक्तं च जयगोविंदवाजपेयिभिः—
यमकादिरलंकारो न वृत्तांगं तथापि तत् ।
विशेषणीकृतं लक्ष्यप्रयोगनियमात्तथा ॥"

On *folio 25* the poet records the following verses as illustration of the भुजंगप्रयात metre:—

"यथा ॥
चिरं चंद्ररोचिः समुच्चारचंच-
चलच्चामरश्रीचमत्कारचारु ।
समस्तावनिच्छन्नसुच्छायभूयः
समुच्छायप्रालि क्वचिच्चरम्यं ॥ १५२ ॥
दरीभृद्दरीदारणोद्रिक्तदृप्यत्-
समुत्तुंगमातंगलक्ष्मीनिवासं ।
अधस्ताद्भुजंगावलीभंजनेच्छा
क्षुराग्रक्षतक्षोणिवाजीद्रयुक्तं ॥ १५३ ॥
चमूचक्रमाक्रांतवेलांतवेगो-
च्छलच्छिंधुकल्लोलनिस्सानघोषं ।
पुरः प्रत्यगाशाचलोद्दंडदंड-
स्फुरत्सूर्यचंद्रध्वजश्रीमनोज्ञं ॥ १५४ ॥

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[1] In the ईश्वरविलासकाव्य (IV, 4) कृष्णकवि informs us that Sevai Jaising was a follower of *Vallabhācārya-mata* ("श्रीवल्लभाचार्यमतानुवर्त्ती"). Ratnākarabhaṭṭa, the guru of Sevai Jaising, was a devotee of *Rāma* (रामांघ्रिप्रवण) as stated by him in his जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम composed in A.D. 1713 (vide my paper in the *Poona Orientalist*, II, pp. 166–180).

[2] Cf. *CC*, *I*,59 6—'वृत्तकल्पद्रुम metrics by Jayagovinda K 94.' MS. 'K 94' is dated A.D. *1813*.

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प्रतापप्रभाकीर्त्तिशोभासमूहैः
समुद्भूतसर्वत्रिलोकांधकारं ।
नताशेषराजन्यमूर्द्धाग्ररत्न-
त्विषाकीर्णसिंहासनप्रांतदेशं ॥ १५५ ॥
अविश्रांतजांबूनदासारधारा-
हृताथीँहृताशेषविद्वत्समूहं ।
महाराज राजेंद्र राजाधिराज
त्वदीये भुजाग्रे समुद्भाति राज्यं ॥ १५६ ॥"

In the foregoing five stanzas the poet pays his tribute to his patron king styled as "महाराजराजेंद्रराजाधिराज". On *folio 29* the following stanza refers to a king of the मानवंश्यः—

"यदसिविलसितौघैरासुरं सर्गमस्तं
गतमवनितलांतर्वीक्ष्य सेंद्राः सुरौघाः ।
प्रसभमवतरीतुं व्योमतः कामयंते
स जयति जयति सिंधो मानवंश्यप्रदीपः ॥ २०४ ॥"

So far our poet has referred to his patron as "राजाधिराज" but the following stanza makes it clear that this patron is no other than *Maharaja Sevai Jaising of Amber*, the founder of the Sevai Jaipur in A.D. **1728**:—

Folio 34—

"अथ स्रग्धराछंदः । ..... यथा ॥
अद्याभूदुत्तरंगो मम हृदि परमानंदपाथोधिरुच्चैः
स्वांतध्वांतौघशांतौ सपदि दशदिशः सुप्रकाशा ममाद्य ।
संतापः संहृतो मे कठिनतरकलिग्रीष्मजन्माद्य यस्मा-
दृष्टः श्रीमत्सवाई जयपुरपृथिवीपालपीयूषरश्मिः ॥ २५३ ॥"

The above reference by the author of the वृत्तमुक्तावली to "श्रीमत्सवाई जयपुरपृथिवीपाल" leaves no doubt about the identity of this author with his namesake, the author of the ईश्वरविलासकाव्य to whom I have devoted a special paper.[1] Bhaṭṭa Śrī Mathurānāthaji Kavi

[1] Vide pp. 15–23 of Vol. XXII (1941) of the *B.I.S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona—*Kṛṣṇa Kavi, the Author of Īśvaravilāsa-kāvya—His Works and Descendants, A.D. 1669–1760.*

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Śiromaṇi of Jaipur is the present illustrious descendant of Kṛṣṇa Kavi, the author of the वृत्तमुक्तावली. He maintains the high literary and poetic traditions of his illustrious forefather Kṛṣṇa Kavi, the court-poet of Maharaja Sevai Jaising (A.D. 1699–1743). This poet composed many Hindi and Sanskrit works, a list of which has been given by Śrī Mathurānāthaji in his *Sāhityavaibhavam* (1930), p. 568. According to this list Kṛṣṇa Kavi composed the following Sanskrit works:—

(1) ईश्वरविलासमहाकाव्यम् [1] (3) सुन्दरीस्तवराज [3]

(2) पद्यमुक्तावली [2] (4) वेदान्तपञ्चविंशतिः

As the above list contains no such work as वृत्तमुक्तावली my present paper, proving that this work on prosody is a genuine work of the author of the ईश्वरविलास and other works, adds one more work to the list of the writings of this gifted Sanskrit and Hindi poet at the court of Sevai Jaising.

Kṛṣṇa Kavi composed a Hindi work[4] on prosody called "वृत्तचन्द्रिका" during his contact with Maharaja Buddhasimha of Bundī 'who sat on the gādī in 1707 A.D.' This early interest in prosody coupled with the practice of poetic composition seems to have blossomed into the present work वृत्तमुक्तावली dealing with Sanskrit metres but evidently composed after A.D. 1728, the date of the foundation of Sevai Jaipur which is referred to in the वृत्तमुक्तावली as we have seen above. Sevai Jaising died on *23rd September, 1743*.[5] As the present work seems to have been composed during the lifetime of Jaising we may infer that it lies chronologically *between A.D. 1728 and 1743*. These limits could be narrowed down between A.D. 1732 and 1743 if the date A.D. 1732 [6] for the *Aśvamedha* Sacrifice,

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[1] Represented by MS. *No. 273 of 1884–86* (B.O.R. Institute), a rare MS.

[2] Mathurānāthaji quotes from a MS. of the *Padyamuktāvalī* in his possession (vide p. 568 of *Sāhityavaibhavam*).

[3] Represented by MS. *No. 597 of 1891–95* dated *Saṁvat 1816* = A.D. **1769**.

[4] Vide pp. 71-72 of *Hindī MSS. Report* by S. Das, Allahabad, 1903. MS. No. 83—वृत्तचन्द्रिका (1,945 ślokas) with Pandit N. Chaturvedi of Mathura. This work was composed by कृष्णकवि कलानिधि at the request of बुद्धराव, son of Raja अनिरुद्धसिंह of Bundi. MS. is dated **1753** A.D. (Saṁvat **1810**). Obviously this copy was made during Kṛṣṇa Kavi's lifetime.

[5] Vide p. 294 of *Malwa in Transition* by Raghubir Sinh, 1936.

[6] I shall deal in a separate paper with the several dates proposed for the *Aśvamedha*. According to a MS. of a work regarding Jaipur history sent to me by Barrister R. S. Derashri of Gwalior the date of the *Aśvamedha* is "माघ संवत् १७८८" (= A.D. **1732**).

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referred to in the preliminary verses of the वृत्तमुक्तावली, can be proved on reliable evidence.

The references to the *Aśvamedha* by Kṛṣṇa Kavi in his ईश्वरविलास-काव्य (Chapters 4 and 5) are of A.D. 1743-44 as this poem was composed after the death of Sevai Jaising in A.D. 1743 and at the time of the coronation of Īśvarasing. The references to this *Aśvamedha* in the वृत्तमुक्तावली of the same author being of prior date have the greatest historical value as the work was composed during the lifetime of the poet's royal patron Maharaja Sevai Jaising between, say, A.D. 1732 and 1743. In this connection I have to invite the attention of readers to my three papers[1] on this *Aśvamedha* published already.

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[1] Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II, pp. 166–180; *Jour. of Ind. History*, Madras, Vol. XV, pp. 364–367; *Mīmāṁsā Prakāśa* (Poona), Vol. II, pp. 43–46.

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MISCELLANEA

RĀJAPAṆḌITA KUBEROPĀDHYĀYA

(A forgotten Smārta writer of Bengal)

Raghunandana in his *Śuddhitattva* mentioned the name of this long forgotten Smārta authority of Bengal thus:—

कुबेरधृतवृद्धमनुरपि—श्रावस्योपरि श्रावे तु सूतकोपरि सूतके ।
शेषाहोभिर्व्विशुद्धिः स्यादुदक्यां सूतिकां विना ॥

(Vaṅgavāsī 2nd Ed., p. 127.)

In the *Śrāddhatattva* also we find:—

कुबेरोपाध्यायधृतम्—असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां पितां न श्राद्धमाचरेत् ।
यदि स्नेहेन कुर्व्वीत सपिण्डीकरणं विना ॥

(Vaṅgavāsī Ed., p. 514.)

It is evident from both these references that Raghunandana regarded him as an authority whose very name carried conviction.

Govindānanda who preceded Raghunandana also mentioned Kubera in his *Śuddhikaumudī* jointly with the name of another forgotten authority of Bengal: 'Kubera-Balabhadrau' (B.I. Ed., p. 33).

Haridāsa Tarkācārya, who again preceded Govindānanda,[1] mentioned Kubera in his *Aśaucanibandha*. In a small fragment (fol. 22) of this extremely rare book we examined at Navadvīpa Kubera is named five times (foll. 3b, 11a, 14b, 15a and 17b). We quote below one interesting passage:—

वात्स्यायनेन नपुंसकस्य पुंस्त्रीसाधर्म्म्यप्रतिपादनात् स्त्रीजन्मतुल्य(त)दशौचमिति कुबेरः ।

(Fol. 3b.)

It seems to have escaped the notice of scholars that a rare copy in MS. of a small book of Balabhadra (who is mentioned along

[1] Vide *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1347 B.E., p. 49. In his commentary on the *Śrāddhaviveka* (MS. No. 202 of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad) Govindānanda often criticizes the views of Śrīnātha Ācārya-Cuḍāmaṇi under the epithet 'Ādhunikāḥ' and his criticisms are found on examination to agree with those of Haridāsa Tarkācārya, whose commentary on the *Śrāddhaviveka* is also preserved in the same Pariṣad (MS. No. 1651).

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with Kubera by Govindānanda), named *Śaucasāra*, is preserved in the India Office Library, London, forming the last part (foll. 115-124) of a composite manuscript of Aniruddha's *Karmopadeśinī*, etc. (Eggeling: I.O. Cat., pp. 474-5). In this book Kubera Śarmā is found twice cited with his full titles 'Kāñjivallīya-Satpaṇḍita', pointing to his family origin.

A manuscript copy of a work of this Kubera is preserved in the Sarasvatī Bhavana of the Benares Sanskrit College.[1] It is a commentary on Śatānanda's *Bhāsvatī*, the famous astronomical work written at Puruṣottama in 4200 K.E. (1199 A.D.). A descriptive note on this valuable commentary of Kubera is given below. It is a paper MS. in the Bengali script complete in 14 folios containing both the text and commentary. The latter begins at fol. 4b:—

प्रणम्य भानुं ग्रहनाथमाद्यं श्रीकाञ्जिविल्लीयकुवेरशर्म्मा ।
निर्म्माति भास्वत्यधिकारशास्त्रे व्याख्यां सुबोधामुपकारकश्रीम् ॥
उक्तस्य विसम्वादाद्यक्तं चेत् सर्व्वकर्म्मभ्यः ।
न्यायागतं स्वयं न्यस्य क्रियते वृत्तिरुत्तमा ॥

The colophon at the end (fol. 14b) reads: इति काञ्जिविल्लीय-राजपण्डित-श्रीकुवेरशर्म्मविरचिता भास्वतीव्याख्या समाप्ता ।

न शत्रवे दर्पयुताय नैव न मत्सरायाशुचये (च) नैव ।
नाशिष्यभावोपगताय दद्यात् विद्यामिमां सर्व्वगुणोपपन्नाम् ॥
नवाम्बियुग्मेन्दु-१२२९-मिते शकाब्दे श्रीकाञ्जिविल्लीयकुवेरशर्म्मा ।
व्यधाद्बुधानामुपकारहेतोः श्रीभास्वतीशास्त्रसुबोधवृत्तिम् ॥

The commentary was thus written in 1307-8 A.D. only a century after the text and is the earliest commentary on the book so far discovered. In fol. 5 the figures given in the text for Puruṣottama are adjusted both for Rāḍhā and Vaṅga, thus:—

श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रकर्त्तव्यपञ्जिकादेशयोरन्तरयोजनं रविचन्द्रराहूनां मध्यभुक्त्या गुणितं शतेन पूरितं लब्धं पलात्मकं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रात् पूर्व्वदेशे रव्यादिध्रुवादौ स्फेटयेत् पश्चिमे मिश्रयेत् ततो देशान्तरशोधिता ग्रहा भवन्ति। राढासु देशान्तरं लिख्यते ..... वङ्गेषु .... ।

[1] We are indebted to Principal Dr. Mangal Deva Śāstrī, M.A., D.Litt., for kindly allowing us facilities to examine this and other MSS. of the Sarasvatī Bhavana.

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In fol. 8b Kubera's own formula for calculating *tryahasparśa* is given: त्र्यहस्पर्शार्थं मत्कृतं पद्यं—

तिथ्यृक्षयोगघ्नेषाग्नि षष्टिघ्नानि हरेत् प्रतैः ।
लब्धेन हीना षष्टिस्तु पूर्वतिथ्यादिनाडिकाः ॥

In fol. 10b under *Agastyodaya* Kubera refers to a previous work of his named *Samayasāra*: एतच्चास्माभिः समयसारे बहुप्रपञ्चितम् अतोऽत्र संक्षिप्य निगदितमिति । In fol. 11a we find: राढादेशसम्बन्धिनी दशपलाधिकपञ्चाङ्गुलादिरूपा विषुवमध्याह्नछाया षष्टिगुणिता सती पलप्रभा भवति । From these extracts it is clear that Kubera was an inhabitant of 'Rāḍha' in West Bengal and his title 'Rājapaṇḍita' implies that he was attached to the royal court, though it is not possible to surmise who his patron was. It was probably one of the independent Hindu Rājās still surviving in many parts of Bengal, in that dark age following the Muslim conquest of Bengal.

Kubera's family title 'Kāñjivillīya' proves that he belongs to a distinguished branch of the 'Rāḍhīya' Brahmins of Bengal of *Vātsya* gotra. Fortunately his name has been exactly traced in a genealogical work recently acquired in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. This huge manuscript of 618 folios was partly copied in 1210-11 B.E. from an original written by a famous genealogist of those times, Rāmahari Nyāyālaṅkāra of the village Sāñcādāṅgā near Ranaghat. A distinguished scion of the *Banerji* family belonging to the '*Vṛhat-Vaṅgapāśī*' branch named Utsāha was honoured in the 20th *Samīkaraṇa* of the Rāḍhīya Kulīnas (*Mahāvaṁśa* by Dhruvānanda Miśra, p. 19). Of his ten sons one was called Vāsu. His connections are not recorded by Dhruvānanda, but the following line is found about him in the MS. work noticed above (fol. 54a):—

वासुकस्य न्यून कां कुवेरराजपण्डिततत्सुतौ सुदर्शनकृष्णौ ॥

('Kāṁ'-is a well-known abbreviation of the genealogists of the Kāñjivilli family and there cannot be any question that the Smārta writer under notice is exactly meant here. Vāsu whose full name was probably Vāsudeva was exactly 6th in descent from the first Kulīna Maheśvara who was honoured by Lakṣmaṇasena (*Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 2). Of the two peers of Maheśvara belonging to the Kāñjivilli family one Kutūhala had a son Kubera (*Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 3), who cannot be identical with the present author. There was another Kubera who was exactly 6th in descent from the other Kāñji peer of Maheśvara named Kṛṣṇa or Kāhna and this Kubera's father Ravi was honoured in the 23rd *Samīkaraṇa* (*Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 23).

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He was thus a true contemporary of Vāsu mentioned above and we can safely identify him with our author. As a result of this happy identification the recorded date of Kubera (1307-8 A.D.) becomes a new bedrock for a chronological scheme of the *Mahāvaṁśa*, which will help to solve many a chronological problem of the social and literary history of Bengal. We shall give one instance. Three brothers of the above-mentioned Vāsu were honoured in the 33rd *Samīkaraṇa* (*Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 38). Several cousins of Kubera along with sons of the peers of Kubera's father Ravi were honoured in the next four *Samīkaraṇas* (*Mahāvaṁśa*, pp. 39–43). Among the peers of Kubera's three cousins honoured in the 34th *Samīkaraṇa* we find the name of the famous Murāri of the Mukherji family, grandfather of the immortal poet Kṛttivāsa (*Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 39). Murāri thus becomes a true contemporary of Kubera and the birth date of Kṛttivāsa by the greatest possible strain cannot be brought down farther than the last decade of the fourteenth century A.D.

Kubera's family survives in the village Mallikpur in the district of Jessore. It commanded respect down to the last century as one of the greatest Paṇḍita families of Lower Bengal. But the name of Kubera is now entirely forgotten among the present scions of the family, which now goes by the name and fame of one Viṣṇudāsa Siddhānta Bhaṭṭācārya, 6th in descent from Kubera, who was by a well-known tradition a fellow-student of Raghunātha Siromaṇi.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF BRAHMADEVA'S COMMENTARY ON THE SIDDHAYOGA OF VṚNDA — BETWEEN *c.* A.D. 900 AND 1100

Aufrecht makes the following entries about a *dharmaśāstra* author of the name Brahmadeva:—

CC I, 83—'कर्मविपाक *dh* by ब्रह्मदेव B. 3. 74.'

He also mentions a work on medicine called the कर्मविपाक in the following entry:—

CC I, 83—'कर्मविपाक *med* B. 4. 220. Radh 31.'

In the above entry the author of the कर्मविपाक is not indicated but it is possible that it may be the work of a medical

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author of the name ब्रह्मदेव about whom I want to record the following information:—

Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (*c. A.D. 1275–1300*) pupil of विजयरक्षित (*c. 1240 A.D.*)[1] refers to an author ब्रह्मदेव in his व्याख्याकुसुमावली[2] on वृन्दमाधव or सिद्धयोग in the following quotations:—

P. 9—"अथ श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्या—लङ्घनशब्द उपवासपर्यायो नतु वमनविरेचनानुवासनादिपर्यायः।"

P. 12—"यः सामावस्थायां मारुतज्वरो यच्चज्वरश्च स लङ्घनीय इति ब्रह्मदेवडल्हणौ ॥ ३२ ॥"

P. 18—"अत्र शुण्ठातिक्ताऽप्यामाग्नयसमुत्थे ज्वरे पाचनत्वादिहितेति श्रीब्रह्मदेवः"

P. 30—"यद्यप्येवं तथाऽपि वृद्धवैद्या गुडप्रक्षेपं न मन्यन्त इति ब्रह्मदेवव्याख्या"

P. 73—"श्रीब्रह्मदेवस्तु व्याख्यानयति—

"संग्राहि स्तम्भनाद्भिन्नं यथा तदभिदध्महे ॥
आग्नेयगुणभूयिष्ठं तोयं संपरिशोषयेत् ॥
संगृह्णाति मलं तत्स्याद्ग्राहि शुण्ठ्यादयो यथा ॥
समीरगुणभूयिष्ठं प्रीतत्वाद्यन्नभस्वतः ॥
विधाय वृद्धिं स्तम्भाति स्तम्भनं तद्यथा वटः ॥ २३ ॥"

P. 272—"षडंग्रमिति पाठे षडंग्रा यस्मिन्घृते तत्षडंग्रं घृतं षट्पलमिति श्रीब्रह्मदेवः"

P. 309—"उक्तं च—'नवत्वात्पुराणाच्च संख्याविभागयोजनैः।
परिमाणाकृतिभ्यां च विशिष्टा शक्तिरिष्यते ॥'
इति ब्रह्मदेवः"

P. 360—"दुष्टव्रणविहितं तैलं राजवृक्षादि सुरसादिकषाये घृतं तैलमिति ब्रह्मदेवः"

P. 501—"लता दूर्वा मञ्जिष्ठा वा। प्रियंगुरिति ब्रह्मदेवः।"

P. 516—"अत्र श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्यानम्—श्रेष्ठानां रसादीनां शुक्रान्तानां धातूनामयनमाप्यायनम्। अथवा भेषजाश्रितानां रसवीर्यविपाकप्रभावाणामायुर्वर्ग-

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[1] Vide p. 17 of Hoernle: *Osteology*, London, 1907.

[2] Pub. Ānandāśrama Series No. 27, Poona, 1894. One नारायण भिषज् completed the व्याख्याकुसुमावली of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta as stated by him in the three verses at the end of the edition. I shall prove in a special paper that नारायण भिषज् flourished between *c.* A.D. 1350 and 1400. It is difficult to say whether the references to ब्रह्मदेव in the व्याख्याकुसुमावली are made by श्रीकण्ठदत्त or by नारायण भिषज्।

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वीर्यदार्ढ्यवयःस्थैर्यकरणामयनं लाभोपायो रसायनं वर्धकं स्थापकमप्राप्तप्रापकं चेति।"

P. 522—"ब्रह्मदेवस्त्वेवं वक्ति—वाजीकरणं त्रिविधं जनकं प्रवर्तकं जनकप्रवर्तकं चेति। तत्र जनकं मांसघृतादिकं यद्रसादिधातुक्रमेण परिणतं प्रधानधातुपुष्टिं करोति। प्रवर्तकमुच्चटाचूर्णादिकं शुक्रविवेचनकम्। न च तस्य वैरेचनिकोक्त्या शुक्रच्छर्दकारित्वं स्याद्यतो विरेचनं शुक्रस्य पातनायाभिमुखीभावमात्रकरणम्। जनकप्रवर्तकं तु गव्यघृतगोधूममाषकाकाण्डफलादिकम्।"

P. 566—"अत्र श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्या—दोषान्निर्हरति इति निरूहः। etc."

P. 573—"अथ श्रीब्रह्मदेवव्याख्यानम्—दत्त्वाऽऽदौ सैन्धवस्याक्षं मधुनः प्रस्थतद्वयमित्यादिके द्वादशप्रस्थे वस्तौ सामान्येन भेषजमभिधाय तन्मात्रार्थतो व्याख्याकारो विशेषमाह। etc."

P. 574—"ब्रह्मदेवाचार्यस्तु एणया इदमैणेयं न पुनरेणस्येदं तत्रैणेयमिति प्रयोगो न स्यात्।"

P. 583—"मान्द्यं ह्यल्पत्वमभिप्रेतं न पुनः श्लेष्मोपहतस्येव मान्द्यमिति। इति श्रीब्रह्मदेवः"

P. 599—"तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठाग्रमात्रं ग्राह्यं चूर्णं मुचूटीमात्रमिति ब्रह्मदेवः"

It appears from the foregoing quotations that a commentary on the **सिद्धयोग** by a writer of the name **ब्रह्मदेव** was in existence, say, between A.D. 1250 and 1350 as it is mentioned and quoted from by either Śrīkaṇṭhadatta or Nārāyaṇabhiṣaj in the **कुसुमावलीव्याख्या** on **सिद्धयोग**. This commentary has not been mentioned by Aufrecht and hence it would be worth while tracing quotations from it in sources prior to Śrīkaṇṭhadatta's time.

Hemādri, the minister of King Rāmacandra of Devagiri (A.D. 1271–1309), composed a commentary on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II called the *Āyurvedarasāyana*,[1] in which we find the following reference[2] to **ब्रह्मदेव**:—

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[1] Edited by Hari Shastri Paradkar in his edition of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, N.S. Press, Bombay, 1939.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

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"आसवस्य सुरायाश्च द्वयोरप्येकभाजने।
सन्धानं तद्विजानीयान्मैरेयमुभयात्मकम्॥
इति जेज्जटो ब्रह्मदेवश्च।"

Possibly the author of the name ब्रह्मदेव quoted from and mentioned by Hemādri is identical with his namesake, the author of a commentary on the सिद्धयोग menioned by the authors of the *Kusumāvalivyākhyā*. If this suggestion is accepted we are warranted in concluding that ब्रह्मदेव[1] is earlier than A.D. 1200 or so.

Dallaṇa in his commentary on the *Suśrutasaṁhitā* refers to ब्रह्मदेव in the following extracts[2]:—

Page 1—"....श्री डल्लनः समभूत्। तेन श्रीजेज्झटं टीकाकारं श्रीगयदास-भास्करौ च पञ्जिकाकारौ श्रीमाधवब्रह्मदेवादीन् टीप्पनककारांश्चोपजीव्यायुर्वेद-शास्त्र सुश्रुत-व्याख्यानाय निबन्धसंग्रहः क्रियते।"

Page 617—"गर्भपातनादिभेदेन संख्यातिरेकात् श्रीब्रह्मदेवस्तु।"

Page 549—"श्रीब्रह्मदेवस्तु चतुर्दलमाह"

The foregoing references make it clear that Brahmadeva is prior to Dallaṇa. Hoernle[3] assigns Dallaṇa to '*twelfth century*', i.e. to a period between 1100 and 1200 A.D. We may, therefore, assign *Brahmadeva* to a period *prior to A.D. 1100*. As Brahmadeva commented the *Siddhayoga* of Vṛnda he is later than Vṛnda, whom Sir P. C. Ray[4] assigns to *circa* 900 A.D. We may, therefore, assign Brahmadeva to a period *between c. A.D. 900 and 1100*.

P. K. GODE

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[1] An author of the name ब्रह्मदेव composed a work on astronomy called करणप्रकाश *c. A.D. 1092* (Śaka 1014) (vide p. 240 of *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dikshit, Poona, 1896). I cannot say if he is identical with the medical author ब्रह्मदेव, the subject of the present paper. Another author ब्रह्मदेव wrote a commentary on the द्रव्यसंग्रह of नेमिचन्द्र tenth century (A.D.). Vide H. D. Velankar's *Jinaratnakośa* (B.O.R.I.) under "द्रव्यसंग्रह".

[2] Vide p. 1 of *Suśrutasaṁhitā* with Dallaṇa's commentary ed. by A. C. Kaviratnya and C. C. Goopta, Calcutta, 1885.

[3] Vide p. 16 of *Osteology*, Part I, 1907—डल्लण is quoted by Hemādri (*c.* 1260 A.D.) and quotes Cakrapāṇidatta (*c.* 1060 A.D.). He also quotes भोज.

[4] Vide p. 32 of *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1902. Vide also p. xxiii of Introduction.

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THE LAST YEARS OF AŚOKA

I have read with great interest Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's reply to my comments on his suggestion that Aśoka's pacifist policy was in no way responsible for the downfall of the Maurya empire (*Cal. Rev.*, April, 1943, pp. 39–43). I note that Prof. Sastri accepts K. H. Dhruva's emendations in regard to at least a few verses of the *Yugapurāṇa* in spite of their admittedly speculative character and that he ignores the contraction *cf.* (= *confer* = compare) used before the quotation of the *Yugapurāṇa* verses in the *Political History* (*vide* 4th ed., p. 304, n. 2: '*cf.* the passage in the *Gārgīsaṃhitā*', etc.; *vide* also p. 293: 'The *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgīsaṃhitā* bears testimony to the decline of the Maurya power in the Madhyadeśa after the reign of Sālišuka: *Tataḥ Sākētam = ākramya*', etc.). I have hardly anything to say on these points, as the facts will be apparent to any intelligent readers. In his original paper, Prof. Sastri implied that Aśoka's pacifism cannot be blamed for the fall of the Maurya empire, because Aurangzeb's militarist policy caused the decline of the Mughal empire. I have pointed out that it is a case of wrong analogy and that pacifism may be partly responsible for the decline of some empires as militarism for the fall of others. The point is that there may be sound policies other than Aśokan pacifism and Aurangzeban militarism. To Prof. Sastri my comments have offered an example of the fallacious reasoning styled *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. I leave the point most confidently not only to students of Logic, but to all intelligent persons.

But a remark of Prof. Sastri's may really mislead ordinary sudents of Maurya history. He says (*op. cit.*, p. 43), 'The fact that he (Aśoka) held the empire together for nearly a generation after he renounced war and fresh conquests by war is sufficient proof of his efficiency.' The question is however not whether Aśoka was an *efficient* ruler, but whether he *did or did not sow* the seeds of the decline of the Maurya empire. It is not quite material whether the consequences of a policy were apparent during the lifetime of the initiator of that policy or sometime after his death. Aurangzeb was an efficient ruler and he could have the empire almost intact at his death. This however does not prove that Aurangzeb's policy, as Prof. Sastri would agree, was not in any way responsible for the fall of the Mughal empire.

There is moreover another important side of the question. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to prove that Aśoka was able to hold the empire unimpaired up to the time of his death. According to the testimony of the Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions, Aśoka ruled for 36-37 years. The pre-coronation

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period of four years is added to the above reign-period by some scholars, but deducted from it (*i.e.*, included in it) by others. Whatever course may be followed, it should be noted that no record of the Emperor dated after the 27th year of his reign is as yet known. This absence of records of the last six or ten years of Aśoka's reign may be significant. In any case, however, we have to wait for further evidence and, until that is forthcoming, we cannot be sure about the conjecture that the Emperor did not himself suffer from the effects of his policy of pacifism.

D. C. SIRCAR.

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REVIEWS

VYAKARAN-DARSANER ITIHĀS, Vol. I, by Mr. Gurupada Haldar, B.L. (Pp. 88+747.)

The book, as its title shows, is intended to be a history of the philosophy of grammar. As a matter of fact, however, it is much wider in its scope. The author has shown himself in it not merely as a narrator or historian but also as an able interpreter and sympathetic critic of the thoughts of the grammarian philosophers of India.

In India grammar has been studied since the earliest times rather as an independent science for its own sake than as a means of regulating the use of language. And present-day philologists rightly pay tributes to the quantity and the quality of the literature that has grown out of the grammatical lucubrations in Sanskrit, which in some cases go back to a time several centuries before the Christian era. Mr. Haldar subjects the entire range of this literature to a searching analysis and comes to definite conclusions on various issues, historical as well as doctrinal, drawing, wherever possible, upon the results of the previous researches, such as those of Goldstucker, Keilhorn, Chakravarty, Belvalkar and others. The preface of 88 pages gives a detailed analysis of the contents of the book. A rather lengthy introduction discusses some of the important and interesting linguistic speculations contained in the texts and their commentaries. This is followed by an elaborate historical account of the schools of Sanskrit grammar prior to Pāṇini, Pāṇini and his successors being reserved for special treatment in a separate volume. The most remarkable feature of the present volume is the almost bewildering mass of details introduced in its various discussions. While this may at times result in one's missing the wood for the trees, the three indices will greatly facilitate the use of the book, particularly to those who are not prepared to read the original texts. Mr. Haldar's conclusions are in some cases vitiated by his obvious conservative leanings and may not be acceptable to modern scholars working in the field. But even such scholars will find the work immensely useful as a book of reference.

SADAÑANDA BHADURI.

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RULES

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The Journal deals with topics relating to Indian history, geography, art, archaeology, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics, religion, literature, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, folklore, etc., etc., from the earliest times to the eighteenth century A.D. *Contributors are requested to send articles, notes, reviews, etc. type-written, addressed to the editors at No. 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta. They are further requested to add or alter in the galley proofs but not in the page proofs.* The editors reserve to themselves the right to accept or reject the whole or portions of the articles, notes, reviews, etc. The board of editors is not responsible for the opinions of the writers of articles, notes and reviews published in the Journal. The rejected contributions are not returned to authors if postage is not paid. Books for reviews, journals for exchange, etc., should be sent to the editors at No. 43 Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta.

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SUCCESSORS OF IKHTYARUDDIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTYAR KHALJI

By ABDUL MAJED KHAN

Izzuddin Muhammad Sheran Khalji, 1206-1207 A.D.

After the death of Bakhtyar Khalji one of his lieutenants, Izzuddin Muhammad Sheran Khalji [1] succeeded him to the chiefdom of the Khalji oligarchy in Bengal. Before being formally installed in power, Muhammad Sheran proceeded immediately after performing the mourning ceremonies to Narkoti [2] and placed Ali Mardan Khalji, the Muqti of Narkoti under arrest and committed him to the custody of the Kotwal of the place.[3] On return to Devkot he was unanimously elected by the Khalji nobles as their Chief. He confirmed the Khalji Amirs in their respective posts which they had been holding under Bakhtyar and thereby reconciled them.

Suppression of Ali Mardan had no undesirable reaction on the Khalji Amirs who approved Muhammad Sheran's action by their silence in the matter. Possibly the popular belief that Bakhtyar was done to death by Ali had antagonized them towards the latter. Thus the suppression of Ali not only removed a potential rival from his way, but it also made him popular as the avenger of Bakhtyar's murder. In commissioning Muhammad Sheran to take up the task of raiding the powerful Hindu States of Orissa and Sena Bengal while he himself took up an equally important task in the North-East, Bakhtyar might have indicated his nomination of Muhammad Sheran as his successor. As the events of his career show, succession of Muhammad Sheran was welcomed by all with the possible exception of Ali Mardan and his partisans.

Muhammad Sheran, however, made a mistake in dealing leniently with Ali Mardan. The latter was imprisoned at Narkoti

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[1] His name was Muhammad Sheran Khalji, though Raverty makes it into Muhammad-i-Sheran Khalji. Izzuddin was possibly the title he assumed after becoming the Chief of the Khalji dominion.

[2] Variant Narangoe. It cannot be accurately identified. Could it not be Natore in Rajshahi district, the ancient name of which was Natari (DUHB, I, 20)? There is some sort of phonetic resemblance between Natari and Narkoti. There was a time when the Karatoya joined the Atrai and flowed through the Chalan Beel into the Gnegs. Natore is not far off from the Atrai. It may be that it was an out-post on the extreme eastern frontier bounded by the Karatoya and the Atrai.

[3] The name of the Kotwal has been given as بابا کوتوال صفاماق (Text, 157), but it is hardly a Muslim proper name.

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where he was lately the Muqti and had partisans among the officials. He took advantage of this mistake of Muhammad Sheran and escaped from the custody of the Kotwal by questionable means and arrived at Dihli. On a representation made by Ali to Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, Kaemaz Rumi, was ordered from Oudh to go to Bengal to settle the Khalji Amirs in Bengal.[1]

At Gangautry[2] Kaemaz was welcomed by Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji who had been the Muqti of the place since Bakhtyar's time. Iwaz accompanied Kaemaz to Devkot, the capital of then Muslim Bengal and at the suggestion of Kaemaz became the Muqti of Devkot. Devkot being the capital of the Khalji dominion Iwaz's becoming its Muqti meant his becoming the Chief of Bengal. This again meant the supersession of the elected Chief, Muhammad Sheran. The Khaljis in a body resented this and they gathered round Muhammad Sheran and threatened to fall upon Iwaz as soon as Kaemaz had started back for Oudh. The news made Kaemaz to turn back and give a battle to the Khaljis in which the latter were defeated and made to retreat. While the defeated Khaljis were retreating towards Santos and Masidah[3] there arose an internal scuffle in which Muhammad Sheran was killed.

Muhammad Sheran ruled for eight months and was succeeded by Husamuddin Iwaz towards the close of 603 H. (1207).[4]

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[1] The Text has امرای خلج را ساکن گردنید (p. 158) which has been translated by Raverty as 'to locate the Khalji Amirs'. The sentence cannot possibly be made to mean other than what is given above.

[2] Variants—Kankuri or Gangkuri, Gaskuri or Kaskuri and Kankturi. Stewart calls it Gangautri and Thomas has accepted the name (JRAS, 1873, 345). A probable identification with Mahal Gankarah in Sarkar Tanda may be made (A.A., Tr. III, 130).

[3] Masidah and Santosh, as they should be properly called, lie in adjacent Parganas south-east of Devkot in Dinajpur district. Santosh is now represented by Mahiganj on the eastern bank of the Atrai river.

[4] The nearly contemporary authority Minhaj and the later authorities like Nizamuddin and Ferishta are silent about the period. In the absence of any definite statement of the above authorities we have in this case to accept the statement in the Riyaz-us-Salatin, according to which Sheran is said to have ruled for eight months. Whatever might have been its source of information, Riyaz seems to be correct with regard to this point. Raverty, however, is not prepared to accept such a state of things as that would mean a long absence of any ruler in Bengal. His objection is based upon a misconception about the significance of Iwaz's appointment as ruler of Devkot. He admits that Devkot was the capital of the period under discussion (p. 574, fn. 7) but still he fails to understand the significance of Iwaz's appointment thereat. It was not a question of Iwaz's transfer from his original charge at Gangautri to Devkot, as the latter place was the Headquarters of the province. Though Minhaj is not explicit that Iwaz was made the Viceroy, his appointment as the Chief at the Capital city means nothing other than that. As noticed by Raverty himself 'both our author Minhaj and other writers in men-

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Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji, 1207–1209/10 A.D.

In 1207 A.D. Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji the former chief of the outpost of Gangautry was made the Viceroy of Bengal[1] in place of Izzuddin Muhammad Sheran, who was deposed by the Commander of the Imperial Expeditionary Forces. When the position of Iwaz was threatened by Muhammad Sheran, Kaemaz, the Imperial General, gave a fight and defeated Muhammad Sheran. After the death of Muhammad Sheran which took place soon after his defeat, there was practically no opposition to Iwaz. He continued to rule as the Viceroy of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, till the latter appointed Ali Mardan Khalji as the Viceroy of Bengal in 1209/10 A.D. (606 H.).[2]

Alauddin Ali Mardan Khalji, 1209/10–1216 A.D.

Ali Mardan Khalji was appointed by Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak as the Viceroy of Bengal in 606 H. (1209/10 A.D.). On his arrival in Bengal as Viceroy designate he was received by then Viceroy Husamuddin Iwaz on the banks of the Kosi river and was conducted

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tioning the escape of Ali-i-Mardan in their accounts of Muhammad-i-Sheran make it appear that Ali-i-Mardan succeeded *at once* to prevail upon the Sultan of Dihli to send his general to intervene' (p. 575, fn. 9). It was quite probable. The Sultan had no knowledge or rather could get no information in those days of lack of communications with regard to the actual state of things in Bengal. Nor had he any means to know the antecedent of Ali Mardan so as to disbelieve him. It was, therefore, quite natural for the Sultan to believe the story of alleged misgovernment in Bengal and order his general to make a judicious redistribution of lands among the Khalji Amirs. It is to be noted in this connection that the Sultan did not probably intend the action that was taken by Kaemaz in Bengal, which instead of remedying the alleged misgovernment and making the Khalji Amirs satisfied with proper redistribution of lands, made them all hostile. It is held by Raverty that Kaemaz was sent to Bengal immediately before Ali Mardan's appointment as Viceroy in Bengal. Ali Mardan was appointed in 606 H. (1209/10 A.D.). Now, if as held by Raverty, Kaemaz was sent to Bengal just before Ali Mardan's appointment as Viceroy could we not expect Kaemaz instead of Iwaz making over the charge of the Province to Ali ? If Iwaz was not the Viceroy, Bengal must be presumed to have gone without any ruler for the period from the departure of Kaemaz from Bengal and arrival of Ali Mardan to resume his new post. But this is a hardly believable story. If then Iwaz was in charge of the province for a short period, nothing stood in his way to continue for a longer period of about three years. In the circumstances, it is hardly necessary to prolong the period of Muhammad Sheran's rule while weight of evidence and good reason go in favour of what has been stated above.

[1] Muqti of Devkot at this time meant ruler of the Muslim dominion in Bengal.

[2] Ali Mardan's appointment could not have taken place before 606 H. Aibak escaped from Ghazna and came to Lahore towards the close of 605 H. The escape or release of Ali Mardan from the captivity of Yalduz and arrival at Lahore happened sometime afterwards. On arrival at Lahore Ali Mardan was appointed as the Viceroy of Bengal, possibly as a reward for the troubles he suffered for the Sultan's cause. The appointment of Ali Mardan could not be dated later than 606 H. either, as in 607 H. when the Sultan died, Ali is known to have ruled in Bengal for some time. (See Raverty, T.N. Tr., p. 526, fn. 8, and 528).

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to the capital at Devkot. At Devkot Iwaz made over the charge of the government to the new Viceroy who soon brought the whole of the Khalji dominion in Bengal and Bihar under his rigid control.

Ali is known to have begun his career as a supporter of Bakhtyar Khalji and when the latter had founded a dominion in Bengal and Bihar, he was made the lord of the outpost of Narkoti. After the disastrous defeat and retreat of Bakhtyar from Kamarupa campaign Bakhtyar came to Devkot and fell ill. Ali Mardan came away from Narkoti to Devkot and is said to have killed his master. An abler man appeared in the person of Izzuddin Muhammad Sheran Khalji to succeed Bakhtyar who exploited the popular suspicion on Ali Mardan and put him to prison and thus gained popularity and ultimately became the recognized chief of the Khalji dominion. Ali, however, managed to escape and reach the capital of the Sultan of Dihli and prevailed upon the Sultan to send an army to intervene in the matters of Bengal. Ali, however, chose to stay at Dihli and later accompany the Sultan in the latter's invasion of Ghazna. When after forty days' rule in Ghazna Aibak fled back to Lahore, Ali fell a captive in the hands of Yalduz. He, however, managed to rejoin Aibak at Lahore in 606 H. who rewarded him with the appointment as Viceroy of Bengal for his sufferings in the cause of the Sultan.

Soon the rebellious or rather the treacherous nature in Ali began to assert itself and he took advantage of Aibak's death in 607 H. (1210 A.D.) and the weakness of his successor to assert his own independence. Ali assumed the title of Alauddin. With the assumption of independence his vanity also rose to an unlimited extent.[1] He began to persecute the Khaljis, possibly to avenge his old grudge against them, who had supported Muhammad Sheran and in fact many leading Khalji nobles lost their lives due to his vindictiveness. Vain, cruel and unscrupulous as he was he would not tolerate any good advice and nobody dared giving him any. His cruelty and persecution at last drove a number of Khalji Amirs to conspire against his life and he was ultimately killed in 613 H. 1216 A.D.

A story narrated in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri referring to him as proposing to kill Yalduz while accompanying the latter on a hunting expedition amply proves the treacherous nature of the man.

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[1] A story is narrated in the T.N. that Ali granted Sfahan as a fief to an indigent merchant. This was not the solitary example of his vanity. He used to grant lands outside his dominion, but when reminded that the fiefs granted were not in his dominion he would say that he would soon conquer them. Nobody dared argue with him. (Text 159-60.)

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Ali Mardan ruled ingloriously for about seven years from 606 H. to 613 H. (1209/10 to 1216 A.D.).[1]

Ghyasuddin Iwaz Khalji, 1216–1227 A.D.

After the assassination of Ali Mardan Khalji in 1216 A.D., the Khalji nobles elected Husamuddin Iwaz as their Chief.[2] Like Bakhtyar, Iwaz was also an inhabitant of Garmsir in Ghur and had come to Hindusthan to seek his fortune. He served his apprenticeship as lord of the outpost of Gangautry both under Bakhtyar and Sheran and had later become the Viceroy of Bengal under Qutbuddin Aibak for three years from 1207 to 1209/10 A.D. Iwaz on his election to the chiefdom assumed the title of Ghyasuddin in preference to his former name Husamuddin.

The first task that drew his attention was to change the capital from Devkot to Lakhnauti where it was first established by Bakhtyar. The capital was defended by a fort that he built at Basankot near Lakhnauti.

In June, 1220 A.D. Iwaz got the investiture of the then Caliph of Baghdad confirming him in his dominion and giving a religious sanctity to his rule. On the 2nd June, 1223, a second patent of investiture arrived from the Caliph and a third envoy came from the Caliph in June, 1224. These events, though not mentioned in the Chronicle of Dihli, have been gleaned from the numismatic sources, and have been commemorated by special issues of coins.

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1 Minhaj says that Ali Mardan ruled for 'two years or more or less' and he is not definite. It is certain that Ali Mardan became the ruler of Bengal in 606 H. and that his immediate successor was Iwaz Khalji. Iwaz is known to have died in 624 H. after a reign of 'twelve years'. Minhaj and all later authorities are certain about twelve years' reign of Iwaz. Minhaj is fairly detailed in his accounts of the reign of Iwaz whose works and monuments the chronicler found in 641 H. during his visit in Bengal. In the circumstances we are to accept the definite statement 'twelve years' of Iwaz's reign as against the uncertain statement about Ali's period of rule. Counting back twelve years from 624 H. we arrive at 613 H. as the initial year of Iwaz's reign and also the last year of the rule of his predecessor, Ali. There is, however, a point which may be raised against this conclusion that the Imamzadah of Firuzkoh who arrived in Hindusthan in 608 H. found Iwaz ruling on his arrival at Lakhnauti. But the point is that Minhaj does not say how long the Imamzadah lived at Dihli. Maybe it was for five years or more that he lived at Dihli after which he came to Bengal. (Text 161-62.)

2 Though not stated in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri it may be reasonably held that Iwaz was the leader of the popular revolution against the cruel persecutor Ali Mardan. Similar incident took place in Bengal about three centuries later which brought Hussain Shah to the throne. Iwaz's rule for three years as Viceroy has not unfortunately been specially noticed by Minhaj. From what we know of the record of Iwaz's achievement as King we may reasonably presume that his government as Viceroy was so successful that he had endeared himself to the Khaljis by his actions, so that he was deemed the fittest person to rule when Ali Mardan was assassinated.

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Iwaz was the first Muslim ruler in India to have secured the Caliph's investiture and he was soon followed by his antagonist of Dihli, Iltutmish.[1]

In 1225 A.D. Bengal was invaded by Sultan Iltutmish of Dihli. Iwaz rose to the occasion and blocked the way of the invading army by a strong navy. A peace was patched up. Whether or not any fight took place between the opposing armies is not recorded in the chronicles of Dihli and this silence leads to the irresistible conclusion that the Dihli army could not fare well in the contest that took place.

Hence the claim that Iwaz agreed to surrender his sovereignty is a mere exaggeration of the Court chronicler. The invading army could only occupy a part of South Bihar which Iltutmish placed under his governor, Malik Alauddin Jani, but the latter was driven out and the lost territories were recovered as soon as Iltutmish returned to Dihli.[2]

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[1] The earliest known coin of Iwaz is dated 616 H. (1219 A.D.) with the legend '*Sultan-ul Muazzam* Ghyasudduniya wa-ddin Abdul Fath Iwaz Bin Al-Hussain', and with the inscription '*Nasir Amirul Momenin*' signifying obedience to the Caliph whoever he might have been. It may also be noted that there is existence of a coin of Iwaz (JASB, 1929 N.S., 27) which bears the date 19th Safar, 616 H. (6th May, 1219 A.D.). Since we have no knowledge of coins being minted in Bengal earlier than 616 H. we may explain this date as that of establishment of the Bengal mint by Iwaz and also the beginning of Bengal coinage. In 617 H. (1220 A.D.) besides an issue of the type of the previous year there appeared two more new types of coins, bearing the title '*Sultan-ul-Azam*' and the Caliph definitely named as 'An Nasir-le-Dinillah', of which one type had the name of the month 'Rabi-ul Akhir' (June, 1220 A.D.) specially mentioned. These two types continued with modifications in the legend till 620 H. (1223 A.D.) and in 621 H. (1224 A.D.) the special issue bears the name of 'Jamadi-ul-Akhir' (June, 1224 A.D.). The Christian equivalent month of June is rather significant and it is the proper time for arrival of Caliph's patent by the sea. Hence the suggestion of Thomas that these months were the dates of arrivals of Caliph's envoys rather than the dates of granting the patents at Baghdad, is correct. Iwaz had no chronicler of his own and whatever we get about him from literary sources is from the chronicles of Dihli. Hence though the fact of Caliph's investiture is not recorded in the T.N., we can safely rely on the numismatic evidence and conclude that in June, 1220 and 1224, Iwaz got the patents of the Caliph. For coins of Iwaz see JASB, 1873, 354–58; ibid., 1881, 57–67; JRAS, 1873, 352–58; Wright, I.M.C., II, 145-6*; Botham, Shillong Cab. (1930 Ed.), 133; JASB, 1929 (N.S.); 27, pl. III, No. 3.

N.B.—'*Sultan-ul-Muazzam*' is read by Wright in a coin dated 620 H. There seems to be a mistake in the reading of the date. Iwaz was already a '*Sultan-ul-Azam*' in 617 H. Hence the date should be read as 616 H. as is done by Thomas and Hoernle.

[2] This brings in a discussion whether Iwaz was ever a vassal of Dihli. Edward Thomas in his Initial Coinage, pt. II held that the coins of Iltutmish, dated 414 H. and 416 H. examined and described by him were in fact issued by Iwaz from Bengal mint. (JRAS, 1873.) He arrived at the conclusion more from his preconceived notion than possibly from the nature of the metal and execution of the coins. Hoernle

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Iwaz is said to have exacted tribute from Tirhut, which was then an independent Hindu State with its capital at Simarampura or modern Simraon.[1] The war against Jajnagar was fought between 1216 and 1224 A.D., possibly after 1219/20 in which both the Orissan king Anangabhima III of the Ganga dynasty and Iwaz claimed victory.[2] He further fought the Sena kings of Eastern Bengal with varied success.[3] The Kamarupa campaign of Iwaz took

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ascribes Thomas's conclusion to the fact that these coins were found along with those of undoubtedly Bengal mint. He noticed a coin of Iltutmish from Bengal mint with the express mention of the mint name 'Lakhnauti' and is right when he says that the coins of Iltutmish without any mint name should be taken as Dihli issues. Coins of Iwaz also do not mention any mint name and should be taken as issued from Lakhnauti mint. (JASB, 1881, 53ff.).

Difficulty arises with regard to a unique gold coin dated 616 H. with the inscription ضرب مکور which has been read by Thomas as 'struck at Gaur'. Hodivala is of opinion that it was issued from Nagore (Studies, 212-13). Wright was probably correct to place the mint of this coin near Jodhpur in Rajputana (IMC, II, Intr. 6) though he has subsequently retraced his steps in his 'Coins and Metrology' and has supported Thomas. The unique character of the coin makes any conclusion by itself impossible. Iltutmish came to the throne by ousting Aram Shah, who is supposed to have been a son of Aibak (Raverty, 529, fn. 4). He had an equal claim to the Muizzi legacy as those of his rivals Kabacha and Yaldiz. Iltutmish was engaged with them till he finally crushed them in 614 H. Immediately afterwards in 614-5 H. he was faced with Mongol menace. It was from 616 H. that the position of Iltutmish began to improve. And in this 616 H. Iwaz is known to have issued his own coins. It is impossible to believe that Iwaz submitted to the authority of Iltutmish when his position was weak and declared his independence when his Dihli contemporary was becoming stronger.

Bengal was practically independent since the death of Aibak when Ali assumed the title of Alauddin and began to rule as an independent Sultan. Iwaz was never nominated to succeed Ali. He was chosen by the Khalji Amirs who had been possibly satisfied with his rule on the previous occasion.

We found Iwaz obedient to Aibak, possibly because he was the nominee of his master Muhammad-Bin-Sam. Iltutmish was one of the Qutbi servants and had no right to claim obedience from Iwaz except by force of arms. In the accounts of Minhaj we never come across with the word 'rebel' or 'rebellion' applied to Iwaz. On the contrary we have the terms بادشاہ لکھنوتی. King of Lakhnauti applied to him (Text, 162).

[1] For History of the Hindu Kingdom of Tirhut see JASB, 1915, 407ff.

[2] There are different versions in the Text. According to the version of the Printed Text Lakhanor or Nagar was reconquered by Iwaz (p. 163), while Raverty's texts do not mention it. In any case, however, there was a fight between the ruler of Orissa and Iwaz. There is reference to this fight in the inscription of Anangabhima III of the Ganga dynasty (see DHNI, I, 477–79; Banerji, Orissa, I, 260–262; JASB, 1886, 322, 326; EI, XIII, 151).

[3] After the death of Laksmanasena soon after Bakhtyar's conquest of Bengal, his sons succeeded him. Laksmana is known to be alive in 1206 A.D. from the colophon of the Saduktikarnamrita. After him Visvarupa and Kesava ruled at least for 14 and 3 years respectively. Assuming the death of Laksmanasena sometime

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place in 1227 A.D.[1] when in his absence from the capital the Dihli army under Prince Nasiruddin captured the undefended capital and the adjoining fort. The news of the Turkish invasion made Iwaz to conclude his Kamarupa campaign hurriedly and proceed to the defence of his capital with whatever forces he could gather in haste. But he was too late. The battle that was fought with the imperialists ended in his defeat and ultimately in his death. After the defeat of Iwaz, in the language of the chronicler, 'the whole of the Khalji Amirs were taken prisoners'.

Iwaz founded many public works, such as a Jami Masjid and other mosques which were seen by Minhaj in 641 H. (1243/44 A.D.) when the latter visited Bengal. As noted already he built a fort at Basankot. In order to facilitate transport and movement even during the monsoon when the country around Lakhnauti were inundated with flood, Iwaz built a highway (pul) from Nagar on the western side of the Ganges to Devkot in Dinajpur passing through the capital city of Lakhnauti from which both the places were almost equidistant.[2]

No better tribute could be paid to Iwaz than those paid by the court chronicler of his antagonist's dynasty in these words. 'He was a man of exceedingly pleasing mein, of exceedingly handsome appearance, and both his exterior and interior were adorned with the perfection of mercy. He was magnanimous, just and munificent. During his reign the troops and the inhabitants of that country enjoyed comfort and tranquillity.'

Iwaz ruled for twelve years from 1216 to 1227 A.D. (613 H.-624 H.)

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in 1206/7 A.D. both his sons were contemporaries of Iwaz and both, from their inscriptions, are known to have fought the 'Garga Yavanas' or the Ghorid Muslims as the Khaljis were known to the Hindus of Bengal. The Khaljis were called 'Garga Yavanas' possibly because of the fact that the early Khalji invaders were followers of the Ghorid Sultan. (See N. G. Majumdar, I.B., III, 132–39, 118–31 and also DHNI, I, 379–82.) According to Harivamsa, however, the origin of the Garga Yavanas is traced from Garga Muni.

[1] A coin of Iwaz was found at Gauhati in 1880. This, in the absence of any definite statement in the chronicles, cannot be taken to mean that Iwaz advanced up to Gauhati. Find spots only of inscriptions, unlike those of coins and copper-plates, may be regarded as proof of occupation.

[2] As stated elsewhere Devkot is about 75 miles to the north of Lakhnauti while Lakhanor or Nagar was 85 miles to the south of it.

Bhubaneswar plate says of Anangabhima (*c.* 1211–38). He destroys in battle the Yavana, who possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced to the attack (E.I., XIII, 151). The same fact is referred to the Krishnapur (Cuttack) inscription. 'What shall we speak of him who alone, with his throat adorned with arrows, killed warriors in the war with the Yavana king?' (JASB, 1886, 322). See also JIH, 1936, 177.

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Prince Abil Fath Nasiruddin Mahmud, the Viceroy of Bengal, 1227–29 A.D.

After the defeat and death of Sultan Ghyasuddin Iwaz Khalji in 1227, Bengal passed under the Sultanate of Dihli. Dihli's control over Bengal was only nominal. The Khaljis, as the subsequent events show, were probably still masters of the province and they were not crushed till after the second invasion of Iltutmish in 1231. The heir-apparent to the throne, Prince Nasiruddin Abil Fath Mahmud, was made the Viceroy.

On the 18th February, 1229 A.D. (23rd Rabi I, 626 H.), Iltutmish got the investiture of the Caliph and also a robe of honour from the latter. Iltutmish in his turn sent a robe of honour and a red umbrella to his son in Bengal, but the presents could hardly reach its recipient as the news of the death of the Prince reached Dihli in less than a month and a half, in April 1229 (Jumada I, 626 H.).

The Prince ruled in Bengal for about two years from 1227 to 1229 A.D. (624–626 H.).[1]

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[1] Raverty remarks that some MS. consulted by him has the date 628 H. as the year of Mahmud's death. It is apparently wrong as elsewhere in the T.N. the Prince is stated to have ruled for a year and a half, which counting from 624 H. the year of Iwaz's defeat, falls in 626 H. the date given in reliable MS. noticed by Raverty and also in the Printed Text, p. 174.

Thomas ascribes to him an undated coin (JRAS, 1873, 365, No. 12). But he is evidently mistaken for the following reasons: The name of the prince as given in the T.N. is 'Nasiruddin Mahmud' (Text, 174), and that given in the inscription on his tomb is 'Malik Muluk-us-Sharq Abil Fath Mahmud' (JRAS, 1873, 364). His name therefore was Nasiruddin Abil Fath Mahmud. But the name on the coin is 'Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmud'. It may be argued in favour of Thomas that Al Mustansir's name could not be inscribed on the coin of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246–66 A.D.) the former being dead in 1242 A.D.; and therefore the coin belongs to Nasiruddin who was alive during the caliphate of Al-Muntasir. This counter argument may from the study of Indo-Muslim numismatics be proved to be groundless. Al-Mustakfi, the Egyptian Caliph died in 740 H. but his name continued in the coins of Muhammad Bin Tughluq till 744 H. and 745 H. minted from Dihli and Daulatabad respectively. (Wright—The Sultans of Dihli, their Coinage and Metrology, p. 168). Bengal coinage also affords a parallel example. In the coin of Alauddin Daulat Shah of Bengal, dated 627 H. the name of the Caliph Zahir appears, though he is known to have been dead and succeeded by Al-Muntasir as early as Rajab, 623 H. (July, 1226). Moreover, the political upheavals and wars of succession at Dihli could not possibly allow the Sultan Nasiruddin to ascertain the name of the then Caliph. The earliest known coin of Sultan Nasiruddin with the Caliph's name 'Al-Mustasim' is dated 645 H. (1247-48) but this date is not certain.

Secondly, Minhaj calls Prince Nasiruddin a Malik and so is the title in the inscription.

Thirdly, the title 'Sultan-u-Azam' on the coin could not be Prince Nasiruddin's, however cordial the relation between the father and the son might have been. We could at best expect a 'Sultan-ul-Muzzam'.

Fourthly, the coin is undated, and it cannot be definitely said that the coin was issued by Prince Nasiruddin.

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Alauddin Daulat Shah Khalji, 1229-1230 A.D.

After the death of Prince Nasiruddin in 1229 A.D., Daulat Shah Khalji became the Viceroy of Bengal. He is known to have issued a coin in 627 H. (1230 A.D.)[1] which bore the name of his own and also that of his sovereign, Shamsuddin Iltutmish. In his coin Daulat Shah calls himself a Sultan and assumes the Persian title 'Shah-*in-Shah*' and uses the title 'Sultan-ul-Azam' for Iltutmish. He seems to have been trying to revive the Khalji supremacy in Bengal and to keep off the invasion from Dihli by nominal allegiance to the Sultan, but was soon ousted by a bold and more adventurous Khalji chief named Balka.[2]

Finally the consideration of the two dates, viz. date of Iltutmish's receipt of the investiture and the date of the arrival of the news of the Prince's death in Dihli which were separated by less than two months (from 23rd Rabi I to Jumada I, 626 H.) strengthens the view that the coin was not minted by Prince Nasiruddin. Considering the distance of Bengal from Dihli it is impossible to presume that the Prince at all received the presents sent by his Imperial father.

It may be noted in this connection that Raverty expresses doubt about the Prince's death at Lakhnauti (p. 615, fn. 5), while Ferishta suggests that he died at Lakhnauti (Briggs, I, 210). In the accounts of the Prince, Minhaj says that after the receipt of the investiture Iltutmish sent robe of honour to Lakhnauti for the Prince (Text, 181, Raverty, 630) and then again in the accounts of Iltutmish he says that in Jumada I of 626 H. the year in which the Caliph's envoy was sent to Dihli, the news of the Prince's death reached Dihli (Text, 174, Raverty, 616-617). These two statements taken together suggests that the Prince died at Lakhnauti and not at Oudh as held by Raverty.

[1] The date of the coin is variously read as 627 or 629 H. The latter reading is not correct, because by Rajab 628 H. Bengal was a calm and quiet place after the suppression of Balka's rebellion. The date should therefore be read 627 H. The date of Iltutmish's coming to Bengal and suppression of Balka is given as 627 H. in the Text, and also in T.A. and Ferishta. But 628 H. as noticed by Raverty in some old MSS. is preferable as otherwise issue of Daulat Shah's coin, Balka's rebellion and the subsequent events are to be limited to a very short period of the early seven months of 627 H., i.e. from Nov. 1229 to June 1230. This short period, though not improbable, should preferably be avoided when we have Rajab 628 in some older MSS. of T.N. as the date of Iltutmish's return to Dihli from Bengal (Raverty 616, fn. 5, para 1).

[2] Balka Khalji and Daulat Shah have been confused and are generally taken as one and the same person. Scholars have been led to this mistake by Thomas who quotes from a certain MS. in the B.M. a name given as 'Malik Ikhtyaruddin Daulat Shah Balka'. It seems that the authority quoted by Thomas is not absolutely beyond doubt. The name of the rebel as given in the Text is Balka Malik Khalji (p. 174) or Malik Ikhtyaruddin Balka (p. 163). The name of the Shamsi noble who was governor of Bengal is 'Malik Qizl Khan or Gazl Khan Daulat Shah Khalji (p. 177). This approaches the name found on the coin, 'Alauddin Daulat Shah'. A second list of Shamsi nobles found in certain MS. and incorporated in the Printed Text has a name 'Malik Ikhtyaruddin Iran Shah Balka' (p. 178) but there is no designation 'Malik-i-Lakhnauti' or governor of Lakhnauti. Since there is no Daulat

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Ikhtyaruddin Balka Khalji, 1230-1231 A.D.

Ikhtyaruddin Balka Khalji organized a rebellion and drove the then ruler Sultan Alauddin Daulat Shah Bin Maudud out of power sometime towards the close of 1230 A.D. Iltutmish who was then at the height of his power and majesty could not tolerate this defiance of his authority and he himself came to Bengal to put down the rebellion. Balka was eventually secured and the rebellion that took the colour of a national revolution of the Khalji malcontents was finally crushed.

Iltutmish entrusted the government of Bengal, from which Bihar was separated, to a Turkish noble named Malik Alauddin Jani and returned to Dihli sometime in June, 1231 A.D. (Rajab, 628 H.). With the overthrow of Balka Bengal began to be ruled by the Turks of non-Khalji origin and the Khaljis finally disappeared from her history.

Shah in the latter name we may ignore it as it is not corroborated by the name on the coin. Possibly the confusion began here and 'Ikhtyaruddin Iran Shah Balka' whoever he might have been, has been confused with the name of the rebel 'Ikhtyaruddin Balka Khalji'. The confusion was complete when 'Ikhtyaruddin Balka' the rebel's name, and the common factor of the name of the Shamsi noble given in the second version of the Printed Text (p. 178, footnote) was added the portion of 'Daulat Shah' of the governor's name in the Chamberlain MS. referred to by Thomas. It seems from the above discussion that the name of the governor was 'Daulat Shah' as given in the coin and in the Text, p. 177, and that Alauddin was his self assumed title while Qizl Khan or Gazl Khan was his Turkish name abandoned in the coin.

Raverty's translation seems to suggest that the news of the death of Prince Mahmud and that of the rebellion of Balka reached the Sultan at the same time in Jumada I, 626 H. But the Text does not suggest that Balka rebelled sometime in 627 H. or in 628 H. Iltutmish was the acknowledged Sultan of Bengal till 627 H. The rebellion, therefore, occurred towards the close of 627 H. or early part of 628 H. as by Rajab 628 H. Iltutmish is known to have returned to Dihli after suppressing the rebellion in Bengal.

Another confusion has been created by Raverty by calling Daulat Shah a son of Iwaz. He may have been a relative of Iwaz, but not definitely his son. The Texts of T.N. or T.A. have no such notice. On the other hand, from the coin we learn the name of Daulat Shah's father as Maudud. Iwaz was never known as Maudud. He was first known as Husamuddin and later as Ghyasuddin. In any case had Daulat been a son of Iwaz we should expect the name of Iwaz, either as Husamuddin, or Ghyasuddin or simply Iwaz, or in the extreme case the words 'Sultan ibn Sultan' added to Daulat Shah's name. The weight of arguments and facts go against the theory of Raverty. Nor there is any definite proof that Balka was Iwaz's son.

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PṚTHVĪRĀJA III, THE LAST HINDU EMPEROR OF DELHI

By DASHARATHA SHARMA

Pṛthvīrāja III was born on the 12th of Jyeṣṭha.[1] He is said to have been conceived at a very auspicious moment when Mars was in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Venus in Pisces,[2] the Sun in Aries, the Moon in Taurus, and Mercury in Gemini. The positions of Jupiter and the Dragon's Head have been lost through damage to the manuscript of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*; but fortunately the author has stated that two of the planets occupied their own houses and five their houses of exaltation.[3] Hence we might conclude that Jupiter was in Cancer. These planetary positions indicate V. 1222 as the year of conception, giving V. 1223 as the year of birth.[4]

In V 1234 Pṛthvīrāja's father Someśvara died, leaving the young Pṛthvīrāja and his younger brother Harirāja to the care of their mother Queen Karpūradevī who, according to the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, proved an excellent regent.[5] Kadamvavāsa, known as Kaimāsa or Kaimbāsa in popular legends and mentioned as *maṇḍaleśvara* Kaimāsa in the *Kharataragachchha-paṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla was the chief minister during the regency[6] and for some time thereafter. His presiding over a discussion between two Jaina scholars, Padamaprabha and Jinapati Sūri,[7] during the temporary absence of his master from the court, shows the high position that he held in the State. Traditional accounts describe him as a great soldier. The contemporary poem *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* speaks eloquently of his administration and devotion to Pṛthvīrāja and gives him all the credit for the early victories of his master's reign.[8] Another

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1 *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* (indicated hereafter as *PV*), VII, 50.

2 Dewān Bahādur H. B. Sārdā wrongly puts Jupiter in Pisces, and the mistake is copied by Dr. H. C. Ray. '*Danujānām guru*' is not Jupiter.

3 See Jonarāja's commentary on *PV*, VII, 27.

4 I am indebted for the calculation of the planetary positions to the well-known astronomer *Jyotiṣāchārya* Pandit Suryanārāyaṇa Vyās of Ujjain and my friend Mr. B. K. Chaturvedī, the Subā of Ujjain.

5 *PV*, IX, 1, 34. The last inscription of Someśvara and the first of Pṛthvīrāja III belong to V, 1234.

6 *Ibid.*, 35–43.

7 *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī* (unpublished), pp. 25–34.

8 According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* as well as the *Pṛthvīrājaprabandha* published in the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* of the Singhī Jaina Granthamālā, Kaimāsa was later on slain by his master. According to the *Rāso*, he was shot down with an

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minister of this period of regency was Bhuvanaikamalla, a younger brother of Karpūradevī's father Achalarāja, who is described as a man of extremely charitable disposition, ready to give away all that he had and fully proficient in the art of subduing *nāgas*.[1]

Pṛthvīrāja assumed the reins of administration about V. 1237 and soon found himself engaged in a number of wars. Of these the first may be regarded as one of the most serious, for it seems to have involved the question of succession. Pṛthvīrāja II had defeated and probably slain one of Vigraharāja's sons Aparagāṅgeya; but another named Nāgārjuna had survived and bided his time. Encouraged perhaps by the new king being young and inexperienced, he had the temerity to rise against him and capture the town of Guḍapura.[2] The success achieved by Nagārjuna seems not to have been negligible, because in some of our historical sources we even find him named as one of the rulers of Ajmer.[3] Pṛthvīrāja marched against him with a large army consisting of horses, elephants, camels and infantry, and laid seige to Guḍapura. Nāgārjuna managed to escape from the beleaguered fort; but his wife, mother,

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arrow, because, Pṛthvīrāja, on returning rather unexpectedly to his Palace, found Kaimbāsa in the apartments of his favourite concubine Karṇāṭī (57th *samaya*, Nāgarī Prachārinī Sabhā Edition). The *Prabandha* ascribes the Minister's death to the machinations of one Pratāpasimha who succeeded in poisoning the ears of Pṛthvīrāja and making him believe, though wrongly, that Kaimbāsa was responsible for the repeated attacks of the Muslims on India (*Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, pp. 86-87). Both these accounts deserve to be rejected, because of being in conflict with the evidence of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, a book written most probably between 1191 and 1193 A.D., which compares Kadambavāsa with Hanumān and credits him, as pointed out above, with the early successes of Pṛthvīrāja III's reign. None suspected of treachery or even worse could, I believe, be described in this strain by a court-poet.

[1] *PV*, IX, 67–86. Dewān Bahādur H. B. Sārdā interprets the word *nāga* as the Nāga tribe, and Jonarāja, as elephants. In absence of any reference to fighting against the Nāga tribe, it is better to agree with Jonarāja.

atha kuvidhivadṛchchhayaiva Nāgārjuna iti ninditabhikṣuyogyanāma ।
nigaḍaparigrahāya māturgraha iva Vigraharājavallabhāyāh ॥
pitṛrakhilanṛpāvilanghya-bhāgyādbhutabalanirmathanaikavīrajanamā ।
Guḍapuramiti durgamadhyarohan-madhurarasāhṛtidohadena bālaḥ ॥
(*Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, X, 6-7.)

[2] The first line of the second verse quoted here would show that this Vigraharāja 'whose fortune could not be surpassed by any ruler' could be none but Vigraharāja IV. In XII, 58 of this *kāvya*, Vigraharāja IV is mentioned merely as Vigraharāja. The way this ruler's reign is cursorily referred to in the *PV*, in spite of the splendid achievements to his credit, shows that Someśvara, and therefore naturally the rest of his family, had never been on very good terms with Vigraharāja IV.

[3] *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, p. 298; our bardic *Bahī*, p. 54*b*. The name in these is not, however, Nāgārjuna. It is Nāgadamana in the *Bahī* and Nāgadeva in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.

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and followers fell into the hands of the victor along with a large amount of booty. The soldiers who continued fighting against Pṛthvīrāja under the leadership of Devabhaṭa, probably an officer of Nāgārjuna, were soon killed to the last man and a garland made of their heads was hung across the gate of the fort.[1]

Another early war of Pṛthvīrāja was against the Bhādānakas whose territory comprised the present Rewāri Tahsīl, Bhiwāni and its adjoining villages, and a part of the Alwar State. It must have occurred some time before V. 1239, when in the course of the discussion between Padmaprabha and Jinapati Sūri, the latter composed two verses in honour of Pṛthvīrāja's victory over the Bhādānakas.[2] The overthrow of the Bhādānakas seems to have been decisive, for we hear no more of them as a ruling power.

Such successes could easily have spurred the ambition of any ruler for *digvijaya*. We do not, therefore, wonder when we read in Jinapāla's *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī* that in V. 1239 Pṛthvīrāja had already started on his conquest of all the quarters and pitched his first camp at Narānayana.[3] The book mentions no names. It would not, however, be altogether without justification to presume that he was, at the time, proceeding to Jejākabhukti, which according to Pṛthvīrāja's Madanpur inscriptions, was laid waste in V. 1239 by Pṛthvīrāja, the son of Someśvara and the grandson of Arṇorāja.[4]

The *Pṛthvīrājā-rāso* and the *Ālhakhaṇḍa* would have us believe that the Chauhāns conquered Mahobā, the capital of the Chandel ruler Parmāl, after a stiff fight with the Banāfara heroes Ālhā and Ūdal who were aided also by an army from Kanauj.[5] Their free mixture of facts with fiction, however, makes it difficult to judge how far their statements may be regarded as true history. Of one thing, at least, we can be sure. Pṛthvīrāja decisively defeated Paramardin, the Chandel monarch, in some action or other. This fact

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1 *PV*, XII, 8–38.

2 Translated into English, these verses would stand as follows:—

'How should we describe the incomparable lustre of the valour of Pṛthvīrāja whose armies fill the quarters in every direction, on whose entry attends the goddess of Victory, and struck by whose sharp missiles, *the elephants of the Bhādānakas* form indeed the figure of *svastika*, with the rows of pearls trickling down from their temples.

'O Pṛthvīrāja, the gladdener of numerous subjects, where is the ground for competition between hostile rulers and thee who art verily the Sun on account of thy intense splendour, and has, acting like a lion, with thy hand bearing a sword, *torn asunder even the irresistible elephant force of the lord of the Bhādānaka land?*'

3 P. 25. Narānayana is modern Narāna.

4 *ASIR*, X, p. 98, XXII, pp. 173f.; *PRAS, WC*, 1903–1904, p. 55.

5 See the *Mahobā-yuddha-samaya* of the *Rāso* and the account of the last battle of the Banāfara heroes in the *Ālhakhaṇḍa*.

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is not only indicated by the accounts of these books but also proved by the date of the Madanpur inscriptions just referred to above, and by stray verses in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*,[1] according to which Parmardin saved himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth when attacked by Pṛthvīrāja.[2] Help from the side of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj too does not seem improbable.[3] But as Pṛthvīrāja's inscriptions claim not the conquest but merely the devastation of Jejākbhukti, and as Parmardin's inscriptions are found both at Kāliñjara and Mahobā in V. 1240, nearly a year after the Chauhān invasion,[4] and as Paramardin is described as *Daśārṇādhipati* in one of his late Kāliñjara inscriptions,[5] we have to look askance at the story of the complete conquest of Bundelkhand as given in our later and less reliable sources.

We do not know against whom the *digvijayin* Pṛthvīrāja next turned his arms. The *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla tells us that he had been at war with Gujarāt before V. 1244, and its evidence is happily corroborated by that of the Verāval inscription according to which Jagaddeva Pratihāra, the Prime Minister of Bhīmadeva II of Gujarāt, was verily 'the Moon to the lotus-like queens of Pṛthvīrāja.'[6] It was probably during the course of this very war that Pṛthvīrāja led the night attack on Dhārāvarṣa Paramāra of Ābu which we find described in the *Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga* of Dhārāvarṣa's younger brother Prahlādana. The attack is said to have been a failure.[7]

The only work dealing in detail with this Chaulukya-Chauhān struggle is the late and unreliable *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* according to which its main events were the capture of Nāgor by Bhīmadeva, its recapture by Pṛthvīrāja, the defeat and death of Someśvara at the hands of Bhīmadeva, and the latter's defeat and death at the hands of Pṛthvīrāja, the successor of Someśvara.[8] Now, we have good

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[1] In the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, the verse is referred to Paramardin of Kuntala even though his adversary is mentioned as Pṛthvīrāja of Sapādalakṣa. This Paramardin lived about V. 1143. So the actual Paramardin meant by the verse is Paramardin of Jejākbhukti, a contemporary of Pṛthvīrāja III.

[2] *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, verse 1254: *PC*, p. 116.

[3] The Mau stone-inscription shows the friendly relations between the Gāhaḍavālas and Mandanavarman Chandel (V. 1186–1220 c.). These good relations probably continued in Paramardin's time.

[4] See *EI*, V, Appendix, p. 26, and *ASR*, XXI, p. 72; *PASB*, 1879, pp. 143-44.

[5] Dated in V. 1258 (*IA*, XIX, p. 254).

[6] Line 38, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, II, p. 218.

[7] *Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga*, p. 3.

[8] See the 12th, 39th, and 44th *samayas* of the *Rāso* published by the Nagarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā, Benares. The account is found in all the recensions of the *Rāso*.

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reasons to believe that Someśvara was not slain by the Chaulukya monarch. He probably died before Bhīma ascended the throne; but, even if he did not, Bhīmadeva was in V. 1234 too young to have fought a personal duel with him.[1] The death of Bhīmadeva II at the hands of Pṛthvīrāja III is even more improbable, because the former is known to have survived the latter by nearly half a century.[2] But the fight between the Chaulukyas and Chauhāns at Nāgor, though undoubtedly not quite certain, is far from improbable. Two inscriptions found at Charlū, a village in the south-east of the Bikāner State, commemorate the death of certain Mohila heroes in the battle of Nāgor in the Vikrama year 1241.[3] Is it not likely that this might actually be the battle of Nāgor referred to in the *Rāso*, the grounds for such a supposition being,

(1) That the Mohilas were themselves Chauhāns.
(2) That the territory they lived in was a part of Pṛthvīrāja III's empire, fighting for whom was, hence, their bounden duty.
(3) That the year V. 1241 precedes that of the treaty between the Chauhāns and Chaulukyas mentioned in the *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla.
(4) That neither history nor tradition tells us of any other battle of Pṛthvīrāja III near Nāgor which was one of the strongest forts of the Sapādalakṣa empire.

Jagaddeva Pratihāra might have scored a few initial successes against the Chauhāns who, as we have seen, failed also in their night attack on Dhārāvarṣa. But the war seems, on the whole to have gone in Pṛthvīrāja's favour, for the *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī* represents Jagaddeva Pratihāra as extremely anxious to preserve the treaty with the Chauhāns which he had concluded with great difficulty in or shortly before V. 1244.[4]

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1 Someśvara died in V. 1234. Bhīmadeva II ruled, according to Dr. H. C. Ray, from V. 1235 to 1298. According to the *Kīrtikaumudī*, he was very young when he ascended the throne, and incapable of managing the affairs of the State.

2 Bhīmadeva II's last inscription is found in V. 1296, but he probably continued ruling for two or three years more.

3 See the *Rājasthāna-Bhārati*, Vol. I, for the text of these inscriptions.

4 The passage in the *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī* is as follows:—'V. 1244 . . . The messenger sent by the *daṇḍanāyaka* Abhayaḍa, going to the camp, put his master's application at the feet of Jagaddeva Pratihāra. By the latter's orders, a servant read this communication, 'Many wealthy people of Sapādalakṣa have, at present, come here. If you order me, I shall manage to provide fodder for the royal horses'. On hearing this, Jagaddeva got angry, and had, immediately, the following order written by his clerk, 'I have recently concluded a treaty with Pṛthvīrāja, after taking a lot of trouble. If you therefore lay your hands on the people of Sapādlakṣa, I shall have you sewn in the belly of a donkey'. Returning with

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Tradition speaks also of a war between Jayachandra of Kanauj and Pṛthvīrāja. That there should have been some rivalry between the two is but natural. Both were ambitious rulers aspiring to the first place in the Indian polity. 'From his large army and grandeur', states the Tāju-l-Ma-āsir, 'the desire of something like the conquest of the world had raised a phantom in his (Pṛthvīrāja's) imagination.' [1] Other authorities, though a little later in date, ascribe the same ambition to Jayachandra,[2] who could never have been well pleased with Pṛthvīrāja's success against his neighbours, the Bhādānakas of Ahīravāṭī and the Chandels of Jejākbhukti. The immediate cause, however, of the outbreak of hostilities between the two is believed to have been the 'daring abduction of the not unwilling daughter' of Jayachandra by the gallant Pṛthvīrāja. The story does not find a place in the *Pṛthvīrājaprabandha*, the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, the *Prabandhakośa*, and the *Hammīramahākāvya*, all of which have something to say about the Chauhān hero. Nevertheless, we find it difficult to regard it as a mere romantic product of bardic fancy, because—

(1) Silence on the point of the books just mentioned is no argument for the non-occurrence of the abduction; they are also silent on the four main exploits of Pṛthvīrāja, namely the capture of Guḍapura, the fight against the Bhādānakas, the attack on the kingdom of Dhārāvarṣa Paramāra of Chandrāvatī, and the war against Chaulukyas.

(2) The incident is given by three fairly old authorities, Abul Fazl, Chandraśekhara and Chand Bardāī, the first two of whom can by no means be accused of having been fond of inventing tales.[3]

(3) Even the extant *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, though nothing more than a fragment of what it originally must have been, refers towards its end to Pṛthvīrāja's coming marriage with a princess, who like the Saṃyogitā of the *Rāso*, is mentioned as the incarnation of an *apsara*.[4]

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speed with this order, the messenger handed it over to the *daṇḍanāyaka* who on reading it paid his respects to the *Sangha* and let it proceed on its way'.

[1] *ED*, II, p. 214.

[2] See the *Pṛthvīrājaprabandha* and the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*. According to the former of these (copied in V. 1528), Jayachandra had his capital illumined when he heard the news of Pṛthvīrāja's death (*Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, pp. 86 and 89).

[3] For the story see the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, pp. 300ff, the *Surjanacharita*, X, 13–128, and the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, XLV–L and LX–LXI *samayas* of the Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā edition.

[4] *PV*, XII, 38; *Rāso*, 45th *samaya*.

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(4) As in the *Rāso*, the princess of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* becomes the lady-love of Pṛthvīrāja even though she had never before been seen by the polygamous hero,[1] suggesting strongly by these resemblances that she is probably the original of the Saṃyogitā of the *Rāso* and the Kāntīmatī of the *Surjana-Charita*.

The story, as given by Chand Bardāī, Abul Fazl and Chandraśekhara is too well known to be cited at length. Pṛthvīrāja, who loved the beautiful daughter of Jayachandra of Kanauj and had his passion fully reciprocated, succeeded in carrying her off from a *svayaṃvara* to which he had deliberately not been invited on account of his rivalry with her father for the overlordship of India. His *sāmantas* covered the eloping pair's flight, engaged the forces pursuing them, and fell fighting to the last for their beloved master. Not many were the heroes who returned to the Chauhān Capital where Pṛthvīrāja duly married the Princess and thereafter spent most of his time in the company of the new Queen.[2]

Very romantic indeed!! But such things do sometimes happen in the world. There is, for instance, the well-known case of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Indra, who, though a feudatory of the Chaulukyas, succeeded in carrying off their princess Bhavanāga by force from her marriage pandal at Kairā.[3] Besides, as pointed out elsewhere by me,[4] much of the strangeness of this story would disappear, if we agree to regard Pṛthvīrāja's *sāmantas*, not as individual warriors like the knight-errants of European romances but as leaders of units or regiments of Pṛthvīrāja's cavalry which swooped almost unexpectedly on the Gāhaḍavāla capital while Jayachandra was engaged in certain religious rites and carried off the Princess as desired by their master and commander Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi and Ajmer.[5] That Pṛthvīrāja was not incapable of such lightning strokes is obvious enough from his nocturnal attack on the Paramāra forces of Chandrāvatī and the devastation of the powerful kingdoms of Jejākbhukti within the short space of nearly three or four months.[6] At

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[1] *PV*, X, 2, and XII, 1–38.

[2] There are slight differences in the three versions which cannot be noted in this summary account.

[3] *Indrarājastatogṛhṇāt yaś- Chālukyanṛpātmajām |*
rākṣasena vivāhena raṇe Kheṭakamaṇḍape || (*EI*, XVIII, p. 243).

[4] Introduction to the Bikāner recension of the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* to be published shortly by the Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā, Benares.

[5] Hammīra of Raṇthambhor was similarly attacked by Khaljī forces while he was performing a *yajña*.

[6] Up to Kārttika Śukla 7, Pṛthvīrāja was not far away from Ajmer, though engaged in preparations for the *digvijaya*. So the time left at his disposal in the year V. 1239, when Jejākabhukti was devastated, was naturally only a few months.

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Kanauj, his tactics might well have been similar, though carried out with a different object. The coup was undoubtedly more impolitic, if, as averred by tradition, it crippled his army and permanently estranged him from a neighbour of great strength and vindictive nature.

All authorities giving any account of this abduction of Jayachandra's daughter put it a little before Pṛthvīrāja's final fight with Muhammad Ghorī in 1192 A.D. The Chauhāns first came into contact with this foreign foe in 1178 A.D., but to avoid a break in our narrative we have not so far taken any notice of him. We now turn to his exploits on the Indian soil.

From the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* we learn that Muhammad Ghorī was appointed to the governorship of Ghaznī in 1173 A.D.[1] by his elder brother Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad and led his first expedition to India in 1175 A.D., i.e. nearly two years before Pṛthvīrāja's accession. He captured Multān from the Karamitah and took Uchchh from its Rājput ruler after having him poisoned by his queen.[2] Having thus secured a sort of bridgehead for further conquests, he advanced against Gujarāt in 1178 A.D.[3] Proceeding most probably by way of Kirāḍu, where the *Turuṣkas* are known to have destroyed the image of the deity Someśvara before Karttika, V. 1235,[4] he reached Nāḍol and captured it more or less easily.[5] It was high time for Pṛthvīrāja to face this common danger threatening all the Indian kingdoms, for he too had already been approached by a messenger from Muhammad Ghorī desiring Pṛthvīrāja to pay tribute or otherwise render homage.[6] The proposal was scornfully turned down, as it should, of course, have been; but is it not a pity that Pṛthvīrāja did not draw any lesson from it? The Gujarātis needed help, but they had none from Pṛthvīrāja because of the advice of his Chief Minister Kadambavāsa.[7] Taking both the Gujarātīs and the Muslims alike as their enemies, the Chauhāns of Ajmer were rather glad to see that they were fighting against and destroying each other. Thanks to the serious reverse sustained by Muhammad Ghorī at the hands of the Gujarātīs in the battle of Kāsahrada, the Chauhāns were not called upon to taste immediately the bitter fruit of their policy; but the example thus set by them was followed by others when it was the Chauhāns' turn to struggle against the Muslims between 1191 and 1195 A.D. In fact, we cannot deplore this attitude of the Chauhans too highly; for, as subsequent events

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[1] Raverty's translation, p. 449.
[2] Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 449.
Briggs—*Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 169.
[3] Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 451.
[4] *PRAS, WC*, 1906-7, p. 42.
[5] *PV*, X, 50.
[6] *PV*, X, 42.
[7] *PV*, XI, 2–4.

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amply show, Kadambavāsa's or Pṛthvīrāja's failure to help the Gujarātīs proved in a few years detrimental not merely to the cause of the Chauhāns but also to that of the Hindu nation as a whole.

In 1181 A.D. Muhammad Ghori marched to Sialkot and built a fort there. Five years later, he made himself the master of the whole of the Punjab by treacherously seizing Khusrav Mālik the last Ghaznavite ruler of Lahore. From this new base, he proceeded to the conquest of further Indian territory and naturally soon came into conflict with Pṛthvīrāja who regarded the destruction of the Muslims as his special mission in this world.[1]

According to all the old Hindu writers on the subject, Pṛthvīrāja defeated Muhammad Ghorī at least seven times before he was himself vanquished, imprisoned and eventually slain after the second battle of Tarāīn.[2] Muslim writers, on the other hand, mention only two battles between these rulers, the first in 1191 A.D. and the other more than one year later.[3] The discrepancy can, in the absence of any other independent evidence, be reconciled by supposing that the Ghori generals probably began raiding the Sapādalakṣa Empire soon after their capture of Lahore but were beaten back by the Chauhān forces stationed on the frontier, and that while these frontier forays have been magnified into big battles by the Hindu chroniclers, the Muslims have gone to the other extreme and overlooked them altogether.

The campaign leading to Muhammad Ghorī's first great battle with Pṛthvīrāja was begun in the winter of 1190-1191 A.D.[4] Advancing from either Ghaznā or his new base at Lahore,[5] he captured the fortress of Tabarhindah [6] in the dominions of Pṛthvīrāja and put

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1 'What more', says the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, 'should we say of him (Muhammad Ghori). Not keeping in view the fact that Pṛthvīrāja was initiated in the ceremony of destroying those devils in the form of men, he sent a messenger to this lion residing in the cave of the Meru hill, i.e. Ajmer.' (X, 42.)

2 The *Pṛthvīrāja-prabandha* and the *Hammīramahākāvya* give the number of Chauhān victories as seven, and the *Prabandhakośa* and the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* as twenty-one.

3 See for instance the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, the *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, and the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*.

4 Almost all the Muslim historians put the first battle of Tarāin in 587 H. (1191 A.D.). But Raverty would like to put it in 586 H. We think that the operations began in the winter of 586 H., but the battle was actually fought in 587 H. None of Raverty's arguments is strong enough to take the battle to the beginning of 586 H.

5 Earlier writers do not mention the place from which he started. But Badāunī says it was Ghaznā (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, I, 69).

6 All the MSS of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* collated by Raverty give either Tabarhindah or Tabarhindh. The *Tabakat-i-Akbarī*, *Mirāti-Jahān-Numā*, and *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārīkh* have Sarhind. The *Tārikh-i-Alfī*, *Zubadat-ut-Tawarkh*, and *Muntakhab-*

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it under the charge of Qāzi Ziyā-ud-dīn of Tulāk and a garrison of 1,200 horsemen, asking them to hold it until he came there again after a period of eight months.[1] Before he could himself leave the fortress, however, he received the disturbing news that Pṛthvīrāja, the Rājā of Ajmer, was marching towards Tabarhindah with Govindarāja, the feudatory ruler of Delhi, some other princes, and a large force of elephants and horses.[2] He therefore set out to meet the Chauhān force and encountered it at Tarāin,[3] a village in the Karnāl District—in that very field of Kurukṣetra where the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas are said to have fought against each other and decided the fate of their country in days of yore.

The fight began with the Chauhān attack on the right and left flanks of the Muslim army which, finding it difficult to resist the Hindu onset, soon took to flight.[4] The vanguard too consisting of the Khalj Amīrs followed a similar course.[5] But even then the brave Sultān did not lose heart. Rallying round himself the remainder of his troops, he rushed on the Chauhān army and seeing Govindarāja, the Rājā of Delhi, moving in front of the Chauhān forces and directing them from the back of his elephant, he seized a spear and struck the Rājā with such effect that two of his teeth were knocked out. But the Rājā, who seems to have been no less valiant and skilful in the use of arms than his adversary, launched a javelin and severely wounded the Sultān on his upper arm.[6]

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ut-Tawārīkh have Tarahindah. Firishta has either Paṭhindah or Bhaṭindah. The *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind* speaks of it as Tabarhindah now known as Bhaṭindah. Sir Wolseley Haig, Dr. H. C. Ray, and some others identify it with Bhaṭinda probably on the basis of the last two authorities. But, if we keep in view the fact that Pṛthvīrāja was marching from Ajmer to retake Tabardindah and Muhammad Ghorī marched out against him to defeat his object and then have a look at the map, we shall find that Sarhind, a town situated now in the Paṭiālā State, and actually mentioned instead of Tabarhindah by some of our authorities, has a much better claim than Bhaṭinḍa to be regarded as Tabarhindah or Tabarhindh of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*. If the place had been Bhaṭinḍā instead of Sarhind, the site of the battle between the Chauhāns and the Muslims would have been most probably to the south of Bhaṭinḍā, instead of being at Tarāoṛi which is one hundred miles directly to its east. That it would be just the right place for a battle, if the Chauhāns were proceeding to retake Sarhind and the Muslims or any other party to check them, needs perhaps no demonstration, for a look at the map would be proof enough of the correctness of this view.

[1] Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 458.

[2] The numbers of the Hindu army given by Firishta are 2,00,000 horse and 3,000 elephants.

[3] Tarāin which Firishta and Budāunī identify with Tarāoṛī must be the village of this name in the Karnāl District.

[4] Translation from Firishta's History by Raverty in his footnote to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 463. Briggs' translation of the relevant passage is very faulty.

[5] Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 463, footnote.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 460.

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So great was the agony caused by the injury that the Sultān turned round his charger's head and receded, and might have fallen off his horse and perished in the general melee, had he not been recognized by a Khalj youth who, seeing the Sultān's danger, sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, carried him out of the field of battle. The Muslim army had been in the meanwhile utterly routed.[1] Flying headlong from the field, the Muslim horsemen did not draw rein till they had reached a place where they considered themselves safe from pursuit, and loud were their lamentations when they found that the Sultān was not among them; but this grief was soon after turned into relief, if not something like rejoicing, when they found the Sultān brought to the halting place in a litter improvized with broken spears. All the dispersed elements of the vanquished army united once again, when they heard of the providential escape of the Sultān, and returned thereafter in good order to their own dominions.[2]

It is obvious from the above account that the Hindus were so superior, well-led and well-commanded that the Muslims could hardly have avoided the defeat even if their leader had not been badly wounded. Pṛthvīrāja could now easily have consummated this victory by chasing and annihilating his routed enemy; but instead of doing this he allowed the scattered Muslim army to reform itself at some distance from the field and retire almost unmolested. This sort of ideal magnanimity (if it was actually an act of magnanimity as represented by Hindu writers and not of sheer indolence), though in full accord with the humane dictums of Hindu *Śāstras*, which give the Kṣatriyas their high notions of chivalry in the treatment of a fallen or fleeing foe, was out of date and altogether unwarranted by the canons of prudence and warfare as understood now and as understood then by the Muslim adversaries of Pṛthvīrāja.

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[1] Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 460. The corresponding passage from the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* has been rendered by Ranking as follows:—

'The Sultān got off his horse and taking up his son Khilji upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field.'

Who is responsible for this howler, Budāuni or his translator?

[2] Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 464. The *Hammīramahākāvya* gives the account of two battles of Pṛthvīrāja against Muhammad Ghorī. Of those the first looks like a description of the causes of and course of the first battle of Tarāin. According to it, the battle was due to the appeal of the western rulers who headed by Chandrarāja, son of Gopālachandra, approached Pṛthvīrāja and requested to be protected from the attacks of Muhammad Ghorī, a new Paraśurāma. Chandrarāja does not appear to be a fictitious person. But we have not unfortunately any means of identifying him. Can he be the original of Chandra Puṇḍīra of the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, the head of the Puṇḍarīka clan whose home Pūṇḍarī is not far away from Tarāorī?

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It was indeed the second nail in the coffin of Hindu independence for which we have to hold Pṛthvīrāja responsible.

Traditionary accounts state that the Chauhān Emperor passed the interval between this victory and the final defeat in first fighting against the Gāhaḍavālas and thereafter enjoying the company of his newly-wedded wife Samyogitā.[1] Muhammad Ghori occupied himself differently. Muslim historians tell us that, after spending a few months with his brother at Firūzkūh, he returned to Ghaznā, and 'having made sleep and rest unlawful to himself' devoted all his energies to the one task of revenging his defeat.[2] At length, having enlisted 1,20,000 select Turk, Tājik and Afghān horsemen, well-equipped with arms and armour, he started towards India, and passing through Multan and Lahore and receiving also some help from Pṛthvīrāja's enemies,[3] he once more reached the plains of Tarāin, though not soon enough to relieve the garrison of Tabarhindah which had, after undergoing a siege of nearly thirteen months, instead of the stipulated eight, surrendered on honourable terms to the Chauhān besiegers.[4] Pṛthvīrāja, who had haughtily rejected Muhammad Ghori's ultimatum to embrace Islam and recognize the Muslim sovereign as his overlord, was already on the battlefield with an army of 3,00,000 horse, 3,000 elephants and considerable infantry.[5] One hundred and fifty of the chiefs fighting under his banner swore by the water of the Ganges to conquer or die, and then wrote a letter to the Sultān offering to do him no harm, if he chose wisely to return to his country, but threatening him with complete destruction if he were determined to fight. Muhammad Ghorī, who was no stranger to the great bravery of the Rājpūts, preferred, according to his wont, to try stratagem before force and wrote back saying, 'I have marched into India at the command of my brother whose general I am. Both honour and duty bind me to exert myself to the utmost . . . . , but I shall be glad to obtain a truce till he is informed of the situation and I have received his answer.'[6] The ruse had the desired effect on the credulous and over-confident

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[1] See the 64th and 65th *samayas* (Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā edition).

[2] *Tārikh-i-Firishta*. The translation by Briggs being wrong, I have followed the translation by Raverty in his English translation of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 464, footnote 7.

[3] In the *History of Jammū* of which a summary would be found in Raverty's translation of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, Vijayarāja of Jammu is said to have helped Muhammad Ghorī against the Chauhāns.

[4] Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 464.

[5] Briggs, *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 175. Firishta calls this the most authentic estimate.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 176.

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Hindus who, regardless of the past record of the Sultān, took him at his word, and falling into a holiday mood passed the night in merry-making. Early the next morning they had to taste the bitter fruit of this hasty and imprudent relaxation and dilly-dallying.

According to Muhammad Ufī,[1] who wrote his *Jāmi-'ul Hikāyāt* under Iltutmish and must therefore have known something of the actual events, the Ghorī invader, with a view to preventing any possible suspicion of movement, kept a number of fires burning all the night where his army had encamped during the day, and marched off himself in another direction with the rest of his forces.[2] Then leaving the centre of his army, luggage, royal paraphernalia, and elephants several miles away, he divided the remaining part into four divisions, each of 10,000 archers and ordered them to attack the Hindus, right and left, front and rear, and retire pretending flight.[3]

It was hardly daylight when these troops reached the Chauhān camp and delivered their first attack. Pṛthvīrāja was asleep,[4] the Rājpūt soldiers were just moving out for their daily ablutions and other morning duties.[5] Having thus been taken by surprise, the Rājpūts could not have escaped considerable losses, but they could still have drawn themselves up into fighting order if the well-thought strategy of Muhammad Ghorī had not lured and drawn them out into an unsystematic and ill-advised pursuit. About three in the afternoon, when the Hindus had become thoroughly wearied, Muhammad Ghori led his final charge with the troops that he had hitherto held in reserve. The Hindus were completely routed, losing about 100,000 men according to Hasan Nizāmī.[6] Govindarāja, the Rājā of Delhi, was among the slain. The Sultān

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[1] Briggs, *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 176. [2] *ED*, II, p. 200.

[3] Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 468.

[4] (i) *Gatenyasaṁgare Skande nidrāvyasanasannadhiḥ vyāpāditas = Turuṣkaissa jivanmṛto yudhi*

(विरुद्धविधिविध्वंस of Lakṣmīdhara, *Catalogue of MSS in the Library of the India Office*, No. 1577).

(ii) The account of the *Pṛthvīrāja-prabandha*, though highly exaggerated no doubt, leads to the same conclusion. It begins with the words, 'Pṛthvīrāja had been asleep ten days . . . In the meantime the Prime Minister had the Sultān sent for'. (See the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, p. 68.)

(iii) According to the *Prabandhachintāmaṇī*, Pṛthvīrāja was asleep at the time after breaking his *ekādaśī* fast.

(iv) Firishta says that the Rājputs had passed the night in revelry. So Pṛthvīrāja's being asleep at the time of the attack need not be regarded as strange.

[5] *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 468, note 1; *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 176; *Hammira-mahākāvya*, III, 58.

[6] *ED*, II, p. 215.

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recognized his head by the absence of the teeth that he had himself knocked out. Pṛthvīrāja, who must have joined the battle only very late, tried to escape on a horse, but was recognized, pursued and overtaken in the neighbourhood of Sarasvatī.[1]

Pṛthvīrāja's life, however, was spared for a while, and he was carried, not to Ghaznā, as averred by some Hindu writers,[2] but to his own capital Ajmer which the Sultān captured after slaying thousands of its heroic defenders and reserving the rest for slavery.[3] 'The pillars and foundations' of its temples were destroyed, and it was despoiled of the greater part of the wealth accumulated in the days of its prosperity.[4] Muhammad Ghori was equally successful in other directions too, for soon after the greater part of Sapādalakṣa, including the forts of Hānsī, Sarasvatī, Samānā and Kohrām fell into his hands with comparative ease.[5]

According to the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Muhammad Ghorī had some intention of re-instating Pṛthvīrāja on the throne of Ajmer, but had him beheaded instead when it was found that his picture-gallery contained paintings representing Muslim soldiers being killed by pigs.[6] The statement is, no doubt, not wholly true. But that the Sultān had some intention of retaining Pṛthvīrāja as a vassal chief can be seen from a unique coin bearing the names of both Pṛthvīrāja and Muhammad bin Sām which was issued from the Delhi mint and has been noticed by Thomas in his '*Chronicle of the Pathān kings of Delhi*'.[7] Such an issue could be possible only after Pṛthvīrāja had been defeated by the Muslims and agreed to rule as their subordinate.[8] But Pṛthvīrāja's 'ancient hatred was', in the words of Hasan Nizāmī, the author of the *Tāju-l Ma-āsir*, 'deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart.'[9] He was

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[1] Sarasvatī can mean the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatī river as suggested by Raverty. But just two lines later, the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* speaks of Sarasvatī as a fort that surrendered to the Muslims. Firishta too speaks of it as a fort captured by the Muslims soon after the battle of Tarāin. Ibn Batutā puts it down as a place on the route from Abohar to Delhi. So the place meant is most probably Sirsā of the Hissar District, Punjab, which we found actually mentioned as Sarasvatī in the *Karmachandravaṁśotkirtanaka-kāvya* of Jayasoma.

[2] Cf. the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, 66th *samaya*.

[3] *Tāju-l Ma-āsir*, *ED*, II, p. 215; De, *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, I, p. 39.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Raverty, Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī, I, p. 468; *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 177.

[6] Pp. 117-118.

[7] Pp. 17-18.

[8] That the Sultān was not then eager to take over the direct administration of Ajmer might be seen also from his making it over to Govinda on the death of his (Govinda's) father Pṛthvīrāja.

[9] *ED*, II, p. 215.

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detected in an intrigue, the nature of which Hasan Nizāmi does not make clear, and was beheaded by the orders of the Sultān.[1]

Thus sadly and lamentably ended the life and career of one of the strongest rulers of medieval India. The very city where he had reigned supreme, hailed by poets as a veritable incarnation of Rāma,[2] witnessed his fall and wept over it. That he had some excellent qualities is generally admitted. He was, by all accounts, handsome, brave, courageous, unequalled in the art of archery, and the very embodiment of chivalry. His victories over the Bhādānakas, the Chandelas, Nāgārjuna, Bhīmadeva II of Gujarāt, Muhammad Ghorī in the first battle of Tarāin, and probably also over the Gāhadavālas prove conclusively his greatness as a general.[3] And then, Pṛthvīrāja was no mere soldier. He was, in his time, also one of the foremost patrons of letters. His court was graced by the poet-historian Jayānaka, the writer of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*,[4] Vidyāpati Gauda,[5] *vāgīśvara* Janārdana,[6] Viśvarūpa, a poet who befriended Jayānaka,[7] Pṛthvībhaṭa, the royal bard,[8] who was proficient in traditional lore and has been identified by some writers with Chand Bardāī, the author of the original *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*,[9] and a host of

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[1] Can this intrigue, be the originator of the story of that described as follows in the *Pṛthvīrājaprabandha*, a manuscript of which was copied out in 1471 A.D. but which was, according to Muni Jinavijaya, composed very much earlier:—

'The Sultān sat in the court in front of the place where they had housed Pṛthvīrāja (after his capture). This distressed him (the Rājā). The Rājā's Prime Minister, who was a traitor but unknown as such to him, approached him and said, 'My lord, what can be done? It was so destined.' The Rājā replied, 'If thou givest me my bows and arrows, I shall kill the Sultān.' He assented and going to the Sultān asked him not to sit at his usual place. The Sultān had a metal statue of himself put there. Then going to the Rājā, the minister provided him with a bow. The Raja shot the arrow and the statute fell divided into two pieces. The Rājā threw off the bow, saying, 'The task has not been accomplished; somebody else has been killed.' Then the Sultān had the Rājā thrown into a pit and pelted with stones.'

(*Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, *p.* 87.)

It is difficult to be sure about the amount of truth in this story of which versions even more exaggerated occur in the *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso*, the *Surjanacharita*, and the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.

[2] Read the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, for instance, where he is throughout regarded as an incarnation of Rāma.

[3] The second battle of Tarāin might be regarded as a blot on his generalship. But as he was asleep at the time (see note 4, p. 69), it could be no good test. He could have taken part in the battle only towards the end when the situation had already got out of hand.

[4] See *PV*, I, 31 and XII, 62 to the end.

[5] *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvalī* of Jinapāla, p. 25.

[6] *Ibid.* [7] *PV*, I. [8] *Ibid.*, XI, 13–17.

[9] The first mention of Chand Baradāī, however, that we have till now found is in the account of *Pṛthvīrāja* in the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* (copied V. 1528).

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lesser luminaries whose names have not come down to us but who received due recognition and were occasionally called into conferences by Padmanābha, the minister in charge of Pandits and poets.[1]

But with all his virtues, Pṛthvīrāja had faults serious enough to deny him a place among the greatest rulers of India. He lacked foresight; he had not also statesmanship enough to see that the times had changed, and policies required to be either entirely discarded or to be adapted to the changing circumstances of the day. He seems to have prided himself on being a *digvijayin*, on perhaps having followed, in their entirety, the instructions of his uncle Vigraharāja IV who had in his well-known Siwalik Pillar *prasasti* exhorted his descendants not to be backward in making themselves the masters of the whole of India.[2] He never realized that with the Ghorīs hammering at the gates of his northern frontier, a thorough pursuit of this policy could not be anything but suicidal. Instead of making new friends and presenting a united front to the Muslim invaders by organizing a friendly confederacy of which he could have been, by virtue of his position, one of the most prominent members, he made enemies on all sides by his raids on Jejākabhukti, Kanauj, and the empire of Gujarāt. The attacks brought him fame and wealth, but they also brought him the ill-will of his neighbours; consequently, when he was defeated in the second battle of Tarāīn, not a single ruler came forward to support the tottering empire of Sapādalakṣa. Even standing alone Bhīmadeva II of Gujarāt and Pṛthvīrāja III had, respectively, been able to defeat Muhammad Ghorī on two different occasions, at the batttle of Kāsahrada in 1178 A.D. and at that of Tarāīn in 1191. United together, these could not have merely stemmed the tide of Muslim invasion, but also freed the northern Punjab of Muslim domination. But the policy of the *digvijayin* Pṛthvīrāja and the advice tendered to him by his counsellors when the Muslims invaded India in 1178 A.D. had, as pointed out already, so far estranged the Chaulukyas that acting exactly like Pṛthvīrāja of fifteen years earlier, they did not make the slightest move against the Muslims until the power of the Chauhāns of Sapādalakṣa had been completely destroyed. If traditional accounts be believed and there is no cogent reason for not doing so, Pṛthvīrāja's policy towards the Gāhaḍavālas had been equally bad, and Jayachandra, as pointed out above, rejoiced

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[1] *PV*, XII, 58. Among occasional visitors to his court might be mentioned also the learned Jinapati Sūri of the Kharataragachchha who got a *jayapatra* from him by defeating one Padmaprabha in discussion.

[2] *Asmābhiḥ karadam vyadhāyi Himavad-Vindhyāntarālaṁ bhuvaḥ ।*
śeṣasvīkaraṇāya māstu bhavatāmudyogaśūnyaṁ manaḥ ॥
(Siwālik Pillar inscription, 3, V, 2).

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instead of grieving when he heard of the Chauhān ruler's defeat and death at the hands of the Muslims.[1]

Pṛthvīrāja was not, we fear, also without a large share of good-natured indolence. He could be active when he chose, as active perhaps as the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn who, within the course of a few months, conquered the greater part of the empire of Gujarāt. But he could also be equally lazy. We have already criticized his conduct subsequent to the first battle of Tarāīn. His conduct in the second battle was even worse. He under-estimated the strength of his opponents, and believed, like a novice, the words of Muhammad Ghorī, without keeping in view what the Sultan had done at Uchchh and Lahore.[2] He was not inexperienced in the line of night-attacks, for he had himself led one against Dhārāvarṣa Paramāra. So he should have remained on the look-out for some such action on the part of an enemy, ruthless and determined, and as skilful as himself. But he passed instead the whole night in revelry, and was fast asleep, perhaps, sleeping off the effects of a night's waking and Saturnalia. Such conduct on the part of a general, however strong or able he might be, and that too on the eve of an important engagement, deserved the loss of an empire and all the power that he had. 'The earth is to be enjoyed by the heroic and the ever-wakeful', state the writers on Indian politics, and the behaviour that preceded the second battle of Tarāīn was neither that of a hero nor of a great general, awake to all the possibilities and probabilities of warfare, but that of a novice in the part of finesse and a common reveller who 'with his intellectual faculties clouded with the vice of sleep was', states Lakṣmīdhara, 'killed in the engagement because he was (as good as) dead though alive'.[3]

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[1] See the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, pp. 86 and 89.

[2] At Uchchh he had the ruler poisoned by his queen. He put the Ghaznavite Kursrav Mālik in prison after promising him a safe conduct. (See the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, pp. 455–457.)

[3] See above, footnote 4, p. 69.

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PATAÑJALI AND HIS RELATION TO SOME AUTHORS AND WORKS

By K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

I. PARAMĀRTHASĀRA OF ŚEṢANĀGA

The Paramārthasāra of Śeṣanāga, otherwise called the Ādhārakārikās and the Āryāpañcāśīti, is a work pertaining to a Seśvara (Vaiṣṇava) and Idealistic type of Śāṁkhya philosophy, which is found treated in the Mahābhārata, Manusaṁhitā and the Purāṇas, and which is divided from the Advaita of later times only by a faint line. The exact date of the work is unknown, but there is no doubt that it is very ancient. Similarities of both thought and language between this and the Gauḍapādakārikā suggest that the latter owes much to the former.

There are many editions [1] of the work. There is also an English translation by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. The Paramārthasāra of Abhinava is a Śaiva adaptation of Śeṣanāga's work. Dr. Barnett's [2] view that the former, i.e. the Śaiva work, is the original of the latter is not correct.[3] The adaptation has been published with an English translation by Dr. Barnett.

Tradition has often been the bane of ancient Indian history. It makes even modern scholars sometimes disregard historical and literary evidence. For instance, there is a good deal of difference both in thought and language between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara. The language of the former is clearly of an earlier stratum. He is a votary of not only the Brahmādvaita but also of the Śabdādvaita of Bhartṛhari, and has written separate works on these. But the language of Sureśvara is definitely of a later stratum, and he does not evince any interest in Bhartṛhari's philosophy. Yet much ink has been spilt by some over the problem of their identity without taking this evidence into consideration. Attempts have been made to identify both on the basis of an unhistorical tradition, which was concocted to make Śaṁkara a unique hero who

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[1] Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 12; Pandit, Vol. V; by Pattisapu Venkatesvarudu, in Telugu script, 1907; by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, with translation, Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay.

[2] See J.R.A.S., 1910, pp. 707 *seq.*

[3] See J. C. Chatterji, Kashmir Śaivaism, pp. 12–14; S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, pp. 37 *seq.* and Introduction to his edition.

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vanquished in debate such great thinkers as Kumārila and Maṇḍana. On the other side, Mādhvas believe that Vyāsa gave darśana to Ānandatīrtha! It is high time that scholars relegated all this sort of stuff to the realm of mythology when it is not substantiated by historical evidence.

A similar tradition has gathered round the great Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya. It makes him the author of several other works also, namely, the Yogasūtra, the Caraka, the Nidānasūtra, the Chandaḥsūtra and the Paramārthasāra. I am here concerned only with the last two of these.

As observed already, the philosophy expounded in the Paramārthasāra of Śeṣanāga is very akin to Advaitic Idealism. The Māyā doctrine is here accepted, and the world is considered an illusion. There might be minor differences, but they do not alter its fundamentals. It is, however, greatly different from the Realistic and Atheistic system of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. For instance, compare—

मृगतृष्णायामुदकं शुक्तौ रजतं भुजङ्गमो रज्वाम्।
तैमिरिकचन्द्रयुगवद्भ्रान्तं निखिलं जगद्रूपम्॥[1]

Scholars who attribute the work to Patañjali, the grammarian, have not taken into consideration the evidence of the Mahābhāṣya on the problem. I propose to do it here.

There is no evidence in the Mahābhāṣya for Patañjali's having held the view which is contained in the Paramārthasāra. Nowhere does Patañjali speak of the world as illusion, though there could have been many occasions for it. On the other hand, he appears to be a Realist, a Satkāryavādin. There is ample evidence for this. In Paspaśā he gives us his view of matter. To him it is either *Kūṭasthanitya* or *Pravāhanitya*. In either case he turns out to be only a Satkāryavādin and not an Anirvacanīyatāvādin. Says he there:

द्रव्यं हि नित्यमाकृतिरनित्या।.....
आकृतिरन्या चान्या च भवति। द्रव्यं पुनस्तदेव॥

अथवा नेदमेव नित्यलक्षणं ध्रुवं कूटस्थमविचाल्यनपायोपजनविकार्यनुत्पत्त्यरुद्ध्यययोगि यत्तन्नित्यमिति। तदपि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते। किं पुनस्तत्त्वम्। तद्भावस्तत्त्वम्। आकृतावपि तत्त्वं न विहन्यते।[2]

Although Patañjali here gives us a two-fold view of his Realism, a closer examination reveals that he is more inclined towards Pra-

[1] Paramārthasāra, verse 22.

[2] Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 7.

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vāhanityatā than Kūṭasthanityatā. This is evident from the following where he speaks of the perpetual changes of the Bhāvas:—

सर्वाश्च पुनर्मूर्तय एवमात्मिकाः संस्थानप्रसवगुणाः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धवत्यः। यत्राल्पीयांसो गुणास्तत्रावरतस्त्रयः शब्दः स्पर्शो रूपमिति। रसगन्धौ न सर्वत्र। प्रवृत्तिः खल्वपि नित्या। नह्येह कश्चित्स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि मुहूर्तमप्यवतिष्ठते। वर्धते वा यावदनेन वर्धितव्यमपायेन वा युज्यते। तच्चोभयं सर्वत्र॥[1]

This Realistic conception of matter can hardly fit in with the Idealism of the Paramārthasāra. Patañjali uses the term 'Ātman' simply to mean 'Dravya'. He does not use it in its metaphysical, i.e., Advaitic sense. Compare—

एकोऽयमात्मोदकं नाम। तस्य गुणभेदादन्यत्वं भवति। अन्यदिदं शीतमन्यदिदमुष्णमिति॥[2]

At another place he speaks of two Ātmans, the Antarātman and the Śarīrātman. Here also the term is not used in the Advaitic sense:

द्वावात्मानावन्तरात्मा शरीरात्मा च। अन्तरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येन शरीरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति। शरीरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येनान्तरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति।[3]

It is impossible to believe that the author of the Paramārthasāra used this term in the above sense. It occurs several times in that work (Paramārthasāra), but always in the Absolutistic sense.

Such non-existent things as the sex of the inanimate are compared by Patañjali to mirage and Gandharvanagara:

असत्तु मृगतृष्णावत्।

असत्तु खट्वावृक्षयोर्लिङ्गं द्रष्टव्यम्। कथं पुनरसन्नाम लिङ्गं शक्यं द्रष्टुम्। मृगतृष्णावत्। तद्यथा। मृगास्तृषिता अपां धाराः पश्यन्ति न च ताः सन्ति।

गन्धर्वनगरं यथा—

यथा गन्धर्वनगराणि दूरतो दृश्यन्त उपसृत्य च नोपलभ्यन्ते तद्वत्खट्वावृक्षयोरसन्निङ्गं द्रष्टव्यम्।[4]

Here the sex of Khaṭvā, Vṛkṣa, etc., which is non-existent, is compared to mirage. Patañjali does not compare the world to it. But in the verse quoted above, the Paramārthasāra does. The difference in view is striking. There is also another point to be

[1] Pāṇini 4. 1. 3.
[2] Pāṇini 1. 1. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, 3. 1. 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, 4. 1. 3.

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considered. The Paramārthasāra begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu. Śeṣanāga's allegiance to some form of Vaiṣṇava faith is obvious throughout the work. The Mahābhāṣya, however, does not invoke any deity, nor is there anywhere in it allegiance shown to a particular deity or faith. That the use of '*Atha*' at the beginning is, according to commentators, for Maṅgala is quite a different matter. A good deal more of internal evidence of this kind can be adduced against the identity of the authors of the Mahābhāṣya and the Paramārthasāra; but I think what I have given here is sufficient to prove the difference. We shall now take up an important piece of external evidence.

It is well known that Bhartṛhari wrote his great work, the Vākyapadīya, to elaborate the philosophic portions of the Mahābhāṣya. He is one of the greatest Advaitic thinkers. It is a sad fact that our historians of Indian philosophy have failed to note this. He is one who gave a definitely Idealistic turn to grammatical speculations. The whole of the first part of his work, namely, the Brahmakāṇḍa, is especially concerned with this. The commentary on this, published from Benares, is by the author himself. In the commentary sometimes he refers to earlier authorities. Speaking of Monism he says:—

इदं फेनो न कश्चिद्वा बुद्बुदो वा न कश्चन ।
मायैषा बत दुष्पारा विपश्चिदिति पश्यति ॥ [1]

Vṛṣabhadeva [2] in his commentary on this points out that this couplet belongs to Ṣaṣṭitantra. Here it is for the first time that a couplet containing the philosophy of Ṣaṣṭitantra in a nut-shell is made known to scholars. There has been speculation regarding this ancient Sāṁkhya philosophy, but no writer has hitherto taken note of this citation.[3] From this it is evident that there was a work either of the name of Ṣaṣṭitantra (this is very probable) or

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[1] I. 8.

[2] Adyar Library Transcript (38. 9. 20), p. 95:

षष्टितन्त्रग्रन्थस्यायम् । यावदभ्यपूजयदिति दृश्यमानस्य तुच्छतामाह । फेन इति वस्तुसद्भावमात्रं कथितम् । परमार्थतो निष्पन्नं तदपि नास्तीत्याह ॥

[3] See Keith, Sāṁkhya System, p. 69. Keith disagreeing with Garbe, suggests that Ṣaṣṭitantra was not a special work but 'a term for the Sāṁkhya philosophy as a system of sixty principles'. M. Hiriyanna in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, 1929, pp. 107 *seq.*, gives some useful information. The couplet brought to light here proves that there was a work on this Ṣaṣṭitantra philosophy. On Sāṁkhyakārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa see Tilak, Vedic Chronology and Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, pp. 109 *seq.*; S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Introduction to Sāṁkhyakārikā, Madras University (1935).

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pertaining to the system of philosophy perhaps known as such, and that the philosophy which it expounded was of a Monistic type, very akin to that of the Paramārthasāra, but different from that of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The extent to which Īśvarkṛṣṇa has modified the philosophy of Ṣaṣṭitantra in his condensation may also be guessed from this. We can even go a step further and point out the similarity between the quotation from the Ṣaṣṭitantra and the following from the Paramārthasāra:

हिमफेनबुद्बुदा इव जलस्य धूमो यथा वह्नेः।
तद्वत्स्वभावभूता मायैषा कीर्तिता विष्णोः॥[1]

This suggests that the latter (Paramārthasāra) probably borrowed its ideas from the Ṣaṣṭitantra and is based on that.

The question now confronting us is this: How is it that Bhartṛhari, who strives to give an Idealistic turn to grammatical speculations and quotes from the Ṣaṣṭitantra, does not quote a single verse from the Paramārthasāra? Bhartṛhari is so much devoted to Patañjali that for those who have studied his Vākyapadīya closely, it is impossible to believe that he quietly ignored the philosophic work (Paramārthasāra) of his great author Patañjali while he strove to read philosophy into every line of the Mahābhāṣya and quoted in support of his thesis from the works of others. How is it that Helārāja, who often discourses on the nature of Avidyā, does not refer to this work? There have been many early critics (Śabara, for example) of Patañjali, the great grammarian; but none attributes the view contained in the Paramārthasāra to him. It is only later writers who started the tradition that this was the work of the grammarian. Even among later writers there is one who has not erred. In his Laghusiddhāntamañjūṣā Nāgeśa cites many verses from this work, and these he ascribes to an author called Śeṣanāga.[2] He does not say that these are by Patañjali. The correct name of the author, therefore, seems to be Śeṣanāga and not Śeṣa or Ādiśeṣa. Śeṣa is an abbreviation of Śeṣanāga, while Ādiśeṣa seems to be the name given by the tradition which identifies him with Patañjali, who is said to have been an incarnation of Viṣṇu's serpent Śeṣa. From what has been said above, it will be clear that Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, is not the author of the Paramārthasāra.

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[1] Verse 56.

[2] See Chowkhamba ed., p. 259. The Laghusiddhāntamañjūṣā is a great help to understand the Idealism of the Paramārthasāra. Vide the section बौद्धार्थस्य वाच्यत्वनिरूपणम्॥

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A hitherto unknown commentary on the Paramārthasāra

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of scholars to an hitherto unknown commentary on the Paramārthasāra of Śeṣanāga. The one that is now known is by Rāghavānanda yati. This is published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.[1] In the Adyar Library there is a palm-leaf MS. (22. o. 22) of this commentary in Grantha script. Here the commentary on verses 57, 64, 74–78, 80, 81, 83–86 is missing. A later hand fills up these gaps from a different commentary. The concluding portion and the colophon belong to this latter commentary. The colophon ascribes it to Svayamprakāśa:—

.....हंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्वयंप्रकाश.....पञ्चाशीतिव्याख्यानं संपूर्णम् ॥

Unfortunately only bits used for filling up the gaps in the other commentary are available. It is not hitherto known to scholars that Svayamprakāśa has written a commentary on this work. As a specimen I give here this newly discovered commentary on verse 57:

एवं मायास्वरूपं निरूप्य ब्रह्मभावनाप्रकारं तिसृभिरार्याभिराह—

एवं द्वैतविकल्पां भ्रमस्वरूपां विमोहिनीं मायाम् ।

उत्सृज्य सकलनिष्कलमद्वैतं भावयेद्ब्रह्म ॥ ५७ ॥

चेतनाचेतनात्मकविवधरूपां विमोहिनीं विशेषेण मोहकरीं भ्रमस्वरूपां भ्रान्तिरूपां मायां द्वैतविकल्पामविद्यारूपामुत्सृज्य सकलं सगुणभूतं निष्कलं निर्गुणरूपं च अद्वैतं द्वयोर्भावो द्वितादितयैव द्वैतं स्वार्थे अण्प्रत्ययः । नाद्वैतमद्वैतम् । 'एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म' इति श्रुतेः । एवंभूतं ब्रह्म भावयेत् । 'ब्रह्मविद्ब्रह्मैव भवति' इति श्रुतेश्च । अहं ब्रह्मास्मीति भावनां कुर्यादित्यर्थः ॥ ५७ ॥

One important point to be noted with regard to this is that it has one additional verse in its text which is as follows:

त्यक्त्वा सर्वविकल्पानात्मस्थं निश्चलं मनः कृत्वा ।

दग्धेन्धनवद्वह्निः सर्वगतात्मा भवेच्छान्तः ॥

This verse, 76th according to this commentary, is not found in the text commented upon by Rāghavānanda and published in the Trivandrum Series. The text of some of the verses commented upon by Svayamprakāśa contains variants to the text adopted by Rāghavānanda. Rāghavānanda's commentary in this MS. contains better and correct variants to the Trivandrum edition.

[1] No. 12.

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II. Śabara

Some scholars who have had to deal with the date of Śabara are not sure if he knew Patañjali. For instance, V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in his Introduction to Tattvabindu[1] observes: 'He has not, however, mentioned Patañjali by name as he has done Pāṇini and Kātyāyana'. This might suggest that Patañjali was not known to Śabara; but there is enough evidence in the Śābarabhāṣya on Autpattikasūtra (Jaimini 1. 1. 5) to prove that the author was well acquainted with the Mahābhāṣya:

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः।

शब्दादर्थं प्रतिपद्यामहे इति लौकिकं वचनम्। अथ गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य कोऽर्थः। सास्नादिविशिष्टाकृतिरिति ब्रूमः। नन्वाकृतिः साध्यास्ति वा नवा।

आकाशदेशस्य शब्दः। एकं च पुनराकाशम्।[2]

These and similar other sentences would strike even a casual reader of the Śābarabhāṣya as repetition of Patañjali and no direct evidence is, in fact, needed to prove that Śabara knew the Mahābhāṣya. This cannot be explained away as an accidental coincidence in language. There is also another evidence which places it beyond doubt that Śabara knew the Mahābhāṣya. This has not been noted so far by those who doubt Śabara's knowledge of Patañjali. In his Bhāṣya on आकृतिस्तु क्रियार्थत्वात्[3] Śabara says:

अस्तु विशेषणत्वेनाकृतिं वक्ष्यति विशेष्यत्वेन व्यक्तिम्। न ह्याकृतिपदार्थकस्य व्यक्तिर्न पदार्थो व्यक्तिपदार्थकस्य वा नाकृतिः। उभयमुभयस्य पदार्थः। .....नैतदेवम्॥

It is Patañjali who says न ह्याकृतिपदार्थकस्य द्रव्यं न पदार्थो द्रव्यपदार्थकस्य वाकृतिर्न पदार्थः। उभयोरुभयं पदार्थः। कस्यचित्तु किञ्चित्प्रधानभूतं किञ्चिदङ्गभूतम्....॥ etc. in the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 1. 2. 64. The Śābarabhāṣya referred to above is a direct criticism of this Mahābhāṣya. Śabara could not have cited the passage (alterations insignificant) from the Mahābhāṣya and criticized it if he had not known the work. The conclusion is therefore obvious that he knew the Mahābhāṣya. So,

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[1] P. 21.

[2] See Śabara on 1. 1. 15. Compare with these the Mahābhāṣya: अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः (Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 1). अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थकः। लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते (p. 1). किं यत्तत्सास्नालाङ्गूलककुदखुरविषाणिन्यर्थरूपं स शब्दः (p. 1). द्रव्यं हि नित्यमाकृतिरनित्या, etc. (p. 7) आकाशादेशस्य शब्दः। एकं च पुनराकाशम् (p. 18).

[3] 1. 3. 33.

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the absence of mention of Patañjali by Śabara cannot be taken as evidence that the latter did not know the former.

III. PIṄGALANĀGA

Another author who is sometimes identified[1] with Patañjali is Piṅgalanāga, the author of the Chandaḥsūtra. The tradition, which says that Patañjali was an incarnation of Śeṣa the serpent and which sees the word Nāga in the name of Piṅgalanāga, was perhaps responsible for this identification. There is, however, not a bit of evidence to support this identity. In his Bhāṣya on 1. 1. 5 Śabara refers to Piṅgalanāga in connection with the Chandaḥśāstra. But while criticizing the Mahābhāṣya he does not mention by name Patañjali who holds views which are not acceptable to him. In other words, he does not show so much regard to Patañjali as he does to Piṅgala, because the views held by the grammarian are against those of the Mīmāṁsakas. This is the evidence that he regards the two as different. As between Patañjali and Piṅgala, undoubtedly Patañjali is earlier. Piṅgala uses the symbolic method of notation (e.g. Vasu = 8) which, as evidence stands at present, was unknown to Patañjali. It cannot also be believed that the dry aphorisms of the work on metrics are by Patañjali whose Mahābhāṣya is unique in simplicity and vigour. Moreover, if Patañjali and Piṅgala were one and the same author, the Chandaḥsūtra could not fail to cover the metre of the following verse which Patañjali quotes in the Mahābhāṣya :

स्तोऽ्याम्यहं पादिकमौदवाहिं ततः श्वोभूते प्रातनीं पातनीं च ।
नेतारावागच्छतं धारणिं रावणिं च ततः पश्चात्संस्थते ध्वंस्थते च ॥

The metre of this verse is not defined in the Chandaḥsūtra. I am therefore inclined to believe that Patañjali and Piṅgala were not the same, Piṅgala having flourished later than Patañjali when the above metre was not in vogue.

IV. RĀMĀYAṆA

In the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 1. 3. 1 and 3. 1. 67 Patañjali quotes the following Ślokapāda :

एति जीवन्तमानन्दः ।

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[1] See the Bhūmikā to the edition of the Chandaḥsūtra by Viswanatha Sastri, Calcutta, Saṁvat 193.

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In the Rāmāyaṇa[1] of Vālmīki we have—

कल्याणी बत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।

एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरो वर्षशतादपि ॥

From this some scholars[2] conclude that Patañjali knew the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form and that he quotes from it. This, however, is not correct. The verse, of which only a quarter is quoted by Patañjali, is quoted fully by Kāśikā on Pāṇini 2. 3. 53. Here the reading of the second half is (as evidenced by most MSS. of the work) as follows:

जीव पुत्रक मा मैवं तपःसाहसमाचर ।

This is not the reading of the second half in the Rāmāyaṇa. As a grammatical work, Kāśikā should be quoting from the same source as Patañjali. That source, however, cannot be the present Rāmāyaṇa, as the reading of the second half of the verse there is quite different. It must be some other work which we do not know at present. It is therefore wrong to assume on the basis of the citation in the Mahābhāṣya that Patañjali knew the present Rāmāyaṇa. Moreover, the Rāmāyaṇa refers to the saying (एति जीवन्तमानन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि) as a Laukika, i.e. a popular one. This shows that it was already current in its days. Hence it must be from an earlier source. Such words as kāpeya, etc. which occur in the Mahābhāṣya are no evidence that Patañjali knew the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form.

Postscript: In a MS. of it in the Anup Sanskrit Library Paramārthasāra is attributed to Kātyāyana. This wrong association of Kātyāyana with the work has its origin probably in the wrong association of Patañjali with it. As already observed, the true author is one Śeṣanāga. That the name Śeṣanāga was in vogue in ancient India is proved by at least one more instance of its use. There is a MS. of Somākara's Jyotiṣabhāṣya in the Anup Sanskrit Library. It is about three hundred years old. Here this work is ascribed to a Śeṣanāga.

In conclusion I should say that scholars will do well to study the Mahābhāṣya carefully before they rush to conclusions regarding the great Patañjali.

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[1] Sundarakāṇḍa 34. 6 and Yuddhakāṇḍa 129. 1.

[2] See Introduction to the Nirnaya Sagar ed. of the Mahābhāṣya (Navāhnika), p. 12, footnote.

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MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON THE LAST YEARS OF AŚOKA

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar apparently espouses the theory propounded by Prof. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri on page 304 of *Political History of India* (4th ed.). Prof. Raychaudhuri contends that Aśoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of Dhammavijaya which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire. It is, therefore, not at all suprising, says he, that the *rois faineants* who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya. We do not quite understand why Aśoka's pacifist policy weakend the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and was thus in any way responsible for the downfall of the Mauryan empire. May I in this connection draw the attention of scholars to what the late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda has said in *Archaeological Memoir*, No. 30, p. 70: 'Aśoka's Dharmavijaya or the conquest of the world through Dharma is not a missionary movement, but a definite imperial policy—it is Mauryan imperialism perfectly pacified. The Maurya imperialism was an upshot of the Achaemenan imperialism and Aśoka built his policy on that basis.' If we understand the late Rai Bahadur correctly, we have to admit that this Dharmavijaya perpetuated the friendly relations between the Mauryan and the Seleucid and other Hellenic houses from generation to generation. Personally I am of opinion that the Mauryan empire would have disappeared much earlier if Aśoka had not launched upon this policy of Dharmavijaya. As the Mauryan dynasty lasted for six generations after Aśoka, we cannot understand how Aśoka's pacifist policy weakened the Mauryan supremacy. Third in descent from Aśoka is Śāliśūka (206 B.C.) who is apparently so named after Seleucus and is Sophagasenos of Polybius. He also is represented to have revived the policy of Dharmavijaya and yet met Antiochus III quite alright on the north-west Indian frontier. The passage referring to this king runs as follows: 'He (Antiochus III) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenos, the King of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army.' This renewal of friendship, with the present of elephants, reminds us of the classic meeting of Seleucus I

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and Chandragupta on the Indian frontier, more than a century ago, which developed into an alliance bringing the two imperial families so intimately together. If the whole passage of Polybius is interpreted dispassionately, it clearly shows that a relation of perfect amity and concord persisted between the Mauryan and Seleucid dynasties up till 206 B.C. in consequence of the Dharma-vijaya policy of Aśoka and Śāliśūka (Sophagasenos).

S. C. SIRCAR.

KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

III

Assuming Vijjakā to be the author of the drama, we have now to find out to what part of the country and to which class she belonged. Both the internal and external evidence found on these points is meagre. We have seen above, how a poetess called Vijjakā assumed the sobriquet Sarasvatī and rebuked Daṇḍin for ignoring her. She has been called a Karṇāṭī in the following verse of Rājaśekhara, which is also found in Sūkti-muktāvalī, Subhāshita-hārāvalī and Śārṅgadhara-paddhati. It runs as follows:—

Sarasvat = īva Karṇāṭī Vijayāṅkā jayaty = asāu |
yā Vaidarbha-girāṃ vāsaḥ Kālīdāsād = anantaraṃ ||

In these lines the learned woman who was like Sarasvatī is said to belong to Karṇāṭa and is described as the abode of the Vaidarbhī diction since the time of Kālidāsa.

The following lines may be taken as giving a further indication of her identity.

Eko bhūn = nalināt = tataś = cha pulinād = valmīkataś = cāparas = te sarve kavayo bhavanti guravas = tebhyō namas-kurmahe | Arvāñco yadi gadyapadya-racanaiś = cetaś = camat-kurvate teṣāṃ mūrdhni dadāmi vāmacaraṇaṃ Karṇāṭa-rāja-priyā ||

Here the composer of this poem is replete with self-praise, and she describes herself as the beloved of the king of Karṇāṭa. In one Nerur copper-plate grant we have the name of a queen called Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the wife of Chandrāditya, eldest son of Pulakeśin II, the conqueror of Harṣavardhana and brother of Vikramāditya I. It runs thus: 'Paramēśvaratāṃ = a-nivārita-Vikra-

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mādityaḥ ‖ Tasya jyeṣṭha-bhrātuḥ śrī-Candrāditya-pṛthivīvallabha-mahārājasya priyamahiṣī Vijayabhaṭṭārikā ‖' In a Kocre grant again this queen-consort of the Mahārājādhirāja Candrāditya is described as *Boddi-podhi* which has probably to be corrected into *Bodhi-podhi* and taken to mean 'Alligator of intelligence or wisdom'.

So this learned Queen of Karṇāṭa seems to be in all possibility the Vijjakā of our drama who indulged in that light pleasantry in referring to the description of Sarasvatī by Daṇḍin.

It is therefore no wonder if she has skilfully given herself the first and foremost place in the verse:

> Jayati prathamaṃ Vijayā jayanti devāḥ svayaṃ Mahādēvaḥ।
> śrīmantaū bhagavantāv = Anta-Nārāyaṇaū jayataḥ ‖
>
> Act IV, verse 19.

Of course, Vijayā must here primarily mean the goddess Vijayā who ushers in the festivity of the Śarat or Autumnal season. This point we have dwelt upon in one of our previous notes. It cannot, however, be doubted that this verse is impregnated with *double entandre*. It is, therefore, natural that she should push her name forward in the list of the gods comprised in the verse. But there is, perhaps, a second trace of her autobiography contained in the third stanza of the drama which reads as follows:—

> Kṛṣṇaśārāṃ kaṭākṣeṇa kṛṣīvala-kiśorikā।
> karōty = eṣā kar-āgreṇa karṇē kalama-mañjarīm ‖

This verse also has two senses. According to the first, a peasant maid is referred to with glances resembling those of a black antelope and decorating her ears with corn sprouts with her fingers. This meaning is clear enough. But perhaps we shall not be wrong if we think that this stanza is susceptible of another sense also. The words *karṇē kalama-mañjarīm* are important in this connection, because they refer by implication to some writer who was in the habit of resting his or her pen behind the ear with the finger as many of the modern writers do. If our surmise is not a far-fetched one, probably *kṛṣīvala-kiśōrikā* must be interpreted to give a second sense also. This is not impossible if 'Kṛṣīvala' is taken as the name of her father. As a matter of fact the name is found in Mahābhārata. Nothing is known of the native place of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, queen-consort of Candrāditya. It may be that she belonged to Eastern India and was married to a prince of a Chālukya family somewhere in the Deccan.

May we further conjecture that she composed this drama in North India at Pāṭalīputra before her marriage, when Kalyāṇa-

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varman was reinstated on the throne. Vijayabhaṭṭārikā belongs to about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and to me it appears that the political scene portrayed in the drama pertains to that epoch. The Licchavis were still in existence about that time and even later as the Nepal Inscriptions published by Bhagavanlal Indrajit clearly show.

SAKUNTALA RAO SASTRI.

BALA *VERSUS* PUSHYAMITRA

In my short note on Kṛta (*Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 186-87), I drew the attention of the scholars to the *Maukhari Inscriptions* (*E.I.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 & ff.), published by Prof. A. S. Altekar. Although he is a Sanskrit scholar of great repute, he has unfortunately fallen into a blunder in regard to the translation of those inscriptions. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Editor, had therefore to correct it. 'According to the text' says the latter 'Mōkharēḥ and *Śrī-mahā-senāpatēḥ* would refer to each of the three brothers and not to their father Bala. Since all the three bear the title of *Mahā-senāpati*, it is to be presumed that it was meant to be only a title of nobility as in the inscriptions of the southern Ikhvāku rulers' (*Ibid.*, p. 52, n. 8). We wish, this correction had been pointed out to Prof. Altekar by Dr. Chakravati so that he would have been able to give the correct translation himself with thanks. As it is, he makes Bala, the head of the family, the *Mahāsēnāpati*. '*Sēnāpati*, the title by which Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records. Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a mere General.' Yet curiously enough Prof. Altekar remarks that he (Bala) does not seem to have been an independent ruler, although Pushyamitra, who was a mere *Sēnāpati*, and not a *Mahāsēnāpati* was an emperor. Will Prof. Altekar tell us how Bala stood against Pushyamitra in point of political status?

Another blunder which is of an egregious character is traceable in the quotation on page 46 from 'the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (VII. 15) where we read तदेत्सहस्रायन,' etc., I am afraid the text quoted here is murdered and slaughtered. Will Prof. Altekar or Dr. Chakravarti oblige us with the correct quotation of the text?

S. C. SIRCAR.

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REVIEWS

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION (in plant perspective), by Girija Prasanna Majumdar. Published by the author from 19 Ekdalia Place, Calcutta. Price not stated. Calcutta, 1938. Pp. vi+450.

Dr. Girija Prasanna Majumdar is well known to Indologists for his valuable studies in ancient Indian Botany, viz. *Vanaspati* (1927) and *Upavana-vinoda* (1935). In the present work he has attempted a more ambitious task, that of indicating 'how far plants and plant-products have served as the basis of certain material aspects of Indian civilization'. To illustrate the comprehensive plan of his undertaking, it will suffice to recapitulate the topics treated in the present volume which is offered 'as a sample of the kind of work' capable of being produced on the above lines. The preliminary chapter summarizing the contents of the first part of the *Vanaspati*, seeks to sum up with critical notices the widely scattered evidence regarding the Hindu achievements in the domain of Botanical science. We learn how the Hindus who called the science by a special name (*Vṛkṣāyurveda* or *Bhaiṣajavidyā*) were aquainted with the process of absorption, transport and assimilation of food materials by plants demonstrated by Hales in 1727 A.D. (p. 8) and that of circulation of the sap discovered by Harvey in the seventeenth century (p. 8). We also learn how Caraka anticipated Darwin's *gemmules* and Spencer's *ids* (p. 16) and the authors of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* forestalled Luther Burbank's attempt to create new and marvellous botanical species (p. 17). In the concluding chapter the author has culled from standard anthologies (*Śārṅgadharapaddhati Sadukti-karṇāmṛta, Subhāṣitāvalī* and *Subhāṣitaratnākara*) verses addressed to various trees and plants. The other chapters deal exhaustively with the topics severally entitled Food and Drinks, Dress, Toilet, Furniture, Conveyances, Trade and Commerce, Health and Hygiene, Hearth and Home, and lastly, Domestic Rites and Rituals.

No praise is too high for the industry with which the author has collected his materials from the most varied sources including not only the works of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit as well as Pali and the mediaeval Bengali literature, but also important secondary works including articles in periodicals. Equally praiseworthy are the frequent citations of original texts. The same remarks apply to the Bibliography, the Subject Index, and the Index of Sanskrit and Prakrit technical terms with which this useful volume is brought to a close.

We propose to make a few remarks. In case a new edition is called for, full use should be made of the valuable data comprised in the Sanskrit grammatical literature about which the author is almost completely silent. A systematic study of the Pāṇinian material is being published by Dr. V. S. Agravala in recent numbers of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*. The Buddhist Sanskrit literature of which the author has made the scantiest use should also be fully utilized. Concrete illustrations from monuments should be used far more copiously than has been the case. The richness of this archaeological material is well illustrated by the recently published scholarly monograph of Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum* (Madras, 1942). Faulty editions and translations of texts like R. Shamasastri's edition and translation of the *Arthaśāstra* should be altogether discarded in favour of later authoritative publications. The old identifications of Suvarṇabhūmi with Burma (pp. 136, 151, etc.), of certain Sāñci sculptures and Ajanta paintings as representations of 'the expedition of Vijayasiṁha

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from Bengal to Ceylon with a retinue of 1500 men' (p. 152), of a panel of the Borobudur stupa as recording 'the story of the expedition of the Indian adventurers from Gujerat and colonization of Java about the year 603 A.D.' (p. 152) should be given up. The Bibliography also should be made more complete by the inclusion of such important papers as *The History of Indian Costume from the first century A.D. to the beginning of the fourth century* and *Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient India* by Dr. Moti Chandra (JISOA, 1940). Above all, a systematic attempt should be made to trace as far as possible the sequence of development as well as decline in respect of the subject-matter of the volume.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

VYĀSA-SMRITI (Vyavahāra Chapter), edited by Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, D.Phil. (Munich), D.Litt. (Paris). Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Bharati Mahavidyalaya, Calcutta.

The book under review is a small volume of just 34 pages, containing 268 verses from *Vyāsa-Smṛti*. The verses are collected from later works which cite passages from earlier works in a very profuse way. In the field of *Dharma Śāstra*, there are early *Sūtra* works, then the metrical *Smṛti* works of a later stage and lastly the Digests. Only a few of the metrical *Smṛti* works are available at present, Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc. being the best known among them. *Vyāsa-Smṛti* must have been one of the many such metrical original *Smṛti* works, assigned to the Sages. But the work is lost to us and all that we know about it is from the citations found in the Digests of the later days.

The large number of works found in the field of *Dharma Śāstra* proves that there was considerable activity among the thinkers of those days in defining and in interpreting Law. It may be that in most of the works, there is a good portion that is common. But that is the case with the vast literature on any subject even in modern times. It is not the case that every work contains completely new material; nor is such the position in modern literature also. Just as in our times jurists consult the views of a large number of authorities when they have doubts on a point, in ancient times also, various jurists gave their own interpretation on the important points and they were consulted in all matters of difficulty.

When legal literature expanded, Digests were prepared for easy reference and for comparative studies, and as a consequence, people began to depend on such Digests and the original works themselves went out of currency. In a large number of cases, the original works are not now available and all that we know about them is confined to what information is available in the latter-day Digests. It is impossible to fully reconstruct the lost works. But it is possible to collect and arrange in an orderly form all the material available in the case of the individual works. The present work is an attempt of that sort. It contains only the citations available in the *Vyavahāra* portion. Ancient *Smṛti* works contained other subjects also like *Ācāra, Āhnika, Kālanirṇaya*, and *Prāyascitta*. The learned compiler has collected material on the various other portions of the Smriti, which if printed, would run into volumes, as he says in his prefatory note to the collection.

The material collected here is arranged under various headings beginning with *Vyavahārabheda, nirṇetṛnirṇaya*, etc. The present reviewer is himself at present engaged in examining a large number of latter-day Digests, of which there are only single copies. It would have been a great help if the compiler had given an index of quarter-verses so that others would find it easy to ascertain if a passage is already included in this collection.

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There is much scope for improvement in printing. In many cases vowel marks and 'r' marks in combined letters have dropped out in printing as in शुचिम् (verse 9), पत्रमर्थे (verse 32), प्रत्यर्थी (verse 29), etc. In a large number of cases, only half य and half व are given detached from the vertical stroke as in दैवेन (verse 35), नयेत् (verse 36), वंश (verse 53), etc.

The compiler has given footnotes in which readings are considered, besides giving the sources and other points of interest. But he has not added a note in cases like the faulty *Anuṣṭup* line in verse 83 (first line). There are cases where one is not sure whether it is a case of printing mistake or a case of scope for an improved reading, as in न्यायभाषितम् (verse 4) which can be improved into न्यायभाषिणम् and अप्रवासितः (verse 88) which can be improved into अप्रवासिनः. In printing it is always better to effect *Sandhi* between the first and second lines and between the third and fourth lines in a verse. I draw attention to the first half of verse 11 and the second half of verse 63. क्रमायातः for क्रमायातो in the middle of a line (verse 10) must be an oversight.

From two passages that are in prose, it is too much to assume that there was an original prose *Smṛti*, of which this is a later metrical adaptation (as is done by the editor). I know that there is a similar theory about the *Manusmṛti*. Of the two prose passages the first (verse 61) preserves the remnants of an original metre. Another possibility is that the work contained both prose and metrical passages. Further, one does not know what it is that could be called the *Vyāsa-Smṛti*. As the editor himself has to admit, many of the passages seem to have been taken from *Purāṇas* and not from a compact *Smṛti* work.

In the notes, the editor has gone into very minute details in a searching way. Thus even on the first verse, the editor raises a doubt about the plural number in the second word हेतुचरितैः. He presumes that from its concord with the first word प्रमाणैः one may take the two words to be noun and qualifying adjective and guards against the mistake. The plural in हेतुचरितैः can be explained in two ways. प्रमाणैः is given in the plural because there are three *Pramāṇas*, as given in the second verse. Similarly, *hetu* is either अनुमान or तर्क, and as such, there are two *hetus* and then there is *Carita*. Thus there are three items and the plural is justified. Or perhaps the reading should be प्रमाणहेतुचरितैः. After *Carita* in the first verse, one expects चरितं in the third verse instead of चरित्रं, but this is a very small point.

There are many publications that are hopelessly bad, impossible to improve, and in such cases, there is no meaning in pointing out defects. But in a work of the kind now under review, the few small defects are pointed out only to show that even a fastidious critic could detect only very insignificant defects in it. This is the attitude that I have taken when I make the above observations.

The selections had already appeared in the Geiger Commemoration Volume (1931) and in the Journal for Indology and Iranian Studies for 1932; and here there is a republication of the matter to make it available for persons who are not specialists and who are not possibly acquainted with those publications. Perhaps an English translation would have been quite appropriate, so that persons who know Sanskrit only to a certain extent could have understood the text with the help of the English rendering.

The standard of the editor is well reflected in the edition. Students of *Dharma Śāstra* literature will surely regret his migration into philological regions, while

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philologists may be happy over it. Being interested in both, I can only suggest that the editor would only expand his domain of scholarship to comprehend philology, without leaving off the *Dharma Śāstra* and other regions, for which certainly the editor has the needed capacity.

The other portions of the *Dharma Śāstra* literature is as interesting as the *Vyavahāra* portion and it is to be hoped that the entire material collected from Vyāsa would be made available for the use of students, instead of stopping with this small volume dealing with the *Vyavahāra* part.

The publishers deserve to be congratulated on having started the Law Series with such an important work, brought out by a scholar of Dr. Ghosh's reputation.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.

NĀLANDĀ AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL by Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Lit., Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66, 1942.

This Memoir deals particularly with the epigraphical material discovered at Nālandā since the excavations began in 1916. It also notices in general the sculptures recovered from the site during the same period. It contains not so much a scholarly as an official and authentic account of the important plaques, the seals, and the sculptures which are carefully classified and chronologically arranged wherever possible. All interested in the study of the antiquities hitherto brought to light by the excavation work undertaken by the Department of Archaeology, may use the Memoir as a reliable book of reference. The introduction fittingly presents an interesting historical account of Nālandā from the literary, epigraphic, and foreign sources.

B. M. B.

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RULES

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'FURTHER LIGHT ON THE DATE OF VIṢṆUPURĪ AND HIS BHAKTI-RATNĀVALĪ.'[1]

By G. V. DEVASTHALI

In several MSS.[2] of Viṣṇupurī's (V) Bhakti-ratnāvalī (Bhr) we get the following couplets giving the date of its composition as Śaka 1555 corresponding to the year 1633 of the Christian Era:—

महायज्ञशरप्राणग्रहाङ्कगुणिते शके ।
फाल्गुने कृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां सुमङ्गले ॥ १ ॥
वाराणस्यां महेशस्य सांनिध्ये हरिमन्दिरे ।
भक्तिरत्नावली सिद्धा सहिता कान्तिमालया ॥ २ ॥

And when these couplets are found in MSS. known to be generally accurate there seems ordinarily no reason to doubt the authenticity of the statements contained in these couplets also. In fact one is inclined to attach more weight to these internal statements than to anything else which would form only a piece of external evidence. When Dr. Eggeling was thus confronted with such conflicting pieces of evidence he felt extremely puzzled and was constrained to remark[3]: 'There is some difficulty in reconciling the date of the work (Śaka 1555, A.D. 1633-34, cf. Florent. MS.) with the date (Saṁvat 1662, A.D. 1595) of the present MS., which as far as appearance goes, one would hardly take to be more modern.' Evidently Dr. Eggeling for want of any direct and definite evidence was not in a position to go beyond this state of doubt and arrive at some definite conclusion in this matter. He, therefore, like a true cataloguer, satisfied himself by noting down the discrepancy for others to resolve.

It was felt even in the days of Dr. Eggeling that the couplets recording the date of the composition of *V*'s *Bhr.* were of doubtful authenticity. But no definite statement to that effect could be made unless and until some strong piece of positive evidence was brought forward to prove the date of *V* and his *Bhr.* Attempts

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[1] This paper was read at the twelfth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares in December 1943.

[2] Cf. Eggeling, Catalogue of the India Office MSS., No. 3535; The Bhadkamkar collection of MSS. now deposited in the Bombay University Library, Nos. 33.33 and 38.1 described by me in my Descriptive Catalogue under Nos. 1390–92; Velankar, Cat. of MSS. in the BBRAS Library, No. 1150; etc.

[3] Cf. Catalogue of the India Office MSS., Part VI, p. 1272f.

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have, therefore, been made to determine the date of *V* and his *Bhr.* on the strength of some independent grounds.[1]

Thus it has been shown that *V* must have lived much earlier than 1633 A.D., the year in which *Nābhāji* composed his *Bhakta-mālā*. Reference has also been made to the Bengali version of the *Bhr.* which *Laudīya Kṛṣṇadāsa* is said to have composed in the fifteenth century A.D. A more definite piece of evidence is found in the metrical translation of the *Bhr.* into the Assamese made by *Mādhavadeva*, the chief disciple of *Śaṅkaradeva* (*c.* A.D. 1449–1569). This translation, we are told, was composed in the early part of the sixteenth century A.D.

All these pieces of evidence make it quite clear that *V*'s *Bhr.* can't be as late as it has been declared to be in the couplets quoted above. It is thus proved beyond all doubt that there is some mistake in the couplets in question and that we must look to some other sources to supply us with evidence to enable us to fix the date of *V*'s *Bhr.* and do so within as narrow limits as possible. For the authenticity of some of these pieces of evidence has been questioned.[2] And even on granting the authenticity of these all we can only say that *V*'s *Bhr.* must have been composed before the fifteenth century A.D., so that we are still left in the dark regarding the uppermost limit to which this date can be pushed back. An attempt is, therefore, made in the following lines to put forth other pieces of evidence which, as will be presently seen, would go a long way to settle the problem with greater certainty and within narrower limits.

A definite reference of an indubitable nature to *V.* as the author of the *Bhr.* is found in the *Gaurāṅga-gaṇoddeśa* (*GG*) which was composed by *Kavi Karṇapūra* (*KK*) in *'śāke rasārasamite manunaiva yukte'*. Dr. Eggeling[3] understands this expression to signify Śaka 1466 corresponding to the year 1544 of the Christian Era, though the right date would be Śaka 1461 corresponding to 1539 A.D. This error is evidently due to a wrong understanding of the first word in the above expression, which he seems to have read as *rasa* instead of *rasā*. Even metrical considerations show that the word is to be read as *rasā* and not *rasa*. And the word *rasā* meaning the earth can be easily understood to signify one. *KK* may be said, therefore, to have composed his *GG* in 1539 A.D. Dr. De,[4]

[1] These have been very concisely summed up by B. K. Barua in *New Indian Antiquary*, Volume VI, No. 2, p. 39.

[2] See Dr. S. K. De, 'The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal', p. 24, note 1.

[3] Cf. Catalogue of India Office MSS., No. 2510.

[4] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 34, note 3.

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on the other hand, prefers the variant '*śāke vasugrahamite manunaiva yukte*' and holds that the work was not written probably before 1576 A.D. He admits that the authenticity of this date is rendered doubtful by the existence of a variant reading. But he further argues that the elaborate accounts of the various incarnations of *Caitanya's* (*C*) disciples as associates of *Kṛṣṇa* in the *Vṛndāvana-līlā* only point to the extreme logical development of the *Vaiṣṇava* theory of incarnation and that the idea of the work was suggested by *Rūpa Goswāmin's* description of the *Gaṇas* of *Kṛṣṇa* so that the date 1576 given by the majority of MSS. would appear to be more suitable for this alleged work of *KK*. Here, however, it must be remembered that so far as this work is concerned *KK* frankly admits[1] his indebtedness to several older works and authors, which shows that he is not responsible for the so-called extremely logical development which had already found expression in the works of older writers like *Svarūpa*. Nor does any ground seem to be left for the surmise that *KK*'s work was suggested by and based upon *Rūpa Gosvāmin's* description of the *gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa*. There seems then no ground left for rejecting the earlier date for the work of *KK*. And even if the later date is accepted as correct one may legitimately contend that the contents of the work in general are much older.

I have not devoted so much space to this question here for nothing. *Caitanya* (*C*), as we know, was born[2] at *Navadvīpa* in February 1496 and passed away[3] in June-July 1533 A.D. This means that *KK* wrote his work only six years after the passing away of the great master; or that *KK* was almost a contemporary of *C*. We are also told that *KK* had not only personally met with *C*, but had also received personal favour from him.[4] If thus *KK* was almost a contemporary of *C*, if he had personally come in contact

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[1] Cf. ये विख्याताः परीवाराः श्रीचैतन्यमहाप्रभोः ।
नित्यानन्दाद्वैतयोश्च तेषामपि महीयसाम् ॥
गोपालानां च पूर्वाणि यानि नामानि कानिचित् ।
स्वस्वग्रन्थे स्वरूपाद्यैर्दर्शितान्यादिसूरिभिः ॥
विलोक्यान्यानि साधूनां मथुरौड्रनिवासिनाम् ।
गौडीयानामपि मुखान्निश्रम्य स्वमनीषया ।
विविच्यासेडितः कैश्चित् कश्चित् तानि लिखाम्यहम् ॥
—Eggeling, Cat. of India Office MSS., No. 2510.

[2] Dr. De, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[3] Dr. De, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
[4] Dr. De, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

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with him, and if he had composed his work only six years after the passing away of *C* would it not but be natural to conclude that the account of *C* as given by *KK* is undoubtedly authentic? It may readily be granted as sound principle to accept contemporary accounts as the most authentic of all, provided they do not come into conflict with other facts firmly established on strong positive grounds. Again even if we accept A.D. 1576 as the date of the composition of *KK*'s *GG* still it would not bar once for all the possibility of *KK* being fully acquainted with the history and life of *C*. And as will be pointed presently there are reasons to believe that *KK* took great pains to collect the material of his *GG* and try to make his account as complete and authentic as possible. Under these circumstances one can't brush off *KK*'s *GG* as being unauthentic unless there are very strong positive grounds for doing so.

But *KK*'s claims to authenticity have actually been set aside by some scholars on some such grounds as follows:—(i) *C's guruparamparā* is traced by *KK* in his *GG* in a list which is suspiciously similar to the list given by *Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, who belonged to the 18th century. (ii) In his *Caitanya-candrodaya* (*CC*) *KK* makes no reference to *Madhva* or his *ism*; nor is *Mādhavapurī* (*M*) referred to therein as a Mādhva ascetic. (iii) No reference is made by *KK* to *Madhva* or his *ism* even in his *Caitanya-caritaamṛta* (*CCA*). (iv) *C* is distinctly stated to have entered the monastic order of the *Advaita-vādins* in *KK*'s *CC*, Act V. (v) Neither *M* nor *Īśvarapurī* (*I*) is mentioned in the list of succession of the Mādhva High Priests prepared by Dr. Bhandarkar from original lists procured from Miraj, Belgaum, and Poona. (vi) There can be no doubt that the list of *Baladeva* (*B*) was made up for the occasion from hearsay and imagination. (vii) As the time of some of these *Mādhva Gurus* is well known, the historical accuracy of *KK*'s and *B*'s lists can be easily challenged. (viii) There is no direct claim for Mādhva affiliation in the authoritative works of Chaitanyaism.

All these arguments thus summarised have been put forth by Dr. De [1] to prove that *C* had nothing to do with Madhvaism in spite of the statements of *KK* to that effect. But if these arguments are valid to prove that much, they can also be rightly said to prove that *KK*'s account is all based on hearsay and imagination, and is, therefore, more ingenious than accurate. Let us, therefore, examine the validity of these arguments one by one.

The first argument, to say the least, is only idle; for what conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the list given by an

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 11f; and also notes 1, 2, and 3 on page 11; and note 1 on page 12.

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author of the sixteenth century is suspiciously similar to the one prepared by another author belonging to the eighteenth? The latter may have borrowed from the former, or both may have borrowed from some common source. But that is not to say that the lists are not genuine or authentic. On the contrary if *KK* has drawn upon some older source, this latter can't but be more contemporary with *C*, and, will, on that account, have to be accepted as being more authentic. The first of the above-mentioned arguments, therefore, does nothing to show that *KK*'s account is only ingenious and hence not authentic.

A careful perusal of *KK*'s introductory verses in his *GG* shows what care *KK* has taken to make his account as perfect as possible. His father, *Śivānanda*,[1] was one of the chief disciples or associates of *Caitanya*. *KK* himself was initiated into Caitanyaism before he composed his *GG*.[2] Before composing the *GG* he had also seen all the older *sādhus* not only from *Gauḍa*, but also from *Mathurā* and *Uḍra*. Nor did he rest satisfied with the information thus orally obtained from the various elderly persons. He also looked into the works of older authors like *Svarūpa*.[3] All this information given by *KK* himself regarding the way in which he tried to gather information for his work and also the way in which he set to work upon the information thus gathered shows clearly that his account must have been very carefully and critically set forth by *KK*, and deserves, therefore, to be more authentic than anything else.

The argument from silence of *KK* about *Madhva* and his *ism* in his earlier works is again inconclusive. If the date of the composition of the *GG* as understood above is right we shall have to admit *GG* as being earlier than the *CC* and the *CCA* which were composed in A.D. 1572[4] and 1542[5] respectively. But even if the *GG* is accepted as a work of a later date it is difficult to see the

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[1] Cf. पितरं श्रीशिवानन्दं सेनवंशप्रदीपकम् ।
वन्देऽहं परया भक्त्या पार्षदाग्र्यं मच्चाप्रभोः ॥

Śivānanda is regarded as occupying a high position among the disciples of *Caitanya*; see *Murāri*, iv, 17, 6; *Vṛndāvanadāsa*, Antya v and x, etc.; cf. De, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 1.

[2] Cf. नत्वा श्रीपरमानन्ददासः सेवितशासनः ।

[3] Cf. note 1.

[4] The *Caitanya-candrodaya* is said to have been composed in A.D. 1572 at the command of *Gajapati Pratāpa-rudra* of Orissa. But as this *Prātapa-rudra* is said to have died in 1540, the accuracy of the above date becomes questionable. And if, as is asserted by Dr. De, this Drama is quoted in the GG it will perhaps have to be admitted as the earlier work of *KK*.

[5] See De, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 2.

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cogency of the argument. For silence about an idea in an earlier work can't invariably be accepted as falsifying a statement made by the same author regarding that idea in any of his subsequent works. There might be some considerations, stylistic or otherwise, which might have prevented *KK* from referring to *Madhva* or his *ism* or even to *M* as being a Mādhva.

The fourth argument is similarly based on a misunderstanding of the passage concerned. The passage on which that argument is based is as follows:—

केयं लीला व्यरचि भवता योऽयमद्वैतभाजाम्
अत्यन्तेष्टस्तमधृत भवानाश्रमं यत् तुरीयम् ।
भो अद्वैत स्मर किमु वयं हन्त नाद्वैतभाजो
भेदस्तस्मिंस्त्वयि च यदियान् रूपतो लिङ्गतश्च ॥ [*CC*, Act V, 21.]

The first half of this stanza is the question put to *C* by *Advaita*; and the former's reply to the latter is contained in the last two lines. But does this passage really prove that *C* was an Advaitin or even that he was against Madhvaism? If we read the passage more carefully we shall find that it shows *C* as being anything but an Advaitavādin. The question on the part of *Advaita* would itself be impossible and out of place if *C* were to be an Advaitavādin. *C*, on the contrary, must have been deadly opposed to the Advaitavāda; and hence it was that Advaita was struck to find *C* entering the turīya *āśrama*, i.e. *saṁnyāsa* which is the most favourite of the Advaitavādins. This again need not be understood to mean that *C* really accepted the Advaitavāda. What the statement tells is that *C* accepted the *saṁnyāsa āśrama*. *C* was almost ready to start his own *ism* and hence it does stand to reason to argue that he accepted the Advaitavāda at this stage. That *C* was not looked upon as an Advaitavādin is quite clear from the words of *C* himself. For he clearly asks *Advaita* '*kim u vayam hanta na advaitabhājaḥ*' simply because there is some difference between him and us as regards *rūpa* and *liṅga*? Does this not show that *C* differed from the *Advaitavādins* both in point of *rūpa* as well as of *liṅga*, or that he was far from being *Advaitavādin* himself?

Another passage [1] from the same work has been adduced by Dr. De to show that *C* was probably a Śāṅkara. The passage runs as follows:

कियन्त एव वैष्णवा दृष्टाः । तेऽपि नारायणोपासका एव । अपरे तत्त्ववादिनः । ते तथाविधा एव । निरवद्यं न भवति तेषां मतम् । [*CC*, Act VIII, opening passage.]

[1] Cf. *op. cit.*, page 11, note 2.

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This passage does show *C*'s dissatisfaction with the followers of *Rāmānuja* and also those of *Madhva*. But one can't understand how it proves that *C* was satisfied with *Advaitavāda*. This passage only shows *C* in a state of discontent as regards the state of Vaiṣṇavaism—both *Rāmānuja* as well as *Mādhva*—obtaining in his early days which must have led *C* to follow his own way and found his own *ism*. In fact *Caitanyaism* is so far removed from the *Advaitavāda* that it is really difficult to see how the former would spring out of the latter. Is not *Caitanyaism* nearer to *Madhvaism* than to the *Advaitavāda*?

Similar is the case with the argument that the names of *M* and *I* do not occur in the list prepared by Dr. Bhandarkar. None can challenge the authenticity of the list given by Dr. Bhandarkar who has prepared it on the strength of original lists from Miraj, Belgaum and Poona. But we must remember that the list gives us the names of the *High Priests* of the *Mādhva sect*. Now can we reasonably say that there were no saints or teachers of the Mādhva sect besides those mentioned in Dr. Bhandarkar's list? Are we sure that Madhva himself had only one disciple? Will it be right or even reasonable to hold that none whose names do not occur in the list can claim to be a *Mādhva*? Evidently this list contains the names of only such among the successive chain of *gurus* and *śiṣyas* of the *Mādhva* sect as have had the good fortune to attain the position of a High Priest. There must have been hundreds of other *Mādhvas* whose names for obvious reasons could not find their way into this list. Absence of the names in this list can't, therefore, be legitimately taken to prove that the persons holding these names did not belong to the sect at all.

On comparing the *guru-paramparā* given by *KK* with the list given by Dr. Bhandarkar we find that the first six names are identical in both of them but for the fifth name which is *Padmanābha* in the former as against *Akṣobhyatīrtha* of the latter. This shows that *KK* is giving us a list which so far as the first six names are concerned is historically authentic. Looking further down we see that the two lists part ways after *Jayatīrtha* and part for good. For thereafter we do not get any name that is common to both. The name *Vidyānidhi* though common to both the lists does not yet signify one and the same personality; for whereas he stands third from *Jayatīrtha* in the one, he stands only the fifth from him in the other. To argue, therefore, on the strength of the date of this *Vidyānidhi* as given by Dr. Bhandarkar would be far from right since such an argument would have to presume the identity of the two *Vidyānidhis* which can't be easily conceded. *Veda-Vyāsatīrtha* is another name in Dr. Bhandarkar's list which may perhaps be confounded

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with *KK*'s *Vyāsatīrtha*. But the very fact that *Veda-Vyāsatīrtha* died in Śaka 1481 goes against this identification; for *Vyāsatīrtha* of *KK* must have lived at least four generations before *C*. Another point disproving this identity is the difference of the *gurus* of these two persons. *Vedavyāsatīrtha* was a pupil of *Raghūttamatīrtha*, while *Vyāsatīrtha* gives *Brahmaṇyatīrtha* as the name of his preceptor. *Vyāsatīrtha*, a disciple of *Brahmaṇyatīrtha*, of the *Mādhva* sect, is known to us as the author of several works such as the *Bhedojjīvana*[1] and the *Tarka-tāṇḍava*.[2] And this *Vyāsatīrtha*, we are told, died in 1339 A.D.[3] Again it is to be noted that *KK* speaks of *Vyāsatīrtha* as the author of a work called the *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā*.[4] We are not so far aware of any such work from the pen of *Vyāsatīrtha*, though the *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā* is not totally unknown to us. We know that the *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā* is quoted by *Hemādri* in his *Catur-varga-cintā-maṇi*.[5] Now if this *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā* that is quoted by *Hemādri* be the work of *Vyāsatīrtha*, this latter writer will have to be dated about the fourteenth century at the latest. A comparison of the two lists in question, therefore, does not supply us with any strong piece of evidence to reject the statements of *KK* as being historically unauthentic.

It has, however, been contended[6] that *C* himself was a younger contemporary of *Vyāsarāya* (1478–1539); and that it, therefore, sounds rather strange that *C* should have preferred to take orders from an Advaitin monk in or about 1509, when he ought to have known that the illustrious *Vyāsarāya* (the *parama-guru* of his *parama-guru*, according to the table of *B*)[7] was then alive and at the height of his power in the South. This contention, however, is evidently based on the identity of *Vyāsarāya* with *Vyāsatīrtha*. But as we have seen above *Vyāsatīrtha* could not have been alive in the days of *C*, there being a gulf of at least four generations separating the two. The very fact that *Vyāsatīrtha* is given as the name of the

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1 See Keith, Catalogue of India Office MSS., No. 6050.
2 See Eggeling, Catalogue of India Office MSS., No. 2476.
3 See Aufrecht, *Cat. Catal.*, I, p. 593*a*.
4 Read: व्यासतीर्थस्य शिष्यो यश्चक्रे विष्णुसंहिताम् ।
5 See Aufrecht, *Cat. Catal.*, p. 593*a*.
6 Cf. Krishnamurti Sarma's article in *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 4, page 430.
7 But it must be remembered that about two centuries before *B*, even *KK* has stated that *Vyāsatīrtha* is the *parama-guru* of the *parama-guru* of *Caitanya*. And *KK*'s word can't be so easily brushed aside as being unauthentic from the very fact that he was not only a younger contemporary of *Caitanya*, but was himself a follower of *Caitanya* and the son of one of the chief disciples of that great master.

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parama-guru of the *parama-guru* of *C* shows clearly that he was not known to even *KK* as a contemporary of *C*. And *KK* as we have seen above is only a junior contemporary of *C*. We have, therefore, obviously to assume that *Vyāsatīrtha*, the *parama-parama-guru* of *C*, is different from *Vyāsarāya* who is known to have lived between 1478 and 1539 A.D., rather than put down the accounts given by *KK* and *B* as only imaginary and hence historically unauthentic.

It may perhaps be true that *B* composed his list from hearsay and imagination. But one fails to understand how that proves the want of authenticity in the older works. Nor do we find any strong positive grounds to reject the authenticity of the account as given by *KK*.

Want of any direct claim for *Mādhva* affiliation in any of the authoritative texts of *Caitanyaism* can't falsify the account given by *KK*. It has already been shown above that *KK*'s account is the earliest and must, on that account, be looked upon as being more authentic than any other accounts given by subsequent writers. It may even be argued that the so-called authoritative histories of *C*'s life are, by their very nature, labouring under the defect of being what we call *Sāmpradāyika*. *KK*'s work from this point of view can be pronounced to be even more authentic since it is certainly less *sāmpradāyika*,[1] if at all it can be called as such in the real sense of the term.

It is accepted by all that the ultimate form that *C* gave to *Vaiṣṇava Bhakti* had nothing to do with *Śaṅkara's Advaita-vāda*. It has also been shown above that *C* was never looked upon as an *advaitavādin* though he is described as having taken up the *saṁnyāsa dīkṣā* which is *iṣṭatama* to the *Advaitavādins*. But it must be remembered that the *saṁnyāsa dīkṣā* and the *Advaita-vāda* have not much to do with one another. The former is merely a sacrament while the latter is a form of belief, so that it is quite possible for a man to take up *saṁnyāsa* of any type without subscribing in principle to the *Advaita-vāda*.[2] Again being initiated by an *Advaitavādin* is no guarantee for the acceptance of the *Advaita-vāda* by the

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[1] It is noteworthy that before *Kṛṣṇadāsa* produced his biography of *Caitanya* at the inspiration of the *Gosvāmins* of *Vṛndāvana* themselves, not much of them is recorded by Bengal writers; and they do not seem to have received as yet exclusive homage and ascendancy as the acknowledged law-givers of the faith. It is also admitted that the views of the *Goswāmins* of *Vṛndāvana* were different from the original ideas of the Bengal devotees and biographers. See Dr. De, *op. cit.*, page 79.

[2] *Caitanya's* belonging to a particular sect was only an outward form; and his very act of becoming a *saṁ-nyāsin* itself made little difference to his religious consciousness. Cf. De, *op. cit.*, p. 62 and note 1.

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initiated. *Madhva* himself was initiated by an *Advaitavādin*. Are we to recognize him as an *Advaitavādin* on that account? Examples are not wanting where *Advaitavādins* have become disciples of *Dvaitins*. Thus *Vyāsatīrtha* had many disciples from among *Advaitins*, notably his biographer *Somanātha*.[1] Thus what we can at the most concede in this matter is that *C* formally was a *Śāṅkara saṁnyāsin* though he never subscribed to *Śaṅkara's Advaita-vāda*. And if this can be said about *C* without any fear of contradiction in terms, can we not say the same about *M* and *I*, the *parama-guru* and the *guru* of *C*? What is there to prevent us from assuming that they also formally belonged to one of these sects of *Śāṅkara saṁnyāsa*, but did not subscribe to *Śaṅkara's Advaita-vāda*? Does this not show that they must have accepted some doctrine at least from *non-advaita* preceptors? There is, therefore, nothing improbable or incompatible if *M* and *I* occur in the *guru-paramparā* traced down from *Madhva*.

It may now be conceded that there being no strong positive ground for challenging the authenticity of the accounts given by *KK* we should take his statements as being authentic, particularly because the statements are not *sāmpradāyika* and also because they are made by a contemporary after an elaborate investigation. It is no use arguing that they are not corroborated by any other writer. For it may be argued in reply that they are refuted neither. Is it ever likely that any statements which were purely imaginary and were unauthentic would have easily been accepted and allowed circulation, particularly within a few years after the passing away of *C* and among the staunch disciples of *C* himself? If *KK*'s statements were inaccurate and unauthentic we should have got some statements to that effect from some of the followers of *C*. But since no such statements are found out as yet we have to accept the authenticity of *KK*'s statements as they are.[2]

We are not here much concerned, however, with the *ism* to which *C* originally belonged. It is only the *guru-paramparā* that is important for our purposes here: for we find a clear reference in it to *V* as the author of the *Bhr*. Casting a glance at the *guru-paramparā* we find that *V*'s name stands sixth from that of *Jayatīrtha* who is definitely known to have passed away in 1268 A.D. We also see that he stands fourth or fifth from *C* the date of whose passing away is known to be 1533 A.D. This should help us a good

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[1] See *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 430, note 4.

[2] On the contrary *KK* in no ambiguous terms has stated the sources from which he has derived his information; and nothing has as yet been done to show that these are unauthentic.

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deal in our attempts to fix the date of *V* within reasonably narrow limits without leaving much scope for doubt. In such calculations a period of twenty-five years is generally allowed for one generation. But taking into consideration the fact that here we are dealing with a line of *gurus* and *śiṣyas*, and not of fathers and sons, a margin of about five or even more years on either side may reasonably be allowed.

But before we come to the actual calculations we must determine the exact position of *V* in the line as given by *KK*. For though there is no ambiguity regarding the reference to *V* as the author of the *Bhr.* yet there is some ambiguity regarding the exact position which *V* occupies in the list. As we read the stanzas [1] giving the list we find that *V*'s name comes immediately after that of *Jayadharma*. But in the very next line we find *Puruṣottama* mentioned as a disciple of *Jayadharma*. It would, therefore, appear that *V* is not a pupil of *Jayadharma*, or if at all he is a disciple of *Jayadharma* he must have been a co-student of *Puruṣottama*. But from the colophons to *V*'s *Bhr.* we know that *V* was a disciple of *Puruṣottama*. Now whichever of these positions is accepted as

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[1] Read: व्यासाब्जभक्तकण्टीरो मध्वाचार्यो महायशाः ।०

तस्य शिष्योऽभवत् पद्मनाभाचार्यो महाशयः ॥

तस्य शिष्यो नरहरिः तच्छिष्यो माधवो द्विजः ।

पद्मनाभः तस्य शिष्योऽभूत् तच्छिष्यो जयतीर्थकः ॥

तस्य शिष्यो ज्ञानसिन्धुः तस्य शिष्यो महानिधिः ।

विद्यानिधिः तस्य शिष्यो राजेन्द्रः तस्य सेवकः ॥

जयधर्मो मुनिस्तस्य शिष्योऽभूद् गणमध्यगः ।

श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरी यस्य भक्तिरत्नावली कृतिः ॥

जयधर्मस्य शिष्योऽभूद् ब्रह्मण्यः पुरुषोत्तमः ।

व्यासतीर्थस्तस्य शिष्यो यश्चक्रे विष्णुसंहिताम् ॥

श्रीमांल्लक्ष्मीपतिः तस्य शिष्यो भक्तिरसाश्रयः ।

तस्य शिष्यो माधवेन्द्रो यद्धर्मोऽयं प्रवर्तितः ॥०

तस्य शिष्योऽभवच्छ्रीमान् ईश्वराख्यपुरी यतिः ।०

ईश्वराख्यपुरीं गौर उररीकृत्य गौरवे ।

जगदाप्लावयामास प्राकृताप्राकृतात्मकम् ॥

—Eggeling, Cat. India Office MSS., No. 2510.

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right it may not be far from the truth to say that *V* was not separated from *Puruṣottama* by a very long period. Again from the colophons [1] of the works of *Vyāsatīrtha* we know that he was a pupil of *Brahmaṇyatīrtha*, while according to *KK*'s list *Puruṣottama* appears to be the name of the *guru* of *Vyāsatīrtha*. If, therefore, there is any truth in the statement of *KK* we have to assume that *Puruṣottama* and *Brahmaṇyatīrtha* are only two names of one and the same person. And curiously enough such an assumption is warranted by the statement of *KK* himself; for in giving us the name of *Vyāsatīrtha's* preceptor, *KK* uses the expression '*brahmaṇyaḥ puruṣottamaḥ*' and not merely '*puruṣottamaḥ*'. This, therefore, is a clear indication of the fact that even *KK* knew *Puruṣottama* as *Brahmaṇya Puruṣottama* or that *Brahmaṇya* (or *Brahmaṇyatīrtha*) was according to *KK* only another name of *Puruṣottama*. It is only in *B*'s list that we find these two names given as signifying two different persons, *Puruṣottama* being the preceptor and *Brahmaṇya* the disciple. But *B*'s evidence is evidently very late and as such weaker than the statements of *KK*. It may, therefore, be concluded that *Puruṣottama* and *Brahmaṇyatīrtha* are the names of one and the same person, the preceptor of *Vyāsatīrtha*. But *V*, as we have seen already, is not far removed from *Puruṣottama*. Here, therefore, we have a circumstance which enables us to locate *V* somewhere about 1339 A.D. which is given as the date of the demise of *Vyāsatīrtha*, the disciple of *Brahmaṇyatīrtha* alias *Puruṣottama* who is almost a contemporary of *V*.

Calculations on the strength of the generations of preceptors separating *V* from *Jayatīrtha* whose death occurred in 1268 A.D. also gives us 1388 A.D. approximately as the lowermost limit for *V's* date, so that *V* may reasonably be assumed to have lived not much before the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. Calculating from the other end again we arrive at about 1433 A.D. as the lowest limit for *V*'s date. These calculations, as already remarked above, can't be accepted as being very rigid so that on

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[1] Read: (i) इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्याणां श्रीमद्ब्रह्मण्यतीर्थपूज्यपादानां शिष्येण व्यासयतिना विरचिते तर्कताण्डवेऽनुमानपरिच्छेदः ।—Eggeling, *op. cit.*, No. 2476.

(ii) A similar colophon is found at the end of the *Nyāyāmṛita*, a MS. of which is found in the *Bhagvatsinghji Collection* of MSS. in the University Library, Bombay (No. 107). That this *Vyāsa-yati* is a Mādhva is shown by the introductory verse of his Nyāyāmṛta which runs as follows :—

श्रीमध्वशास्त्रदुग्धाब्धिधीमन्दरमहीभृता ।

चामथ्योद्धियते न्यायामृतं विबुधदृप्तये ॥

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the strength of these pieces of information we have to conclude that broadly speaking *V* can't have lived much beyond 1425 A.D. or much earlier than about 1275 A.D.

Having thus discussed the question regarding the date of *V*, let us now turn to the date of the composition of his *Bhr.* Here again there seems to be no difficulty in accepting that *V*'s *Bhr.* was composed sometime between 1300 and 1400 A.D. But let us see if it is possible to fix this date within narrower limits still. Turning to the verses in which *V* records the date of the composition of his *Bhr.* together with the author's own commentary we find that in them *V* has given us not only the year but also the exact date by recording the month, the *pakṣa*, the *tithi* and also the *vāra* on which the work was completed. This evidence is very important for our purposes since it affords solid grounds for further investigations, by trying to verify the statement regarding the date of the composition as contained in these couplets. That the statement as we have it at present in the couplets in question is not accurate is shown by the fact that the second day of the dark half of the month of *Phālguna* in the year 1555 of the Śaka era corresponds to the 6th of March, 1634 of the Christian era which falls on *Thursday*[1] and not on *Tuesday* as it is stated by *V*. The question before us, therefore, is whether we can locate the mistake and whether it is possible to rectify it. As for the first part of the problem it may be said that looking to the way in which *V* has recorded the date in question the only possible source of inaccuracy lies in the expression recording the year; for there instead of numerical adjectives or numbers *V*, as is usual with all Saṁskṛta writers, has used code words from which we have to call to mind the numbers they would signify and thus get the actual year. In such cases an alteration of even one syllable may cause a serious alteration and thus render the whole record inaccurate. And for careless scribes it is not very difficult to introduce such annoying and unwarranted alterations. Extreme similarity may also be found to be responsible for such inaccuracies. Very probably, therefore, in the present case also the mistake is to be located in the expression recording the year, i.e. in '*mahāyajñaśaraprāṇaśaśāṅkaguṇite śake*'. We can go still further in the light of the conclusion arrived at above regarding the probable limits for the date of *V* and say that the mistake lies in the word signifying the hundreds, i.e. in the word *prāṇa*. The remaining words are so clear that they do not seem to admit of any confusion. If thus there is no confusion regarding the remaining three figures, if they are accepted as being one, five,

[1] For this I am indebted to खरे जंत्री.

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and five respectively, and if the confusion lies only in the figure in the hundred's place let us see if it is possible to dispel the confusion and arrive at the correct date. Here again on the strength of the conclusions arrived at above we see that the only figure that can suit in the hundred's place is two. For if any other figure, say one or three, is placed there the year we shall have will be 1155 or 1355 of the Śaka era which would correspond to A.D. 1234 or 1434 respectively. But as we have seen above *V* can't have lived much earlier than 1300 or much later than 1400. This then shows that the Śaka year in which *V* composed his *Bhr.* can be obtained by putting the figure two only in the place of hundreds, if we are to have a date in keeping with the results arrived at above. That this might be the originally recorded year is also shown by orthographical considerations. The word signifying the figure in hundred's place as we have it at present is *prāṇa*. The original word very probably was *ghrāṇa* which would signify two and which can very easily be confounded with the word *prāṇa* owing to the extreme similarity between these two words when written in the *Devanāgarī* script. These considerations, therefore, make it highly probable that *V*'s *Bhr.* was composed in '*mahāyajñaśaraghrāṇa-śaśāṅkaguṇite śake*', i.e. in Śaka 1255 corresponding to A.D. 1334.

The inaccuracy of the date 1634 A.D. is again proved by the statement of *V* himself when he states that the work was composed at Benares in the vicinity of *Maheśa* in the temple of *Hari*. For as Dr. Altekar has pointed out this temple which is obviously that of *Padmanābha* was pulled down by Sharqui rulers in the fifteenth century so that no work could have been composed in it in 1634 A.D. This temple, as we are told by Dr. Altekar again, was built in 1295 A.D. which fact shows that there is nothing improbable in a work being composed in it in 1334 A.D.[1]

And fortunately in the present case we are in possession of some definite grounds on which to verify our conclusions, by seeing whether the second day of the dark half of the month of *Phālguna* of Śaka 1255 (the date arrived at above) falls on Tuesday as *V* has recorded it. If it does, then we should have no hesitation in accepting this as the right date of the composition of *V*'s *Bhr.* I, therefore, tried to calculate and see if the date given by *V* falls on Tuesday in Śaka 1255, and calculating with the help of the tables given by Mr. V. B. Ketkar in his *Indian and Foreign Chronology* I found that the date given corresponds to the *21st of February*, 1334, which falls on *Monday*. Thinking, therefore, that perhaps more accurate calculations would show the day to be Tuesday (i.e. the day as

[1] I am thankful to Dr. Altekar for this information.

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stated by *V*) I referred the matter to Dr. K. L. Daftari of Nagpur who in reply wrote to me that we may get Tuesday on that particular date by the northern way of naming the months, i.e. one day after the actual date that is obtained by our calculation.[1] This explanation is quite applicable in the present case since *V* composed his work at Benares, i.e. in Northern India. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in accepting the *second day of the dark half of the month of Phalguna of Śaka* 1255 *corresponding to the 22nd of February*, 1334, *as the actual date on which V finished his Bhr. and the Kānti-mālā thereon.*

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[1] I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt thanks to the learned Doctor for the readiness with which he answered my query in his letter dated Mahal Nagpur, 18-11-43.

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AYODHYĀ IN ANCIENT INDIA [1]

By B. C. LAW

Geographical position

Ayodhyā or Ayojjhā or Ayudha is one of the seven holy places of the Hindus.[2] Fā-Hien calls this town as Sha-che and according to Ptolemy it is known as Sogeda. Its capital was Sujanakot or Sañcankot, 34 miles north-west of Unao in Oudh on the river Sai in the Unao district. In Brāhmaṇa literature we find that Śunaḥśepa speaks of this town as a village.[3] According to the Vividhatīrthakalpa [4] of the Jains, Ayodhyā is also known as Vinītā, Sāketa, Ikṣvākubhūmi, Rāmapurī and Kośala. It is the birth-place of Ṛṣabha, Ajita, Abhinandana, Sumati, Ananta, and Acala. Seven Jain preceptors were born here. According to this Jain work, Ayodhyā was 12 yojanas long and nine yojanas broad.[5] This town is situated on the banks of the Sarayū river,[6] about 6 miles from the Fyzabad Railway Station. It is also a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas. Sarayū or Sarabhū [7] of Pāli literature is the Ghagrā or Gogrā in Oudh. According to the Vividhatīrthakalpa, the river Ghargharadaha meets with the Sarayū and is known by the name of Svargadvāra. This river rises in the mountains of Kumayun and after its junction with the Kālī nadī, it is called the Sarayū, the Ghagrā or the Durā. According to the Mahābhārata,[8] the Sarayū issues from the Mānasasarovara. The Son and the Sarayū [9] joined the Ganges near Singhee, 8 miles east of Chapra in Saran, between Singhee and Harji-chupra, two villages on both sides of the Ganges, about 2 miles to the east of Cherund and 8 miles to the east of Chapra. According to Alberuni, Ayodhyā is situated about 150 miles south-

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[1] Published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute.*

[2] *Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kāñcī Avantikā Purī Dvārāvatī caiva saptaitā mokṣadāyikāḥ.*

[3] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 3. 1f.; *Sāṅkhāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra*, XV, 17–25. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 52 note.

[4, 5] *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 24.

[6] *Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa*, Ch. 24.

[7] *Vinaya*, II, 237; *Aṇguttara Nikāya*, IV, 101; *Saṃyutta*, II, 135; *Udāna*, V, 5. The Aciravatī was its tributary.

[8] *Anuśāsanaparva*, Ch. 155. The Sarayū is mentioned among other rivers: *Rahasyām Śatakumbhañ ca Sarayūñ ca tathaiva ca Carmanvatīm Vetravatīm Hastisomaṃ diśam tathā.* (*Mbh.*, Baṅgavāsī Ed., p. 821, 19).

[9] Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 47, vs. 3–5, where we read that Rama visited the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarayū.

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east from Kanauj. In the Buddhist period, Kośala was divided into Uttara-Kośala (northern Kośala) and Dakṣiṇa-Kośala (southern Kośala), the Sarayū being the dividing line between the two provinces. The capital of the Southern Kośala was Ayodhyā on the Sarayū. According to the Rāmāyaṇa,[1] the river Syandikā or Sai between the Gumti and the Ganges formed the southern boundary of Kośala.

Rhys Davids points out that Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time.[2] Some think that Ayodhyā and Sāketa were identical but Rhys Davids says that both the cities existed in Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining cities like London and Westminster. Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital and Sāketa the next.[3] According to the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, it was 5,000 li in circuit. The Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Rāmacandra walked south from Ayodhyā to Pañcavaṭī. After killing Rāvaṇa, Rāma is said to have proceeded to Kiṣkindhyā and thence to Ayodhyā.[4] Ayodhyā is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as being situated on the banks of the river Sarayū in the land of Kośala which was a big *janapada* or country and the well-known town of Ayodhyā was included in it. Manu, the progenitor of man, is said to have built Ayodhyā which was 12 yojanas in extent and 3 yojanas in breadth. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, it took four days and nights to cover the distance between Ayodhyā and Videha at normal speed; swiftly moving envoys could cover the distance in three days. At a distance of one krośa (2 miles) from the capital city of Ayodhyā, was situated Nandigrāma where Bharata ruled over the people of Ayodhyā during Rāma's exile. The Rāmāyaṇa further points out that three days and three nights were generally taken for swiftly flying messengers to reach Mathurā from Ayodhyā. Rāma's palace was half a yojana distant from the bank of the Sarayū.[5]

Chinese pilgrims' accounts

The Chinese pilgrim, Fā-Hien, who visited Ayodhyā in the 5th century A.D., saw the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas not in good terms. He also saw a tope there where the four Buddhas walked and sat.[6] Another Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., after travelling more than 600 li and crossing

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[1] I, Chs. 49-50.
[2] *Buddhist India*, p. 34.
[3] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), p. 91.
[4] *Mahābhārata*, 543, 52–70.
[5] *Rāmāyaṇa* (Baṅgavāsī Ed.) 1466, 1.
[6] Legge, *Travels of Fā-Hien*, pp. 54-5.

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the Ganges to the south, reached the Ayudha or Ayodhyā country. According to him, Ayodhyā was the temporary residence of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. He says that Ayudha is Sāketa, i.e., Ayodhyā. The country yielded good crops, was luxuriant in fruit and flower and had a genial climate. The people had agreeable ways, were fond of good work and devoted to practical learning. There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3000 Brethren who were students of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. There were 10 deva temples and the non-Buddhists were few in number. Within the capital was the old monastery in which Vasubandhu composed various Śāstras. There was a hall in ruins where Vasubandhu explained Buddhism to princes and monks who used to come from other countries. Close to the Ganges was a large Buddhist monastery with an Asoka tope to mark the place where the Buddha preached to Devas and men for 3 months the excellent doctrines of his religion. Four or five li west from this monastery was a Buddha relic tope and to the north of the tope were the remains of an old monastery where the Sautrāntika-vibhāsā-śāstra was composed. In a mango-grove 5 or 6 li to the south-west of the city was the old monastery in which Asaṅga learnt and taught. The three Buddhist treatises referred to by Yuan Chwang were communicated to Asaṅga by Maitreya, viz., Yogācārabhūmiśāstra, Sūtrālaṅkāra-ṭīkā and Madhyantavibhāga-śāstra. About 100 paces to the north-west of the mango-grove was a Buddha relic tope. Asaṅga, according to the pilgrim, began his Buddhist religious career as a Mahīsāsaka and afterwards became a Mahāyānist. Vasubandhu began his career in the School of the Sarvāstivādins. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to an old monastery 40 li north-west from Asaṅga's chapel. Within this a brick-tope marked the place where the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyānism began. After the death of Asaṅga, Vasubandhu composed several treatises, expounding and defending Mahāyānism. He died at Ayodhyā at the age of 83.[1]

Description in the Epics

According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā was a city full of wealth and paddy. It had spacious streets and roads. Its streets were well-watered and looked gay with flowers. It had lofty gates furnished with doors and bolts amidst the net-work of its streets. Furnished with all kinds of equipments, it looked like a bulwark with its defences. It was the home of a large number of skilful persons trained in arts and crafts. It was full of palatial buildings, green bowers and mango-groves. Around all these, a long row of *śāla* trees looked like a girdle. The city was rendered impregnable being surrounded by a deep

[1] Watters on *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 354–9.

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ditch filled with water. Animals useful to men like horses and elephants, cows, camels, and asses could all be found there in large number. It had in it merchants from different countries, feudatory chiefs and princes from all quarters. Splendid with its stately mansions, it had a large number of pinnacled houses. The city had lofty seven storied buildings inlaid with gold and precious stones. It was a crowded city and frequently resounded by the drums and the notes of the harp and other musical instruments. It had a galaxy of great men, benevolent sages, and virtuous people. This blissful city had Kamboja horses and mighty elephants. Men of rank could be found in the city moving in chariots, horses and elephants. The parks and pleasure-gardens were resorts of lovers, where merry folks used to gather in the evening.[1] In the Mahābhārata, the city of Ayodhyā is given the epithet of 'puṇyalakṣaṇā,' that is, endowed with auspicious signs. It was a delightful spot on earth and its sparkling splendour looked like the shining moon in autumn.[2]

Social History

According to the Rāmāyaṇa, there were four grades of social order, e.g., the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. They had to fulfil duties and obligations of the respective orders.[3] The Kṣatriyas obeyed the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiśyas followed the Kṣatriyas, and the Śūdras served the three upper castes.[4] The Kṣatriyas like the Brāhmaṇas had to perform the triennial worship daily. The Brāhmaṇas occupied the most exalted rank in the social order of the age. Being placed at the highest rung of the ladder, the special privileges that were denied to the Kṣatriyas, were however enjoyed by them. Thus the Brāhmaṇas alone had the right to master the four Vedas and used the sacred sound *Oṅkāra* and *Vaṣaṭkāra*.[5] The Brāhmaṇas had also the right to study not merely the sacred scriptures meant for their own class but also to acquire the sciences and arts intended for the Kṣatriyas.[6]

Ordinarily birth in a family determined once for all the caste of a man. Transgression of this rule was however allowed in special cases. Thus the sage Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya by birth, became a brāhmaṇa by dint of his extraordinary merit and was accepted in the rank of a brāhmaṇa by his great rival Vaśiṣṭha.[7] The instance of Aśmaka, a royal sage, born from the union of sage Vaśiṣṭha with a Kṣatriya queen of the Ikṣvāku ruler of Ayodhyā, as related in the

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 309, vv. 22–24.
[2] *Mahābhārata*, 171-2, 23–47.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 6, vv. 90–98.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16, vv. 16–19.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 23.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 23.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 27.

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Mahābhārata, shows that offsprings born of such *asavarṇa* union were not unknown.[1] In the code of Manu we find mention of such *asavarṇa* marriages of the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* types.

The Brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment.[2] The robbing of their property was considered to be a heinous act according to the public opinion of the time.[3] They lived on the vegetable diet.[4]

Famine was rare in the city of Ayodhyā. The people were free from diseases. Premature death was unknown. Everyone was charitably disposed and all residents whether male or female used ornaments. Malpractices were unknown and people were faithful in the observance of sacrificial rites.[5] People were loyal, faithful, and hospitable to their guests. They used to enjoy a long lease of life with their wives, sons and grandsons. The sick and the destitute were treated to sumptuous dinner. Food and dress were freely given to all during the sacrifice. Walking in circle around a dignified person before parting was the common way of paying homage.[6] In a *śrādh* ceremony a large number of cows, gold and other riches were given to the Brāhmaṇas.[7] Extortion was utterly unknown.[8] During the coronation ceremony, the streets were richly decorated and illuminated,[9] musical instruments were played and the Brāhmaṇas used to chant sweet benedictions. The coronation ceremony was held in an auspicious hour with good stars on a favourable day. Thus Rāma was installed as king by the family priest Vaśiṣṭha and others on a suitable day with the favourable star *Śravaṇā*.[10]

Various evil-killing rites were performed.[11] To follow elder brothers was the golden rule for the younger brothers.[12] Earning money by selling lac, flesh, honey, iron or poison was considered abominable.[13] The offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was a common custom,[14] and the offering of watery oblations in honour of the departed ancestors was prevalent.[15] Jealousy among rival brothers was not unknown. It was a commonplace occurrence that a wife should cling to her beloved, a friend should act in a like manner. For a brother to stick to his brother and act in a reciprocal way was something common.[16]

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1 *Mahābhārata*, 171-72, 23–47.
2 *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1391, v. 34.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 1392, vv. 48-49.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 1404-5, vv. 26-27.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 15, vv. 10-12.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 115, v. 39.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 126, vv. 21–25.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 136, v. 24.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 150, vv. 17-18.
10 *Mbh.*, 543, 52–70.
11 *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 208, vv. 46-47.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 240, 6.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 320, v. 38.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 322, vv. 2-3.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 372, vv. 26-27.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 1158, v. 14.

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Devotion to husband was considered as the highest virtue for married women.[1] According to the orthodox ideal of the age, the amorous look from other's eyes, the faintest touch from a member of the opposite sex other than her husband would have a sinister influence on the good reputation of a chaste wife.[2]

No act of violence should be committed on the weak and the helpless and specially on women. Such unchivalrous conduct looked like an act of cowardice. Stealing others' wives by treachery was an offence.[3] Respectable ladies never exposed themselves to public view. Seclusion of women within the confines of the inner apartment was the usual rule. If necessity arose, they would move in palanquins or some other covered vehicles with adequate veils over their faces and requisite garments over their bodies. On no ordinary account could they come out to public streets by crossing the city-gates on foot or move with an open countenance.[4] The exit of women before the public view was allowed for serving the needs of different kinds of *Vyasanas* like hunting, game of dice, etc. In times of war or public sacrifice, on the occasion of the marriage ceremony or during the work of choosing one's partner from among a large number of suitors in an open assembly (*Svayambara*) or in times of great distress or sorrow women had the right to come out of their harem and expose themselves to public view. The use of deformed men and women for the work of the harem was in vogue at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa.[5] The life of a widow seems to be the worst lot, the highest curse for a woman.[6]

There were expert barbers, as well as good musicians and well-trained courtesans, big merchants and traders at Ayodhyā.[7] Disrespect to Brāhmaṇas, parents and priests was considered to be a sacrilege.[8] Preservation of dead bodies in vessels filled with oil was then known.[9] King Daśaratha's dead body was preserved for some time before its actual cremation by Bharata.[10]

Religious History

At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa, the people and the members of the royal household were on the whole religious. Religious sacrifices were performed and Vedic mantras were chanted. During the horse sacrifice of King Daśaratha twenty-one kinds of sacrificial wood were prepared and set up by expert craftsmen; of these six were made of the timber of the *Bilva*

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 205, vv. 25-26.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1196, vv. 19-20; p. 1198, vv. 26-27.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 1165, vv. 12-13.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1185, v. 61; p. 1194, vv. 14-15.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 181, vv. 1–3.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1309, vv. 42-43.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1220, vv. 3–5.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 1267, v. 21.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 1419, v. 3.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 322, v. 4.

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tree, six of *Khadira* wood, six of *Palāsa* plant, one of the *Śleṣmātaka* [1] timber and the remaining two of pine wood. The sacrificial wood was covered with cloth and gold and worshipped with scented flowers. In a sacrifice many cows and a large number of gold and silver bits were given to the priests.[2] On the banks of the Sarajū, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa offered their morning prayers and repeated the *Sāvitrī mantra* at the instance of the sage Viśvāmitra.[3] In the hermitage of Viśvāmitra, they performed the usual *sandhyā* and morning prayers and offered oblations to the sacrificial fire.[4] As we have already pointed out, offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was the common practice. The Kṣatriya kings and princes used to observe ten days of *aśauca* or the observance of impurity caused by the death of relations.[5] Among the Brāhmaṇas, sophists were not unknown and followers of the hedonist school of Cārvāka were also found. Four hundred horse sacrifices, four thousand *Vājapeya* and numerous *Gomedha, Agniṣṭoma* and *Atirātra* sacrifices [6] were performed by some eminent kings of the Ikṣvāku race. Duly bathed, a Kṣatriya king used to offer oblations to fire; and make worship in adoration of his ancestors and Brāhmaṇas and then pray before the images in temples inside his palace. As regards religious rights the Śūdras remained on a low footing of inequality in comparison with the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Śambuka, a Śūdra by birth, was slain by Rāma for making vedic sacrifices.[7]

Jainism

In the history of Jainism, we find that a Jaina tīrthaṅkara named Ajitanātha was born at Ayodhyā. He earned the title of the 'Victorious' for he was so devout an ascetic that he was unrivalled in performing austerities. He soon attained salvation.[8] A Jaina monk named Buddhakīrti was well versed in Jaina scriptures. He flourished during the interval between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Once while performing austerities on the bank of the Sarayū in Palāśanagara he saw a dead fish floating. He carefully watched it and thought that there was no harm in eating the flesh of the dead fish for there was no soul in it.[9]

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[1] Cordia obliqua = Cordia Myx Linn Willd. A tree or shrub in all provinces, whole of warmer parts of India; a pretty large but low tree in most parts of Circars, but chiefly in gardens and hedges and near villages in Gujarat, North Kanara, Deccan, Western Ghats, etc. There are two varieties, viz. Kshudra Śleṣmātaka = Cordia obliqua and Śleṣmātaka or Cordia Wallichu. When ripe the fruits of this plant are eaten by the people of the locality.

[2] *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 31, vv. 50-51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 47, vv. 3–5.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58, vv. 31-32; p. 59, v. 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 323, vv. 1-2.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1452, vv. 8-9.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1420, vv. 3-4.
[8] S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 51.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

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Lord Ādiguru attained enlightenment on the Aṣṭāvata mountain near Ayodhyā. Twenty-four Jain images were established on this mountain. Dovinda Sūri while wandering at Serisaya took his bath in the Sarayū river according to the Vividhatīrthakalpa. At the instance of the Goddess Paḍmāvatī a blind artisan was employed to make an image of Pārśvanātha. Three great images were brought from Ayodhyā by air.

Buddhism

Ayodhyā was hallowed by the dust of the feet of Gautama Buddha. He lived there on the banks of the Ganges. While he was there, he pointed out to the bhikkhus the transitoriness of the human body. He told them thus, 'The human body is like a foam, and similarly consciousness, glamour, and human activities, etc. have no essence at all.'[1] The inhabitants of Ayodhyā saw the Buddha entering their town accompanied by a large number of bhikkhus. They built a monastery for him in a dense forest at a curve of the river Ganges and presented it to him. He dwelt there for some time.[2]

Political History

The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the kings of Ayodhyā and the system of administration prevalent there. It is interesting to note here the duties of an Ikṣvāku king. Aroused from his sleep at dawn by the hymns of prisoners and *sūtas*, a king was served with water for washing hands and feet. Duly bathed a Kṣatriya king offered oblations to fire and prayed before the images in temples inside his palace. After finishing the morning duties he used to attend to the business of his State and then go to his court where he would meet his ministers. The king with his ministers used to listen personally to the prayers and complaints of his subjects.[3] Worthy treatment was given to State guests including kings and princes.[4] The king used to spend the first half of each day in doing the business of his State and the latter half of his time was spent in enjoying the company of the ladies of his harem.[5]

The chief aim of a righteous monarch was to earn the loyalty and goodwill of his subjects.[6] He used to hear the report of his trusted servants and reliable courtiers in order to ascertain the public opinion about his government.[7] He used to redress the grievances of his subjects as far as possible.[8] Nobody was detained or kept waiting at his door if he came to pray for something before the king.[9] He was assisted in his administration by able ministers,

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[1] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, 140ff.
[2] *Sāratthapakāsinī*, II, p. 320.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 1354-55, vv. 9–24 and 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1356, vv. 5 and 11.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1363, v. 27.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1367, vv. 14-15.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 1364, vv. 5–7.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 1379-80.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 1382-83.

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eminent jurists and men well-versed in the sacred lore. Punishment was always in proportion to the nature and gravity of the offence.[1] Life-long exile or transportation was an alternative for death sentence.[2]

The king used to give private interviews to spies and special messengers for confidential talks. Divulging State-secrets or overhearing such secret talks was highly punishable.[3] The succession to the throne was generally determined according to the law of primogeniture in the Ikṣvāku family.[4]

Rāma's youngest brother Śatrughna ruled Mathurā which he founded.[5] His younger brother, Bharata, with his two sons Takṣa and Puṣkala conquered the Gandhāra country. The cities of Takṣaśīlā and Puṣkalāvatī were ruled by the two sons of Bharata.[6] Chandrakānta and Aṅgadīyā were ruled by the two sons of Lakṣaṇa named Candraketu and Aṅgada.[7] Kuśa and Lava were rulers of southern and northern Kośala respectively.[8] Śatrughna, Rāma's younger brother, installed his two sons Suvāhu and Śatrughātī as kings of Mathurā and Vaideśa kingdoms respectively.[9]

In the Mahābhārata,[10] mention is made of sixteen celebrated kings (*ṣoḍaśa-rājikā*) some of whom belonged to Ayodhyā, namely, Māndhātṛ, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa, Dilīpa[11] and Rāma Dāśarathi. The Mahābhārata also refers to Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Yuvanāśva, Raghu, Nimi and others.[12] The pious Dīrghayajña was the king of Ayodhyā when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled and performed his Rājasūya sacrifice.[13] Divākara was a king of Ayodhyā who was the contemporary of Senājit, king of Magadha. Both of them were contemporaries of Asīmakṛṣṇa.[14] Iksvāku, one of the nine sons of Manu Vaivasvata,[15] reigned at Ayodhyā who had two sons, Vikukṣiśaśāda and Nimi. From the former was descended the great Aikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā generally known as the solar race.

The Ikṣvākus, Aikṣvākus or Aikṣvakas are the titles of the solar race. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu.[16] The Purāṇas give a list of the kings of Ayodhyā.[17]

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1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 1391, 32-33. 2 *Ibid.*, 1461, 13. 3 *Ibid.*, 1457, 11-12.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 387, 36. 5 *Ibid.*, p. 1412, 8-9. 6 *Ibid.*, p. 1455, 11.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 1456, 7-9. 8 *Ibid.*, p. 1462, 17. 9 *Ibid.*, 1463, 10.
10 VII, 55, 2170; XII, 29, 910–1037; I, 1, 223-4. 11 Dilīpa II.
12 *Mahābhārata*, 13, 227–34. 13 *Ibid.*, 241, 2.
14 *Vāyu*, 99, 270 and *Matsya*, 50, 77.
15 *Vāyu*, 85, 3-4; *Br.*, 7. 1-2; *Ag.* 272, 5–7; 18–39; *Bḍ.*, III, 60, 2-3; *Kūr.*, I, 20, 4–6; *Vā.*, 64, 29-30; *Bḍ.*, II, 38, 30–2.
16 *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's Trans., III, 259.
17 *Vāyu*, 88, 8–213; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 7, 44–8, 94; *Hv.*, 11, 660–15, 832; *Matsya*, 12, 25–57; *Pad.*, V, 8, 130–62; *Kūr.*, I, 20, 10–21, 60; *Viṣṇu*, IV, 2, 3, 4, 49.

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The Rāmāyaṇa genealogy, according to Pargiter, must be treated as erroneous and the Pauranic genealogy is to be accepted.[1] The Purāṇas say that there were two Dilīpas, one father of Bhagīratha and the other father or grandfather of Raghu, but according to the Rāmāyaṇa, there was only one Dilīpa, father of Bhagīratha and great grandfather of Raghu. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Raghu was the father of Kalmāṣapāda and Aja is placed twelve generations below Raghu but the Purāṇas make Aja son of Raghu. The Raghuvaṃśa[2] supports the Purāṇas that Aja was the son of Raghu. The Rāmāyaṇa makes Kakutstha son of Bhagīratha and grandson of Dilīpa but the Purāṇas say that he was the son of Śaśāda. The Mahābhārata supports the Purāṇas.[3] The Raghuvaṃśa[4] also supports the Purāṇas in saying that from his time the kings had borne the title of Kākutstha and that Dilīpa was his descendant.

From Daśaratha to Ahīnagu there is a general agreement. After Ahīnagu, most of the Purāṇas give a list of some twenty kings, Paripātra to Bṛhadbala, agreeing in their names, though some of the lists are incomplete towards the end.[5]

The Aikṣvāku genealogy of Ayodhyā mentions the following kings:—(1) Prasenajit who was the contemporary of Matināra; (2) Yuvanāśva II, Māndhātṛ who married Śaśabindu's daughter named Bindumatī Citrarathī, (3) Purukutsa, and (4) Trasadasyu. Jahnu of Kānyakubja married the grand-daughter of Yauvanāśva, that is, Māndhātṛ.[6]

The Tālajaṅghas attacked Ayodhyā and drove the king Bāhu from the throne. Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā had a long war with the Druhyu king Aruddha or Aṅgāra[7] and killed him.[8]

Subāhu, son of the Cedi king Vīrabāhu, and Ṛtuparṇa, king of Ayodhyā, were contemporaries.[9] Jamadagni allied himself with the royal house of Ayodhyā for he married Reṇukā, daughter of Reṇu.[10]

Sumitrā was the last of the Ikṣvāku kings in the Kali age who was contemporary with the Buddha. The royal house of Ikṣvāku sank into oblivion at the time of this king.[11]

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[1] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 92ff.
[2] V, 35-6.
[3] *Mahābhārata*, III, 201, 13515-6.
[4] VI, 71-4.
[5] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 94.
[6] *Vāyu*, 91, 58-9. *Bḍ.*, III, 66, 28-9. *Hv.*, 27, 1421-3; 32, 1761-62; *Br.*, 10, 19-20; 13, 87.
[7] *Harivaṃśa*, 32, 1837-38; *Br.*, 13, 149-50; *Mbh.*, XII, 29, 981-2.
[8] *Ibid.*, III, 126, 10465.
[9] *Ibid.*, III, 64, 2531, 65, 2576; *Vā.*, 88, 174; *Bḍ.*, III, 63, 173; *Br.*, 8, 80; *Hv.*, 15, 815.
[10] *Pad.*, VI, 268, 8, 73-74; 269, 158.
[11] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 309.

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The kings of Ayodhyā were connected with the Vaśiṣṭha family. The Vaśiṣṭhas were their hereditary priests.[1] The earliest Vaśiṣṭha was the famous priest of Ayodhyā in the reigns of Trayyāruṇa, Satyavrata-Triśaṅku and Hariścandra.[2] The next great Vaśiṣṭha was the priest of Ayodhyā in the time of Hariścandra's successor Bāhu who was driven from his throne by the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas aided by the Śakas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Pahlavas from the north-west but Vaśiṣṭha maintained his position.

Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda Śaudāsa, king of Ayodhyā, had the fourth noted Vaśiṣṭha as his priest. The fifth was priest to Dilīpa II Khatvāṅga and the sixth was priest to Daśaratha and his son Rāma. King Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa beguiled by a Rākṣasa offered Vaśiṣṭha human flesh as food and was cursed by him.

Ikṣvāku obtained Madhyadeśa[3] and was the progenitor of the solar race,[4] with its capital at Ayodhyā.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā rose to very great eminence under Yuvanāśva II[5] and especially his son Māndhātṛ. The latter married Śaśabindu's daughter Bindumatī. He was a very famous king, a Cakravartin and a Samrāj and extended his sway very widely.[6] Māndhātṛ or his sons carried their arms south to the river Narmadā. The supremacy of Ayodhyā waned and the Kānyakubja kingdom rose into prominence under its king Jahnu. The Haihayas overcame Ayodhyā. The foreign tribes settled there after Ayodhyā was conquered.

Ayodhyā rose to prominence again under Aṃśumant's second successor Bhagīratha and Bhagīratha's third successor Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi.[7]

Of the Mānva or solar kingdoms that existed originally three remained, those of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī.[8] These three Mānva kingdoms were not dominated by the Aila stock. The earliest Āṅgirasas were connected with Māndhātṛ, king of Ayodhyā, and the earliest Āṅgirasa rishi was connected with Hariścandra, king of Ayodhyā.[9]

Daśaratha called in the help of the rustic Ṛṣyaśṛṅga from Aṅga.[10] The eastern and southern kings and kings of the distant Punjab were invited to Daśaratha's sacrifice at Ayodhyā. Ayodhyā and

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1 *Bḍ.*, III, 48. 29; *Viṣ.*, IV, 3. 18; *Pad.*, VI, 219, 44; 237, 1.
2 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 205.
3 *Br.*, 7, 20; *Hv.*, 10634; *Siv.*, VII, 60, 17; *Vā.*, 85, 21.
4 *Matsya*, 12. 15; *Pad.*, V, 8. 120.
5 *Mahābhārata*, III, 126.
6 *Ibid.*, III, 126, 10462.
7 *Br.*, 78, 55–77; *Pad.*, VI, 22, 7–18; *Lg.*, I, 66, 21-2; *Vā.*, 88, 171-2.
8 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 304.
10 *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 9 and 10.

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the Vaśiṣṭhas had no association then with the brahmanically *elite* region as Pargiter points out.[1] The Kathāsaritsāgara refers to the camp of Nanda in Ayodhyā.[2]

In Buddhism we find that there was a king of Ayodhyā named Kāḷasena whose city was surrounded by ten sons of Andhakaveṇhu (Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā dasabhātikā) who uprooted the trees, pulled down the wall, captured the king and brought his kingdom under their sway.[3] The city of Ayujjha was governed by the descendants of king Arindama.[4]

In Jainism we find that Prasannajita, a king of Ayodhyā, gave his daughter named Prabhāvatī in marriage to Pārśvanātha.[5]

Ayodhyā seems to have been included within the kingdom of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. An inscription found at Ayodhyā mentions the fact that Puṣyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices or *aśvamedhas* during his region.[6] According to a spurious Gayā plate, Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta *jayaskandhāvāra* or 'Camp of victory', as early as the time of Samudra Gupta. Some coins of Pura Gupta have on the reverse the legend—'Śrī Vikramaḥ' which may be a shorter form of the full title 'Vikramāditya', Allan identifies[7] him with King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism, through the influence of Vasubandhu. It may be assumed on the basis of this identification that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis.[8]

Ayodhyā Coins

A large number of coins were found on the site of Ayodhyā. These coins fall under three classes.[9] The first and the earliest consists of a few rare cast pieces, of which three types are known. The first type is known from one piece only[10]; it has a flower on the obverse and a plain reverse, and may not be a coin at all, but an ornament. Type II is only known from a unique specimen in the Museum[11]; the obverse type is a *svastika* which connects it with type III, and the symbol on the reverse is well known from several series of punch-marked coins.

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[1] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 314.
[2] Tawney's Ed., I, p. 37.
[3] *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, pp. 82-83.
[4] *Vaṃsatthapakāsinī* (PTS), Vol. I, p. 127.
[5] S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48; C. J. Shah (*Jainism in North India*, p. 83 n.) considers this to be a misconception.
[6] *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.
[7] Cf. B.M.C., *Gupta Coins*, p. cxxii.
[8] Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 495-496.
[9] Cf. H. Rivett-Carnac, *J.A.S.B.*, 1880, p. 138.
[10] Pl. XVI, 6.
[11] Pl. XVI, 7.

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The square coin published by H. Rivett-Carnac [1] (obverse *svastika*, rev. *bull*) is probably also a coin of this series. Type III is the commonest of this class: the obverse, a *svastika* over a fish, is connected by the former symbol with the preceding type; the roughness of the casting makes it difficult to break up the reverse type into its component symbols. These coins probably contain a crescent or a taurine symbol above a steelyard, but might be a taurine symbol over an axe. The former is the more probable explanation, and the occurrence of the steelyard suggests that these are local coins of the city, as distinct from the dynastic issues; they may be compared with the Taxila pieces bearing a steelyard. Their date may be conjectured to be the third century B.C.

The remaining coins of Ayodhyā are inscribed with the names of the rulers who issued them, and fall under two very distinct classes, issued by two separate dynasties, one of square cast coins showing no trace of foreign influence in their style and types, and one of round struck pieces which have types rather than symbols. The coins of the rulers of the first dynasty closely resemble one another in style and are connected by their types. The obverse is a bull, or rarely an elephant, before an elaborate symbol not always distinct, which is replaced on the coins of the later dynasty by a ceremonial standard or spear. The reverse type consists of a group of five or six symbols. The characteristic symbols are a small 'Ujjain' symbol, a tree in railing, a group of four *nandipadas* in a square, a *svastika*, a river or snake and another symbol. Two rulers, Viśākhadeva and Śivadatta, have also the type of the *abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī. The names of six rulers of this dynasty are known from their coins, which bear simply the Prākrit form of the name in the genitive. They are Mūladeva (Mūladevasa), Vāyudeva (Vāyudevasa), Viśākhadeva (Viśākhadevasa), Dhanadeva (Dhanadevasa), Śivadatta (Śivadatasa) and Naradatta (Naradatasa). At least one other ruler is represented by the uncertain coins on which the name is possibly Pāthadeva. The type of Viśākhadeva coin first published by Rivett-Carnac and now in the Indian Museum, has on the reverse a buckler-like object, a solar symbol with a central boss surrounded by a circle of dots within rims. This came from Fyzabad, as did all the coins published by Rivett-Carnac. No attempt to arrange these rulers in chronological order is possible, nor have we any literary or inscriptional references to them. They probably cover the second century B.C.

The third class of coins belongs to a later dynasty. From Rivett-Carnac and Cunningham we know that these come from the

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1880, Pl. XVII.

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same site. They are round pieces struck from dies leaving the seal-like impression characteristic of early Indian struck coins, and very distinct from the coins of the earlier dynasty. The usual types are obverse: a bull before a standard or spear, which closely resembles the ceremonial spear on the Aśvamedha coins of Samudra Gupta,[1] and reverse a bird, usually called a cock but probably a *haṃsa*, and a palm-tree with a river (or less probably a snake) below. These three elements are to be regarded as separate symbols and not as being combined to form a single type, as their proportions show. Another but rarer reverse type is an elaborate *nandipada* in a framework; the complete form of this type is probably something like the large symbol found on the coins of Almora. This occurs on the coins of Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Saṃghamitra and Vijayamitra. Vijayamitra is the only ruler who coins both types. On the coins of Kumudasena and Ajavarma, the object in front of the bull is probably a form of that on the coins of the earlier dynasty, a kind of triangular standard with cross-bar in railing. Kumudasena[2] is the only member of the dynasty to call himself a rājā; others inscribe their coins with their names only. The rulers represented in the British Museum are Satyamitra (Satyamitasa), Ārayamitra (Ayyamitasa), Saṃgha (Mitra), Vijayamitra (Vijayamitasa), Kumudasena (Rājña Kumudasenasa) to which may be added from the Indian Museum collection the names of Ajavarman (Ajavarmaṇa) and Devamitra (Devamitasa).[3] None of these rulers is otherwise known to history. Their reigns probably covered the first two centuries A.D.[4]

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[1] Cf. B.M.C., *Gupta Coins*, Pl. V, 9.

[2] See Rapson in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 287.

[3] Cf. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, I, pp. 150-51, No. 16, Pl. XIX, 16 and 18.

[4] Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction, pp. lxxxvii–xc and 129–139.

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EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

By R. C. Majumdar

I. The Harāhā Inscription of Īśānavarman

The verse 13 of this inscription[1] which recounts the conquests of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman contains a reference to Gauḍa which has been differently interpreted by different scholars. There has been, so far, no dispute about the reading of the passage which runs as follows: '*Kṛtvā c-āyatimocita-sthala-bhuvo Gauḍān samudr-āśrayān*'. Pandit Hirananda Sastri, who edited the inscription, translates it as follows: 'After causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm.' According to Dr. R. G. Basak,[2] the passage means that Īśānavarman 'made the Gauḍa people take shelter towards the seashore, after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects'. Sastri's interpretation gives a better sense but does not satisfactorily bring out the meaning of '*āyatimocita*'; while Dr. Basak's rendering of this phrase makes the whole passage somewhat obscure. The real difficulty is caused by the very unusual expression *āyatimocita* and it appears to me that this reading is faulty. On a close inspection of the facsimile of the record published by Sastri it would appear that the second letter read as *ya* is different from other signs for the same letter, inasmuch as the central vertical stroke, instead of joining the base, is turned to the right and connected with the right hand vertical stroke. It is thus possible to read it as *pra*, though it must be confessed that it is different from other *pra*-s in the same record. But if we read the letter as *pra* the whole passage gives a very good sense and is easily intelligible. It would then read: '*Kṛtvā c-āpratimocita-sthala-bhuvo Gauḍān samudr-āśrayān*'. It would mean that the Gauḍas, having failed to redeem or recover their land territory, were forced to remain on the seashore. This interpretation clearly brings out the contrast between *sthala* and *samudra* and would imply that Īśānavarman was partially successful in checking the attempts of the Gauḍas to recover their homeland on the decline of the Gupta Empire. I am unable to explain why this *pra* was written differently, but then the same difficulty encounters us if we read it as *ya*. I can only suggest that the engraver of the

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1 Edited in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 110ff.

2 *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 111.

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record at first took the letter to be *ya*, but at the last moment found out his error and tried to make it as much like *pra* as possible. However, I offer my suggestion to the scholars for further consideration of the matter.

II. Deo-Baraṇārk Inscription of Jīvitagupta

This fragmentary inscription[1] has gained an undue importance by being used as the principal argument in favour of the theory that the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman ruled over Magadha, and therefore we must hold that the Later Guptas had nothing to do with this province until a much later time.[2] But a close examiñation of the record shows that such far-reaching conclusions are hardly warranted by it. The inscription records the grant of a village by Jīvitagupta II and incidentally mentions some details, partially preserved, which seem to show that the village in question was formerly in the possession of the two Maukhari kings mentioned above. It has been generally accepted, openly or tacitly, that the village is no other than Vāruṇikā, modern Deo-Baraṇārk, 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad District in Bihar, where the record was found, and where presumably stood the temple of the God Varuṇavāsin to whom the grant was made.[3] But Dr. Fleet, while editing the record, very clearly pointed out that the village that was granted was either Vāruṇikā or Kiśoravāṭaka, another village mentioned in the inscription. The damaged state of the record makes it uncertain which of these two villages was granted, and we have no right to assume definitely that it was the one or the other. Now, supposing that the village granted was Kiśoravāṭaka, we have no means to determine its locality, not even whether it was in Magadha. For all we know, it might have been in the neighbourhood of Gomatikoṭṭaka, the royal camp from which the grant was issued. Fleet has suggested that this place 'must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gomatī, the modern Gomti or Gumti, which flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghazipur, and about 85 miles to the west of Deo-Baraṇārk'. It is not impossible that this village was in U.P. and was granted to the temple by King Bālādityadeva, who ruled over both these territories; and later, the two Maukhari

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[1] Edited by Fleet in *CII*, III, 213ff.

[2] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI.*, pp. 512, fn. 1, 528ff.), Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*IHQ.*, XII, p. 457), Dr. Tripathi (*Kanauj*, p. 45).

[3] Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*op. cit.*) expressly mentions Vāruṇikā as the village; Dr. Raychaudhuri refers to the 'grant of a village in South Bihar' (*op. cit.*); while Dr. Tripathi says of 'this grant in the modern Shahabad District' (*op. cit.*).

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kings continued the grant although the temple itself was outside their kingdom, such a course of conduct being certainly not unusual in ancient India. Then, again, the grant lapsed for some causes until Jīvitagupta who possessed the land in question again restored the grant. Thus the inscription, far from proving the Maukhari suzerainty over Magadha during the reigns of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, may be regarded as a reminiscence of the re-conquest of a portion of the old Maukhari kingdom by Jīvitagupta II. This also satisfactorily explains why 'not a word is said about the Later Gupta kings (who were contemporaries of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman) in connection with the previous grant of the village'.[1] It may be noted in passing that this argument really cuts both ways, for the inscription does not also refer to Ādityasena and his two successors who certainly ruled over Magadha. The absence of all references to them in connection with the renewal of the grant is also satisfactorily explained by assuming that the village in question was situated outside their kingdom.

It would appear from what has been said above, that the Deo-Baraṇārk Inscription does not prove the possession of Magadha or any part of it by the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman.

III. Rajibpur Sadāśiva Image Inscription of Gopāla III—year 14

In a note published in *JRASBL.* (Vol. VII, p. 216) I pointed out that the numerical symbol, read as 4, in this record was unlike the figure used for 4 in the Pāla records. My view was based on the facsimile published in the Ann. Rep. A.S.I., 1936-7, Pl. XXXV(*c*). Since then Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has published a facsimile of the same record in *IHQ.*, XVII, p. 217, Pl. II. Curiously enough, the figure in question here is exactly like 4. Being unable to explain this discrepancy I made several attempts to examine the original image, now in the Indian Museum. Unfortunately, the Museum being closed, I could not do so. As it may be long before I get such an opportunity, I wish to note here that the facsimile published by Dr. Bhattasali leaves no doubt that the date has been correctly read as 14.

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[1] This argument is advanced by Dr. Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.*).

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MISCELLANEA

SYMBOLISM OF HINDU NUPTIALS

The Meaning of a Symbol

A symbol is a 'thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought'. A symbol is not important by itself. It has only a vehicular value and conveys something beyond it. It is a mode of expression which vivifies abstract, subtle, unfamiliar or supernatural ideas before common folk. In ancient times, when human fancy was stronger and the human speech was not adequately developed to express every shade of thought, symbols played a very important part. In religion and mythology they were commonly used. But even now they have not lost their value. The most up-to-date political ideology, which recognizes little use of religion, employs symbols for its ends and ideals.

Sacramental Marriage and Symbol

Hindu marriage which the nuptials solemnize is not a social contract in the modern sense of the term, but a religious institution, a sacrament. By it we mean that besides the two human parties, the bride and the bridegroom, there is a third superhuman, spiritual or divine element in marriage. The physical conditions of the two parties are always subject to change and, as such, they cannot form the permanent basis of marriage. It is on the third element that the permanent relationship between the husband and the wife depends. The husband and the wife are responsible not only to each other, but they owe a greater allegiance to this third element. This is the religious or mystic touch in the purely social and material contract between a man and a woman. Without it the conjugal life loses its charm and durability. The mystic aspect of the Hindu marriage necessitates the use of a number of symbols.

Marriage a Union of the Fittest Couple

In the very beginning of the Hindu nuptials there is a ceremony which symbolizes the union of the fittest parties. This ceremony, called Arghya 'Showing Respect',[1] while conferring great honour

[1] Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I, 3. 1–32.

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on the bridegroom, indicates that he is the best of his sex and equals. Having ordered a seat for the bridegroom, the father-in-law says, 'Well Sir, sit down. We will do honour to you, Sir'. They get for him a couch of grass, to sit down on, another for feet, water for washing the feet, water for sipping, and the honey-mixture in a brass vessel with a cover of brass. The bridegroom accepts the couch and sitting thereon says, 'I am the highest one among my peoples as the sun is among the shining ones. Here I tread on whosoever infests me'.[1] On this occasion the guest of honour, accepting his dues from the father-in-law, makes a statement wherein he publicly declares that he is the fittest match for the bride.

Marriage a New Bond

Some of the most important items of the nuptials are those which symbolize that marriage creates a new bond between the bride and the bridegroom. They are united like two young plants, which are uprooted from two different plots and are transplanted into a new one. They have to rear up this union by dedicating their entire energy in the direction of their common interest and ideal. One such item is Samañjana or 'Anointment'.[2] The father of the bride is required to anoint the pair. While this ceremony is being performed, the bridegroom recites the verse, 'May the Viśvedevāḥ, may the Waters unite our hearts. May Mātariśvā, may Dhātṛ, may Deṣṭṛ join us'.[3] The anointment is symbolical of 'Sneha' or love and consequently of the union of the pair. Another ceremony of this type is the Pāṇigrahaṇa or the 'Grasping of the Bride's Hand'.[4] The bridegroom seizes the right hand of the bride with the verse, 'I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayest live to old age with me, thy husband. Bhaga, Aryamā, Savitṛ, gods have given thee to me, that we may rule over the household. This I am. That art thou. That art thou, this am I. The Sāman am I, the Ṛk thou; the Heaven I, the Earth thou. Come let us marry'.[5] This ceremony is symbolical of physical bond between the husband and the wife. The next ceremony of this kind is the Hṛdayasparśa or 'Touching the Heart

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[1] वर्ष्मोऽस्मि समानानामुद्यतामिव सूर्यः etc. *Ibid.*, I, 3. 9.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 4. 15.

[3] समञ्जन्तु विश्वे देवाः समापो हृदयानि नौ।

मातरिश्वा सन्धाता समु देष्ट्री दधातु नौ॥ *Ibid.*

[4] Atharyaveda, XIV, 1. 49; Aśvalāyana G.S., I, 7. 3; Gobhila G.S., II, 2. 16.

[5] *Ibid.*

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of the Bride'.[1] The husband touches the heart of the bride reaching over her right shoulder with the words, 'Into my will I take thy heart; thy mind shall dwell in my mind; in my word thou shall rejoice with all thy heart: May Prajāpati join thee to me'.[2] This performance indicates that marriage is not only the physical union of two persons but also the union of two hearts or souls. The heart is the centre of feelings. By touching it the husband symbolically tries to rouse the soft emotions of the wife and make them flow out to meet his own and thus to create a real union in the psychic world. One more ceremony may be mentioned in this connection. In the Sthālīpāka or the 'Common Dinner'[3] the husband makes the wife eat the mess of cooked food with the words, 'I add breath to thy breath, bones to thy bones, flesh to thy flesh, skin to thy skin'.[4] Here both the material and the vital selves of the husband and the wife are united.

Marriage a Permanent and Stable Union

Marriage is not a temporary contract to serve the momentary physical demand or to enjoy good company for some time and then to lapse at the slightest inconvenience. It is a permanent union which stands various vicissitudes in life only to grow stronger and more stable. This fact has been symbolized by a number of ceremonies in the Hindu Nuptials. In the Aśmārohaṇa or 'Mounting the Stone'[5] ceremony the husband makes the wife tread on a stone repeating the verse, 'Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm'.[6] Stone is a symbol of firmness and strength. The wife is exhorted to be adamantine in her conjugal fidelity. Another ceremony of this class is Dhruvadarśana or 'Looking at the Pole Star'.[7] In the night the bridegroom shows to the bride the Pole Star with the verse, 'Firm art thou; I see thee the firm one. Firm be thou with me, O thriving one. To me Bṛhaspati has given thee obtaining offsprings through me, thy husband, live with me a hundred autumns'.[8] Here two things are indicated. Firstly, the wife should be as firm and fixed as the Pole Star is amidst innumerable moving bodies in the firmament. Secondly, the union should last for a hundred years which is the normal span of human life. Thus the

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[1] Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 8.

[2] मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि मम चित्तमनुचित्तं ते अस्तु। *Ibid.*

[3] Pāraskara G.S., I, 11. 5.

[4] प्राणैस्ते प्राणान्त्सन्दधामि, etc. *Ibid.*

[5] Śāṁkhyāyana G.S., I, 3. 19.

[6] आरोहेममश्मानमश्मेव स्थिरा भव। *Ibid.*

[7] Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 19.

[8] ध्रुवमसि ध्रुवं त्वा पश्यामि, etc. *Ibid.*

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firm and life-long companionship is the objective in view. This aspect of marriage is highly prized and the husband prays to the goddess Sarasvatī to protect it: 'Sarasvatī, promote this undertaking, O gracious one, bountiful one, thou whom will sing first of all that is; in whom what is; has been born; in whom this whole world dwells—that song I will sing today, which will be the highest glory of women'.[1]

Biological Symbolism of Marriage

The primary function of marriage is racial, that is, the continuity of the race through the procreation of children. In the Hindu nuptials, there are various ceremonies that point out this fact and intend to make the union fruitful, to avert the dangers associated with the sexual intercourse and to facilitate the various stages of the process of generation. After accepting the bride formally given away by her father, the bridegroom puts a very significant question to the guardian of the girl. 'Who has given this bride to me?' The answer is, 'Kāma or the God of Love'.[2] It means that the basic desire to exist through progeny is mainly responsible for marriage. In another place we find a reference to the biological development of the bride, her preparedness for a married life and consequent procreation of children. The bridegroom reminds the bride, 'First Soma had thee for his bride; the Gaṁdharva had thee next; Agni was thy third husband; thy fourth husband am I, born of man. Soma gave thee to Gaṁdharva; the Gaṁdharva gave to Agni; and Agni has given thee to me for wealth and sons'.[3] These verses are explained by Sāyaṇa thus, 'While yet desire for sexual intercourse has not arisen Soma enjoys the girl; when it has just begun the Gandharva takes her; and at marriage transfers her to Agni, from whom man obtains her (possessing capacity) for producing wealth and sons'.[4] The Smṛtis offer a clearer interpretation of the above obscure passage: 'Soma gave them (women) purity; the Gaṁdharva bestowed sweet speech; and Agni Sarvamedhatva or purity. Therefore women are always in possession of Sarvamedhatva or purity'.[5] A modern writer further clarifies the suggestion. 'Soma is Sasyādhipati, the Lord of the vegetable world; and presides also over the mind. . . The physical growth of the girl, including that of the hair is under the care of the god Soma. The mind of the girl also develops under his guidance. . .

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[1] Pāraskara G.S., I, 7. 2.
[2] कोऽदात्। काम इति।
[3] Rgveda, X, 85. 40, 41.
[4] Sāyaṇa on the above verses.
[5] Atrismṛti, 137.

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The Gaṁdharva is the master of graces. It is his function to make woman's body beautiful and to add richness to her tone. Under his care the pelvis develop, the breasts become round and attractive. The eyes begin to speak the language of love and the whole body acquires a rich hue. His work is advanced and he hands her on to Agni. Who is Agni? He is the Lord of Fire, the Lord of Agni-tattva. Nature is radiant with colour and joy in Spring and Summer. Animals breed in Spring. . . . Agni is the fructifier. It is he who brings about the menstrual flow and women then can bear children. Agni then gives her to man, her fourth pati or lord'.[1] In the 'Grasping of the Hand' ceremony also the biological aspect of marriage is fully brought out. The bridegroom says to the bride, 'The Heaven am I, the Earth thou. Come let us marry. Let us unite our sperm. Let us beget offsprings. Let us acquire many sons and may they reach old age. Loving, bright with genial minds, may we see a hundred autumns, may we live a hundred autumns'.[2] Just as in the Vedic pantheon, the Heaven and the Earth (Dyāvā Pṛthivī) are the parents of gods or shining ones, so the husband and the wife are expected to generate a world of their own.

Marriage should be Fruitful and Prosperous

The nuptials symbolize not only the biological function of marriage but also employ a number of symbols which refer to the fertility and prosperity of the married life. There is the Lājā-Homa[3] or 'offerings of Fried Grains into Fire' ceremony in which the brother of the bride pours out of his joined hands fried grains mixed with Śamī leaves. The bride offers them with firmly joined hands standing, while the bridegroom recites the verse, 'To the god Aryaman the girl has made sacrifice, to Agni. May he, god Aryaman, loosen us from here, and not from the husband's side. Svāhā!' The girl strewing grains prayed thus, 'May my husband live long; my relations be prosperous. Svāhā! This grain I have thrown into the fire; may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee. May Agni grant us N. N. Svāhā'.[4] Here grains and leaves are symbols of fruitfulness and prosperity. There is another ceremony which emphasizes the same thing. According to the Gṛhyasūtras, a strong man snatches the bride up from the ground and sets her down in an eastern or northern direction on a red bulls' hide with the word, 'Here may the cows sit down, here

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[1] The Aryan Marriage, pp. 26, 27.

[2] द्यौरहं पृथ्वी त्वं। तावेहि विवहावहै सह रेतो दधावहै, etc. Hiraṇyakeśī G.S., I, 6. 20. 1.

[3] Pāraskara G.S., I, 6. 1.

[4] Pāraskara G.S., I, 6.

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the horses, here the men. Here may sacrifice with thousand gifts, here may Pūṣan sit down'.[1] The bull, the horse, the cows, the men, the sacrifice are all recognized as signs of virility and fecundity. The idea of, and a strong desire for, a prosperous life is better expressed in the ceremony called Saptapadī or the 'Rite of Taking Seven Steps'.[2] The husband makes the wife step forward in a northern direction seven steps with the words, 'One step for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comforts, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend, be with seven steps (united to me). So be thou devoted to me'.[3]

Marriage a Crisis: Removal of Evil Influences

Marriage is the most critical event in the life of a man and ushers in quite a new era in his life. It establishes a novel relation between two persons, which is attended by many anticipations, hopes and fears. In the nuptials various attempts are made to remove the dangers (associated with the crisis of marriage). The father of the bride, while making the pair face each other, exhorts her in the following words: 'Be thou of benign and pleasing eyes; never cherish an evil design against your husband; be kind and well-wishing to cattle and others dependent like them; be always cheerful and prosperous; be the mother of heroic sons; sacrifice to the gods; be happy, be auspicious to us, bipeds and quadrupeds'.[4] The first fears and doubts are about the bride who is to form the nucleus of the home and has to deal not only with her husband but also with his dependents and cattle. In relation with all these she is expected to be affectionate, kind and generous. In the Rāṣṭrabhṛta sacrifice bridegroom seeks protection from important gods and Fathers against all possible dangers which might be lurking in a married life. He says, 'Let Fire, the Lord of creatures protect me, let Indra the Lord of the Great protect me; let Yama, the Lord of the Earth, protect me . . . '.[5] In the Abhiṣiñcana, 'Sprinkling of water'[6] ceremony, the waters are requested to ensure a perfect health and all-round peace: 'Let the waters, which are auspicious, the most auspicious, peaceful the most peaceful, be health-giving medicine to you'.[7] Then there is a Sumaṅgate (Auspicious) ceremony in which the bridegroom invites the assembled guests and relatives to bless her with the following words: 'Auspicious ornaments does this woman wear, come to her and behold her.

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[1] Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 8. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 4. 17.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 5. 7–11.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 8. 5.
[7] *Ibid.*

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Having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses'.[1] At the close of the nuptials there is a ceremony, called Caturthī-Karma,[2] which is performed on the fourth day after marriage. The husband offers oblations with the verses, 'Agni! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance that dwells in her, that brings death to her husband, that extirpate in her. Svāhā!'[3] Next he sprinkles water on the bride with the words, 'The evil substances that dwell in thee, that bring death to thy husband, children, cattle, house and fame, that I change into one that brings death to thy paramour. Thus live with me to an old age'.[4] In all these ceremonies the critical nature of marriage and the dangers attendant thereon are realized and attempts are made to remove them. Here one thing particularly is noteworthy. The bride is supposed to be more susceptible to dangers than the bridegroom and, therefore, she is the centre of auspicious ceremonies.

Marriage not a Licence

The fact that marriage is not a passport for sexual indulgence but a human institution aiming at moderation in the conjugal life, has been emphasized at the end of the nuptials, when the Trirātra-vrata or the 'Observance of Continence for Three Nights'[5] is undertaken. 'Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food, they shall sleep on the ground; they shall refrain from the sexual intercourse through one year, or at least three nights'.[6] The symbolism of this observance seems to be to give a lesson in moderation to the married couple.

Marriage a Social Change and a Sacrifice

The nuptials in their utterances, promises, hopes and fears symbolize a great social transition in the life of the bride and the bridegroom. They are no longer irresponsible youths depending for their bread and views on their parents. The seriousness of life dawns upon them. They forsake their old families to form a new one. They have to run an independent home, to earn their own livelihood, to procreate children and to discharge their obligations towards gods, Fathers and the creatures of the world. This is the life of responsibilities and cares.

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[1] Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 9.
[2] Āpastamba G.S., 8. 8; Khādira G.S., I, 4. 22.
[3] Pāraskara G.S., I, 11. 2.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 8. 21.
[6] *Ibid.*

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Thus the general function of nuptial symbolism is to cover all the aspects of married life. The biological significance, the critical nature, the physical and mental union of the couple, moderation, the social transition and sacrifice—these are the main features of the Hindu nuptials. They have been symbolically suggested but not described in transparent prose, because conveyed through symbols, they are better emphasized and become more eloquent and telling.

R. B. PANDEY.

THE NANDAS AND THE MAURYAS FROM TAMIL SOURCES

I. ON THE NANDAS

The Śangam Literature of the Tamils is considered to be a valuable source of information to ancient south Indian History. It is equally valuable in throwing a flood of light on the North Indian History as well. Among the Śangam works, the most valuable anthologies are the Ahanānūṟu and the Puṟanānūṟu. A Śangam celebrity like Māmūlanār has occasion to refer to the Nandas and their great wealth. At the same breath he makes mention of the Mauryas whom he designates *vamba* or 'the new'. It is almost certain that this great poet Māmūlanār was a contemporary of Bindusāra, if not of Aśoka. There is a significant line in Aham, 251,

Nandan veṟukkai eaitinum maṟṟa.

If we read this, with another passage by the same author

Palpukaḻ niṟainda Velpōr Nandar
Śīrmiku Pāṭaliḵ Kulīḵ-Kangai
Nīrmutaṟ Karanda nidiyaṅ Kollō (Aham 265)

there is a strong confirmation that the reference is undoubtedly to the imperial Nandas who occupied the throne of Magadha at Pāṭaliputra before the Mauryas. In the second passage there is a definite mention of Pāṭali, and this Pāṭali cannot be anything else than Pāṭaliputra, the rich capital of the great Nandas whose valour and wealth are a matter for praise by the Tamil poet. This passage is important from more than one standpoint. It states that the Nandas had lavished their capital with their magnificent riches, and even hoarded some of their wealth in the city. For the poet tells us with regret that such immense riches had been swept away

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by the floods of the Ganges. This is an additional information which has been well corroborated by the archaeologist. Below the bottom of the Gupta walls, we observe a belt of virgin soil eight feet thick distributed evenly over the floor. This cannot be except by floods of an unprecedented character, because 'the soil is Ganges silt and virgin'. In the light of the remarks by the archaeologist we have no hesitation to credit the testimony of the Tamil Śangam poet. When he wrote, he did not draw from his imagination but he made a statement of fact.

The archaeologist has further recorded another catastrophe that befell the Pāṭali capital. It was fire. Black ash and charcoal lying like a pall over the Mauryan structures are evidences of their destruction by an outbreak of fire. This incident is not noted by Māmūlanār. Evidently Māmūlanār did not live when this incident of fire took place at Pāṭaliputra. It was at a later stage and possibly before the Guptas put up their walls (see for details my *Mauryan Polity*—Madras University, pp. 61–63). This only shows that the Nanda sway was felt even in distant Tamil kingdoms and that there was frequent intercourse, mostly commercial and cultural, between North and South in the epoch of the Nandas, who were themselves very prosperous.

II. On the Mauryas

That Śangam poet Māmūlanār seems to have had an historical bent of mind. His reference to the Nanda rule and capital is remarkable enough. Much more remarkable is his pointed reference to the new dynasty of the Mauryas. He speaks of 'Mākeḻu tānai ṿamba mōriyar' (Aham 251). He refers to the Mōriyar in another passage (Aham 281). The burden of the song in these passages is the recording of the fact of a Mauryan invasion to the South. The Mauryan army consisted chiefly of the war-chariot.

> Viṇporu neḍuvarai iyaltēr mōriyar
> Ponpunai tikiri tiritarak kuraitta
> Varai . . . . (Aham 69).

The above lines are by another poet of the Śangam age, Parankoṛṛanār by name. In their expedition to the south which was interspersed by hills and mountains, the main arm of the Mauryan army was the chariot. No doubt horses and elephants are mentioned as following the imperial army. But the war-chariot figures prominently. Three poets have referred to this incident—Māmūlanār, Parankoṛṛanār and Attiraiyanār. The contribution of Attiraiyanār is found in the anthology of Puṛam (Puṛam, 175). All of them refer

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independently to the Mauryan war chariot. Besides demonstrating the value and use of a chariot for purposes of war, in ancient times, its application especially in mountain tracts is noteworthy. The war chariot was the tank of Hindu warfare. That this army must have been accompanied by a number of sappers and miners is evident from the fact that the hard rocks of the hills were cut down so as to get free passage for the chariot wheels. To cut down rocks and get a clear pathway for the chariot and the army to pass freely must have been a work of great magnitude and toil for the hardy sappers and miners of the Mauryan army. The chariot was adorned with flying banners and a lofty umbrella. The umbrella was an insignia of Hindu royalty and was an unfailing sign of an emperor (Cakravartin).

From the Aham, 251, we are to infer that the Kośar, a South Indian tribe were friendly to the imperial Mauryas. They helped the North Indian army in their march to the heart of the Tamilagam. For it is said that the drums during the battle were sounded on the Podiyil hill. This was in the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The stanza further tells us that it was the king of Mohūr who was not willing to accept the suzerainty of the Mauryas. The Mohūr chieftain was apparently a sāmanta chief, ruling independently of the three Tamil kingdoms. There has been constant warfare between this chief and the Tamil kings. We see in the Śilappadikāram that Śenguṭṭuvan had a successful engagement with the then chief of Mohūr, Paḷaiyan by name. I have identified the Kośar with Satyaputras of Aśoka (Ind. Culture, Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. 493–96). They had earned a name for speaking truth and truth only. They aided the Mauryan army in their defeat of this recalcitrant chief of Mohūr who challenged the emperor of North India. The Kośar were not the only allies of the Mauryas. The verse 281, Aham, refers to the help given by another South Indian tribe Vaḍukar. The chief war weapon of the Vaḍukar was the arrow. The poet says that the Vaḍukar formed the vanguard of the Mauryan army invading the South,

Muranmiku vaḍukar munnura moriyar.

Who the Vaḍukar were cannot be exactly determined. The literal meaning of the term Vaḍukar is the 'people of the north'. This north is only north of the Tamilagam. In the Śangam age the northern limit of the Tamil country proper was the Tirupati hills; a portion of South Mysore and even a part of the present South Canara formed the North-Western boundary of the Tamil country. Those who resided beyond these borders were generally named Vaḍukar by the Tamils. This means that the Vaḍukar can be

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identified partly with the Kanarese people and partly with the Telugus. This is further attested by the testimony of the Sanskritists who define Dravida as the land occupied by the Tamils and Malayalis of the West coast. Neither the Andhra country nor the Kanarese formed a part of the ancient Dravida deśa. This perhaps explains why the Vaḍukar and the Kośar readily enlisted themselves in the rank and file of the imperial Mauryan army as against the Tamil chief. But for the help given by these South Indian tribes, it would not have been possible for the Mauryan conqueror to penetrate the far south.

The next question is who was the Mauryan Emperor who led this expedition to the south. It cannot be Aśoka, for from both literary and epigraphical evidences he made no new conquest, except his reconquest of Kalinga. And further Aśoka's inscriptions give us definitely what the boundary limits of his empire were. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that a predecessor of Aśoka was responsible for the extension of the Empire in the south. The possibility that it might have been Chandragupta Maurya has to be ruled out. For he had enough and more engagements nearer home and in the distant North-West. He was more anxious to consolidate what he had gained than to enter fresh conquests. Therefore it must be Bindusāra who was responsible for the Deccan and South Indian expeditions. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that Bindusāra carried his army to the very south, and became the ally of the Tamil Kings. This was kept up by his well-known successor Aśoka.

V. R. Ramachandra Dikṣhitar.

THE PREDECESSORS OF THE GUPTAS IN MAGADHA

In spite of the research work done during the last hundred years, there are still some dark periods in the realm of ancient Indian History. One such period is the history of Magadha after the dismemberment of the Mauryan empire and before the rise of the Guptas. What we know from Purāṇas does not throw much light on the subject. According to their testimony Mauryan dynasty was supplanted in *c.* 184 B.C. by Puśyamitra Śunga, who then usurped the throne. The Śunga dynasty lasted for 112 years, and then the Kāṇvāyanas or Kaṇvas seized power in about 72 B.C.; they in turn, after a brief rule of 45 years, were uprooted by the Andhras in or about 29 B.C. Then we hear about Guptas when Chandragupta I came to Magadhan throne in 320 A.D.

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Puśyamitra's dominion extended up to the Punjab in the North and the Narmadā in the South. Pāṭaliputra continued to be imperial seat. After him we do not know anything about Magadha with certitude. In the reign of his son Agnimitra, Magadha ceased to be the leader of Indian nations and Pāṭaliputra the metropolis of India. Vidisā in eastern Mālwā is seen in prominence, but there is nothing to show that Magadha was ever excluded from his domains. That the Kāṇvāyanas (successors of the Śungas) ruled over Magadha is generally recognized [1] but about Andhras scholars differ in their views. Raychaudhury does not think it probable that they ruled in Magadha proper[2] but others acknowledge their conquest of Magadha in the first century B.C.[3] But their rule over Magadha till the rise of the Guptas has not been acknowledged by any scholar at all.

In the absence of any definite evidence about the political history of Magadha, the century preceded the rise of the Guptas has been reconstructed on mere surmises. Relying on I-tsing's testimony, which is based on hearsay, some believe that Pāṭaliputra comprised in the territories of Chandragupta I's ancestors.[4] Vincent Smith is of opinion that Lichchhavis were ruling over it[5]; while R. D. Banerjee says that it was ruled by some Scythian Satrap or by some chief of Magadha who had alliance with the later Great Kushānas of Muttra or the Punjab.[6]

My recent studies have brought to light certain interesting facts, which render all these views untenable and show that the Āndhras were undoubtedly the rulers of the Magadha at the time of the Guptas' rise.

Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛittānta of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* is a valuable treatise on the post-Bhārata history of India, but so far scholars had paid no attention to its merit. It reveals some interesting facts about the Guptas and the rulers immediately preceding them. According to it, an Āndhra king named Chandraśri was the ruler of Magadha, who was related to Chandragupta, son of Ghatotkachagupta (i.e. Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty) through his wife. The wives of these two were sisters of Lichchhavi descent. Chandragupta was appointed commander-in-chief of the Magadhan army

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[1] N. N. Ghosh: *Early History of India*, p. 200; Jayachandra Vidyalankar: *Bhartiya Itihas ki ruprekha*, p. 768.

[2] H. C. Raychaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 334.

[3] R. D. Banerjee: *The age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 5-6; Jayachandra Vidyalankar *Bhartiya Itihas ki ruprekha*, p. 796.

[4] R. S. Tripathi: *History of Ancient India*, p. 239.

[5] V. Smith: *Early History of India* (4th edition), p. 295.

[6] R. D. Banerjee: *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 2, 5.

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with the help of his wife's relatives, i.e. Lichchhavis, and later was promoted to the post of *raṣṭriyasyālaka* (?). He killed the king Chandraśri on the instigation of his queen, his sister-in-law; and then rebelled against her and killed her son Pulomā and usurped the throne and ousted the Āndhras.[1] And again it refers to Chandraśrī Śātakarṇi, known as Vaśiṣṭhīputra, as ruling for three years and his son Pulomā as ruling for seven years under the regency of Chandragupta, son of Ghatotkachagupta (i.e. Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty).[2] Thus we are informed that the king ruling over Magadha before Guptas was Chandraśri Śātakarṇi Vaśiṣṭhīputra and he had a minor son Pulomā.

The *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, a play by Vajjika,[3] refers one Sundaravarman, as the ruler of Magadha, having his capital at Pāṭaliputra. He had an adopted son Chaṇḍasena, who had a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis. With their help he besieged Pāṭaliputra and his adoptive father was killed and he won the throne for himself. Sundaravarman had a son named Kalyāṇavarman. On the death of the king the prince was shifted to the hills of Kishkindha by his faithful ministers. When he attained majority, he came back to Magadha, defeated Chaṇḍasena and ascended the throne.

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[1] श्रीघटोत्कचगुप्तस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः ।

.. ..

लब्धप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः ।

सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥

लिच्छवीयां समुद्वाह्य देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम् ।

राष्ट्रियस्यालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥

चन्द्रश्रियं घातयित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित् ।

.. ..

तत्सुतं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य नृपार्भकम् ॥

आन्ध्रेभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्याऽपहरिष्यति ।

As quoted by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar in the *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, p. cii-ciii.

[2] चन्द्र श्री शातकर्णिस्तु चीणि वर्षाणि भोक्ष्यति ।

वशिष्ठपुत्र नाम्ना तु ख्यातो यस्य भविष्यति ।

पुलोमाऽपि तथा चान्यस्त्रमासप्त भविष्यति ।

घटोत्कचस्य पुत्रेण चन्द्रगुप्तेन पालितः ॥

Ibid.

[3] *Journal of Andhra Research Society*, Vols. II and III; Dakshina Bharatiya Sanskrit Series.

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Jayaswal thinks that the authoress of the play was a contemporary witness of the events described in the play. A historical drama cannot be taken as true in every detail, but at the same time it cannot be denied that it has usually some substratum of facts. The names might be fictitious but the characters can undoubtedly be taken as the personalities of the time.

If we minutely scrutinize the description given in the *Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛittānta* and the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* we find that the throne of Magadha was usurped by a relative of the ruler, who had marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis. The ruler was killed and his minor son ruled for some time and then he was also killed. Having these facts before us, we may identify Chandragupta, Chandraśri and Pulomā of *Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛittānta* with Chaṇḍasena, Sundarvarman and Kalyāṇavarman of *Kaumudī-mahotsava* respectively.

In *Kaumudī-mahotsava* Kalyāṇavarman is referred as Karṇiputra.[1] Here Karṇi undoubtedly refers to Sundarvarman and it is most likely the abbreviation of Śātakarṇi. We know Śātakarṇi is the name of Pulomā's father. Thus Sundarvarman may positively be recognized as Chandraśrī Śātkarṇi of *Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛittānta* and his son Kalyāṇavarman with Pulomā. About Chandragupta of *Kaliyuga-rāja-Vṛittānta* the mention of Ghatotkachagupta as his father is self evidence that he was no other than Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty. Jayaswal has also identified Chaṇḍasena of *Kaumudī-mahotsava* with Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty, who is identical with the Chandragupta of *Kaliyuga-rāja-Vṛittanta*.

Thus from two independent sources we come to know that the Guptas usurped the throne of Magadha from the Āndhras, and the rulers of the dynasty, contemporaries to him were Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and Pulomā.

Śātavāhanas are called Āndhras in the Purāṇas and they call themselves as Śātakarṇi. Further we know from the *Matsya-purāṇa* that Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and Pulahmavi were the last rulers of the dynasty. All these facts lead one to identify them with the Āndhra rulers of Magadha referred to above.

Now it is clear that the last two rulers of the Śātavāhana dynasty were contemporary to Chandragupta I; and leaves no ground to doubt that prior to the rise of the Guptas and after the fall of Kāṇvas, the Śātavāhanas were ruling over Magadha down to *c.* 315 A.D.

The genealogy and chronology of Śātavāhana dynasty is still a problem, which has not yet been satisfactorily solved. According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* the Śātavāhanas ruled for about four centuries

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[1] अद्यो तु खलु विटजनाभ्यर्चित-कर्णीपुत्र-कौन्तिस्तम्भालङ्कृत-राजमार्गस्य कुसुमपुरवेश्मस्य परा श्रीः ॥

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and a half and for 300 years according to *Vāyu-purāṇa*. The number of rulers in the dynasty also varies from 17 to 30 in various manuscripts of the Purāṇas.[1] Moreover, some new names, unknown from any other sources, have come to light from their coins.[2] So it is not easy to assign any period to any ruler of this dynasty with any amount of certitude. The date of the fall of Kāṇvas is known to be *c.* 29 B.C. This must be the date of Simuka, the founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty. But, at the same time, there may be possibility that he ascended the throne earlier—say sometime about the middle of first century B.C.[3] The period between the accession of Simuka and that of the accession of Chandragupta I (320 A.D.) is not far from the Pauranic assignment to Śātavāhana reign; and it may be taken as correct. In the circumstances there is nothing which could bar the recognition of the contemporaneity of the last rulers of this dynasty and of Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA.

CAṆḌEŚVARA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO BALLĀLA SENA

We have discussed elsewhere Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa[4] and to Śrīdatta.[5] Now we are going to discuss Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena, a Hindu King of Bengal who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century and produced four works on Dharmaśāstra, one of which has been fully published, another partially published and the remaining two of which are known only from references in his published works. The fully published work is the *Adbhutasāgara*[6] and the partially published work is the *Dānasāgara*,[7] while the unpublished works which seem to have been lost are the *Ācārasāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*. The partially printed edition of the *Dānasāgara* is based[8] upon the three Calcutta MSS. of the same, one of which belongs to the Society's collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and has, therefore,

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1 H. C. Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 337–39.
2 *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II, p. 85.
3 R. S. Tripathi: *History of Ancient India*, pp. 191-92.
4 *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXIII (1937), pp. 138–142.
5 *N.I.A.*, Vol. V (1942), pp. 36–38.
6 Published by Prabhakari & Co., Benares, 1905.
7 Edited with Bengali introduction and translation, by S. C. Kaviratna, Calcutta (1914–1919) (pp. 1–16, 1–316) up to pañcalāṅgalamahādāna.
8 Vide p. 3 of the Bengali introduction of the same.

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not been described by the late MM. Haraprasad Shastri in his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the Government of India Collection, Vol. III (1925) and the remaining two of which are deposited in two private libraries of Calcutta. The MS. of the *Dānasāgara*, existing in the India Office Collection of London, has been so fully described in the I.O. Catalogue that it has helped Mr. (now Mahāmahopādhyāya) P. V. Kane to draw pointed attention of the scholars in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I,[1] to the invaluable merit of the *Dānasāgara* in checking the contents of the extant Purāṇas. Dr. R. C. Hazra who acted up to the advice[2] of Mahāmahopādhyāya Kane in fixing the chronology of the Purāṇas by producing his '*Studies in Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs*,'[3] consulted the India Office MS. of the *Dānasāgara* which helped him in checking the contents of the extant purāṇas as previously indicated by Mr. Kane. But neither Mr. Kane nor Dr. Hazra has utilized or even mentioned the Calcutta edition of the *Dānasāgara*, which, though incomplete, was published in Devanāgarī script and earlier than the works of both. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar who has recently edited the *Bṛhaspatismṛti*[4] and *Kṛtyakalpataru*[5] in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* has utilized the Calcutta edition of the *Dānasāgara* in the former and the R.A.S.B. MS. of the same in the latter work. He has thus drawn for the first time attention to the partially printed edition of the work and its full MS., deposited in the library of the R.A.S.B.

We shall now consider Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena. Now as Caṇḍeśvara has quoted Ballāla Sena's *Dānasāgara* and no other work in his *Kṛtyaratnākara* only, so our study will concern itself with the enumeration and identification of the quotations from Ballāla Sena's *Dānasāgara* in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtyaratnākara*. The index to the *Kṛtyaratnākara*[6] (p. 641) contains five entries against the *Dānasāgara* and six against *Sāgara*, which is an obvious abbreviation of *Dānasāgara* and I have found out six more quotations from *Sāgara* or *Dānasāgara* in the *Kṛtyaratnākara*. But as the major portion of the *Dānasāgara* is as yet unpublished and as the R.A.S.B. MS. is at present unavailable, so I have contented myself in tracing six only of these seventeen quotations in the *paribhāṣa* chapter of the same (pp. 93–122 of the partially printed edition) which corresponds so closely with the same chapter of the

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[1] Vide p. 340.
[2] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930), p. 162.
[3] Published by the Dacca University, 1940.
[4] No. LXXXV, 1941.
[5] Vol. V, No. XCII, 1941.
[6] Edited by MM. Kamala-Krishna Smrititīrtha, B.I., 1925.

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Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 45–79) in the enumeration and arrangement of topics, quotation of texts and interpretations that not only the six identified quotations but the whole chapter of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* seems to be a faithful copy of the same chapter of the *Dānasāgara* with slight variations. So the mention of the several topics of the *paribhāṣa* chapter of the two works will not be out of place here. The identified quotations from the *Dānasāgara* in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* are also appended below.

		D.S.	K.R.
1.	*Paribhāṣa* in general ..	pp. 93–100	= pp. 45–50.
2.	*Paribhāṣa* for Expiatory rites for small lapses	pp. 100–103	= pp. 50–52.
3.	,, ,, Rites for invalid persons ..	pp. 103-4	= pp. 52-3.
4.	,, ,, Rites for fasting	pp. 104–7	= pp. 53–7.
5.	,, ,, Rites for nocturnal eating ..	pp. 107-8	= pp. 57–9.
6.	,, ,, Rites for oblation to the sacred fire	pp. 108–112	= pp. 59–62.
7.	,, ,, Rites for muttering prayers ..	pp. 113–5	= pp. 62–5.
8 & 9.	,, ,, Articles and grains ..	p. 116	= pp. 65–9.
10–12.	,, ,, Seven kinds of rice, all grains and all scents ..	p. 117	= pp. 69–71.
13–15.	,, ,, Gems, flavours and minerals ..	p. 118	= pp. 71-2.
16.	,, ,, Substitutes in the absence of principal articles ..	pp. 119-20	= pp. 73–6.
17.	,, ,, Weights and measures ..	pp. 120–122	= pp. 76-7.
18 & 19.	,, ,, Incense and light	(wanting in D.S.).....	pp. 77–9.

Abbreviations

I.O. = India Office (London).
R.A.S.B. = Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
D.S. = Dānasāgara.
K.R. = Kṛtyaratnākara.
B.I. = Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta).

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Appendix of the Quotations

K.R. D.S.

1. p. 46=p. 94—शक्ताशक्तस्त्रीपुंसाधारणाच्च....हरिवंशे तथैवोक्तेरिति सागरः।
(D.S. reads °हरिवंशोक्तं)

2. p. 50=p. 100—अनुहरणे पाठे.....आत्मप्रपुंसाच्चेति सागरः।

3. p. 51=p. 102—तथाच योगियाज्ञवल्क्यः—यदि....श्रुतिः॥ इति सागरः।

4. p. 54=p. 105—सावित्रीजपश्च.....नारायणस्मरणमिति दानसागरः।

5. pp. 56-7=p. 107—दानसागरे तु उपवासेनेति.....व्रतसागरीयमुखबन्धस्थस्त्री-व्रतचर्य्यायामञ्जनदन्तधावनादिनिषेधादित्युक्तम्।

6. p. 61=p. 111—अश्वत्थन्यग्रोधः.....अश्वत्थस्य पुनरुपादानादिति सागरः।

Note

It is generally believed[1] that Ballāla Sena composed four works on Dharmaśāstra, viz. the *Dānasāgara*, *Adbhutasāgara*, *Ācārasāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*, the MSS. of the former two being extant and the existence of the latter two being inferred from the verses 55 and 56 of the *Dānasāgara* (p. 11 of the printed edition). But I have come across the mention of a fifth work of the name of *Vratasāgara* in two places of the partially printed edition of the *Dānasāgara* (pp. 94 and 107). The first mention is just after हरिवंशोक्तं (1st identified quotation) and occurs in the sentence व्रतसागरीय-स्त्रीव्रतचर्य्यायामनुसन्धेयम्, while the second mention is found in the fifth identified quotation, the relevant position being व्रतसागरीयमुखबन्धस्थ-स्त्रीव्रतचर्य्यायाम्°।

Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.

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[1] Vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930), p. 340; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (1943), p. 353 (published by Dacca University).

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JAINAGURU MAHĀVĪRA (Prācyavāṇī Mandira Sārvajanīn Granthamālā Series, Dvitīya Puṣpa), by Dr. Bimala Churn Law. 1944.

It is a nice little book dealing with the life and teachings of Mahāvīra, the well-known founder of Jainism. The book consists of two chapters and in the first chapter the author has ably discussed such important topics as the date of Mahāvīra's attainment of Nirvāṇa, his influence upon his disciples, his age, his equal treatment towards the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhuṇīs*, etc. The second chapter which is devoted to the discussion of important religious instruction of Mahāvīra is very well-written. The author has been successful in giving a clear and lucid account of Mahāvīra's doctrine. The difficult problems of Jainism such as *Syādvāda, Kriyāvāda, Nirīśvaravāda, Avinaśvaravāda, Niṣkriyāvāda, Adṛṣṭavāda, jñāna, darśana* and *caritra, jīva* and *ajīva, bandha, pāpa* and *puṇya, āśrava, samvara, nirjarā, mokṣa, siddhi, karma, leśyā*, etc., have received due consideration in this book. A brief account of some of the important Jain men and women has been given in the Appendix. An index has been given to facilitate the study of the subject.

This is the first and the most successful attempt to write in Bengali a book on Mahāvīra and his doctrine. We can safely and strongly recommend this little book to all those interested in Jainism.

S. KAR.

A HISTORY OF THE CANONICAL LITERATURE OF THE JAINAS, by H. R. Kapadia. Surat, 1941.

This book consists of seven chapters dealing with the genesis of the Jaina Scriptures, classification of the Āgamas, redaction of the Jaina Canon, the extinct Āgamas of the Jainas, the extant Āgamas of the Jainas, the Canonical Exegetical Literature, Comparison and Evaluation. There are two indices which are useful. All these chapters are very helpful and informative and give sufficient evidence to author's sound knowledge of the subject. He has refrained from building up untenable theories and doubtful hypotheses. The author ought to have given a detailed summary of some of the important Jain books in order to make this work more useful. Yet we welcome the publication of this book which will no doubt be a valuable guide in studying Jainism.

T. N. CHAKRAVARTTY.

NĀYĀDHAMMAKAHĀO (the sixth Aṅga of the Śvetāmvara Jain Canon), critically edited by Prof. N. V. Vaidya. Fergusson College, Poona, 1940.

The author has removed a long-felt want by editing this important Jain text with a list of variant readings given at the end. He has made use of the five manuscripts preserved in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. This sixth Aṅga is divided into two *Suyakkhandhas* named as *Nāya* and *Dhammakahā*, the former has 19 subdivisions and the latter has ten, each is called as *Vagga*, which also has subdivisions. This work contains didactic and religious narratives which are useful. It is no doubt a readable edition and in the second edition we expect from the editor some important extracts from the commentary of Abhayadeva Sūri to be published along with the texts, which are absolutely necessary for a better understanding.

H. P. G.

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ANCIENT LANGUAGES OF ASIA MINOR

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji in a revealing article recently published in *Indian Culture* (Vol. VIII, pp. 309–322) has drawn the attention of Indian linguisticians to the Hittite language which, as shown by him, throws a flood of light on the prehistory of the Indo-European basic language. A very brief description of the Hittite language was published by me some years ago in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* (Vol. VII, pp. 92–106). In the present paper, based chiefly on the writings of Johannes Friedrich, I intend to try to present to interested Indian readers the Hittite language in the setting of the other ancient languages discovered at Boghaz-köi.

The documents from which our meagre knowledge of the ancient languages of Asia Minor is derived are not all of the same age. They may be broadly divided into two groups: (1) Those belonging to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (*circa* 1400–1300) from which is derived our knowledge of Hittite, Luvian, Chattish, Charrish (or Churrish), Mitanni, Palaish (?) and also of a language of the Indo-Iranian type. Charrish and Mitanni are dialects of the same language for which the designation Subaraean has been suggested. (2) Those belonging to the first millennium B.C. (some also of post-Christian era) composed in Lycian, Lydian, Carian and Phrygian. There are also documents in hieroglyphic Hittite dating from about 800 B.C., but they are still undeciphered. Etruscan too is considered to have been originally a language of Asia Minor, but no Etruscan or proto-Etruscan document has hitherto been identified among the finds of Boghaz-köi. In the present article only the languages of the first group will be discussed.

The Asia Minor languages of the second millennium B.C. were spoken by groups of people ruled over by the Hittites whose empire was for a time one of the mightiest in the ancient orient. Since the downfall of their empire the Hittites, however, completely disappeared from history to reappear only in the twentieth century, thanks to the labours of zealous archaeologists. The name Hittite occurs frequently in the Old Testament, and that the Hittites had founded a powerful empire was also known from Egyptian records of the 15th to the 13th century B.C. But it was thought at first that the Hittite empire was situated in northern Syria. After the discovery of Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions both at the Syrian

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centre of the Hittite world and in Asia Minor it began to be suggested that the Hittites must have lived also in Asia Minor, and what was thus thrown out at first as a suggestion turned out ultimately to be the truth when Hugo Winckler announced his epoch-making discoveries made at Boghaz-köi, the site of the capital city *Ḫattušaš* of the great Chatti empire, of which the chief centre during its blooming period lay in Asia Minor and not in Syria.

The native designation of the country was *Chatti*; English *Hittite*, German *Hethiter*, etc. however are derived not from this *Chatti*, but from Hebrew *Ḥittīm*. The Egyptians used to write the name as *Ḥt'*—which the Egyptologists formerly vocalized mostly into *Cheta*. From this *Cheta* is derived the form *Chetiter* sometimes used even today by German scholars. From *Chatti*, the name of the country, is derived also the designation *Chattish*, which however is the name of a language different from Hittite.

The chief source of our knowledge of these ancient languages is the great State archive of the Chatti empire containing more than ten thousand cuneiform tablets discovered by Winckler in 1906-7. They are all written in Accadian cuneiform script, but the language of most of them, which appears also in the Arzawa-letters (see below), and which was evidently the native language of the country, was quite unknown in Winckler's time.

After the death of Winckler at first the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft took over the work of publishing these cuneiform texts and brought out the six fascicles of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Leipzig, 1916–23) usually referred to in abbreviation as KBo. In 1922 the Near East section of the State Museums of Berlin took over the publication of the cuneiform texts as *Keilschriftturkunden aus Boghaz-köi* (abbr. KUB) and the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft began to publish the texts in transcription under the title *Die Boghaz-köi-texte in Umschrift* (abbr. BoTU) to make them accessible to wider circles. Most of the text-tablets are in the Osmania Museum in Constantinople and the State Museums in Berlin. Some are in the British Museum, and they have been published as *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character*, London, 1920 (abbr. HT).

Soon after the beginning of systematic publication of the Boghaz-köi-texts in Germany it became apparent that not only the expected Hittite language but altogether six different languages are represented in them. The names of and the texts in these languages are contained in the reports of religious sacrifices in the Hittite State archives. In these reports there are many texts of hymns as they were actually chanted at the sacrifices. The hymns were chanted not only in the State language but also in

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other languages spoken in the Hittite empire. The texts in these non-Hittite languages are mostly introduced by a formula in Hittite such as: (1) 'The singer sings in Chattish (*ḫa-at-ti-li*)', (2) 'The singer sings in Charrish (*ḫar-li-li*)', or 'the Charrian singer sings' or 'the singer of Charri sings', (3) 'the singer sings in Luvian (*lu-u-i-li*)'. In many cases, however, only the introductory formula is given, without any text in the language concerned. This is invariably the case with texts in a fourth language, the Palaish. In some fragments it is indeed said, (4) 'the old woman utters the words of sacrificial offerings in Palaish (*pa-la-um-ni-li*)', but no text in this language has yet been discovered. The words *ḫattili*, *ḫarlili*, *luili* and *palāumnili* are adverbs derived from the country names *Chatti*, *Charri*, *Lūia* and *Palā* known also from other sources. The names of the Chattish, the Charrish, the Luvian and the Palāish language are therefore guaranteed by the texts themselves.

Now, with the name *Hittite*, derived from the country-name Chatti (see *supra*), it has become customary to designate the ruling class of the Chatti empire and their language (that this language is Indo-European in character we shall see below), while the name *Chattish* is used to designate the language of the ethnologically and linguistically altogether different autochthonous population of the country living under the rule of the Hittites. The name *Chatti* is therefore used in a double sense: (1) In the narrower ethnographic-linguistic sense to designate the ancient people of Chatti, after whom the country too was named. (2) In a wider sense, as a term of political connotation, designating the whole Chatti empire with its various peoples. Friedrich aptly remarks in this connection that in German the word *Preussen* too is used in a similar double sense, firstly as the designation of the ancient Prussian people (with their Prussian language), and secondly as the designation of the German State of Prussia.

There is no compelling reason why the chief language of the Hittite empire should be called Hittite. The texts use the term *ḫattili* only to designate the Chattish language; a proper designation of the Indo-European *Hittite* language cannot be found in them. Only in one passage the word *nāšili* (adverb in *-li* as in *ḫattili*, etc.) is used of this language, but the evidence of this sole passage is hardly sufficient to decide the proper designation of the language concerned. Forrer on the other hand is inclined to call the Indo-European Hittites and their language *Kanisian*, and that too on the evidence of the descriptions of sacrifices mentioned above. In them it is often said 'the singer of the city of Kaniš sings', and the singing thus referred to was done apparently in our Indo-European Hittite language. Hence Forrer argues, just as the singer of Charri

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sang in Charrish, so the singer of Kaniš must have sung in Kanisian. But from the texts it is clear that Kaniš was the name only of an important city of the Chatti empire; nowhere it is recorded that it was the native designation of the ruling class and their language. Out of these considerations, and also on account of the fact that the term *Hittite* has now become so current in linguistic literature as the designation of the Indo-European language spoken in the Chatti empire that no other name can now be adopted for it without causing the greatest confusion, the leading Hittitologists such as Sommer and Hrozny have come to the unanimous conclusion that the name *Hittite*, though not quite correct, should be retained in use as the designation of the people and the country concerned until and unless some future find reveals the real name.

Hittite studies had begun long before Winckler's discoveries. Already from the eighties of the last century two cuneiform letters discovered in the Egyptian State archive excavated at El-Amarna were known to the scholarly world. As one of the two letters is addressed to the king of a country called Arzawa, the two letters came to be known as Arzawa-letters, and their language as Arzawa language. Today we know that this language is no other than our Hittite. Knudtzon tried to interpret the language of the Arzawa-letters already in 1902, and together with Bugge and Torp he declared it to be Indo-European in character. The evidence from which Knudtzon drew his daring conclusion was, however, extremely meagre; in fact, as index to the Indo-European character of the Arzawa language he could show hardly anything more than the word *e-eš-tu* of which the meaning 'he should be' was quite uncontestable and the suffixes *-mi-* 'my' and *-ti-* 'thy'. Knudtzon's suggestion could not therefore carry conviction with the experts in Indo-European philology; nor was his case strengthened by the fanciful etymologization indulged in by Bugge and Torp.

Thorough and scientific investigation of the Hittite language began with the discoveries made at Boghaz-köi. As the documents are in cuneiform characters the Assyriologists were naturally the first to undertake their investigation, and their work was greatly facilitated by the discovery of fragments of lexicons in which Sumero-Accadian words are explained by corresponding Hittite ones. Delitzsch was the first to publish in transcription some of these texts, and he also isolated a few flexional elements of the Hittite language. Weidner, another distinguished Assyriologist, however, declared the language to be neither Indo-European nor Semitic but Caucasian with a mixture of Indo-Iranian elements. Finally Holma, who already knew of Hrozny's Indo-European theory, tried to strengthen it with the help of material culled from

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the lexicon fragments. But these fragments unfortunately are not free from mistakes and obscurities, and therefore could not be relied upon for the work of deciphering the Hittite texts.

Scientific Hittitology dates from the publication of Hrozny's epoch-making work *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm* (Boghaz-köi-Studien Heft 1 and 2, 1916-7). In this work Hrozny presented the main features of Hittite nominal and verbal flexion with such convincing lucidity and genial insight that little was left for the other scholars coming after him to do in the field. But Hrozny's etymologies were often puerile and absurd. For Hrozny was primarily an Assyriologist, and as such lacked the necessary training in the strict school of Indo-European linguistics. Moreover Hrozny failed to perceive that the Hittite vocabulary is predominantly non-Indo-European. He therefore committed in many cases the grave error of trying to derive non-Indo-European Hittite words from Indo-European roots. These are the reasons why none of the Indo-Europeanists gave full support to Hrozny at that time excepting Marstrander. But Marstrander was no Assyriologist himself, and his support was in many cases based on wrong premises (see his book *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite*, 1919).

It became now apparent that the true character of Hittite can be determined only by a scholar who could speak with equal authority both on Indo-European and Assyrian philology. But no such scholar was there. At last Professor Ferdinand Sommer of Munich, the honoured teacher of the present writer[1] and one of the foremost Indo-Europeanists of Europe, grasped the bull by its horns and for the sake of Hittite became an Assyriologist at an advanced age. After a long period of doubt and deliberation Professor Sommer declared Hittite to be Indo-European in its flexional structure. At the same time he severely criticized Hrozny's dilettantic etymologies. It was again Professor Sommer who laid down the strictly scientific principles of investigating Hittite words and forms. Scouting the procedure adopted naively by superficial scholars who would jump at distant etymologies even before the basic structure of the language concerned has been fully established, Professor Sommer showed that in Hittite absolutely dependable results can be obtained only by concentrating on the

[1] It must not be presumed that as a pupil of Professor Sommer I claim any special knowledge of Hittite. In fact I know next to nothing of Hittite and still less of the other ancient languages of Asia Minor. Professor Sommer does not allow in his Seminar classes on Hittite any student who is not already grounded in Assyriology. But he granted me the privilege of attending his coveted Seminar classes as a passive student.

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internal evidence of the available texts. The methodology prescribed by him has since been universally accepted and endorsed by the scholarly world.

In spite of the great progress made in Hittilogy in course of the last twenty-five years, and though Hittite morphology was fully revealed already by Hrozny, Hittite phonology is even now in a condition far from satisfactory. Yet it is precisely phonology which in Hittite seemed at first to be easiest to deal with. For the texts, written in Accadian syllabary, were easily read by the Assyriologists. But soon it became clear that the Accadian syllabic signs do not and cannot suggest the true sound values of Hittite words. Also the aid derived from comparison with other Indo-European languages proved to be utterly inadequate, for Hittite, the oldest attested Indo-European dialect, turned out to be a degenerate mixed language like modern Albanian! The Accadian syllabary consists of syllabic signs of which the value is either consonant +vowel (*ba*, *ki*) or vowel + consonant (*ab*, *ur*) or consonant + vowel + consonant (*bab*, *kun*). Initial or final double-consonance or medial triconsonance, which are unknown in Accadian but common in Hittite, cannot be clearly expressed by means of these syllabic signs. Moreover of the two Indo-European normal vowels *o* and *e* the first cannot be expressed at all by means of these syllabic signs and the second can be expressed only imperfectly. For these reasons it is not always possible to be sure of the real phonetic value of a Hittite word written in Accadian script, specially as the written form of almost every Hittite word contains one or more unpronounced and unetymological vowels which cannot be easily detected unless several variant forms of the same word occur in the texts. A peculiar practice of the Hittite scribes which greatly facilitated the understanding of the sense of the texts proved moreover to be an insuperable difficulty in the way of fixing the sound-values of some of the most important Hittite words. With the Accadians it was customary to use *as ideogrammes* many Sumerian forms. Now the Hittites too, in imitation of the Accadians, began to use Accadian words—and also the Sumerian words used in Accadian as ideogrammes—as ideogrammes in their own language. These Sumero-Accadian ideogrammes are used so profusely in the written Hittite texts that the general sense of a Hittite sentence can often be easily grasped by a person well grounded in Assyriology even though he may know nothing of the Hittite language. But this advantage is offset by an inescapable result of the irrational practice of using foreign words as ideogrammes: many Hittite words—including some of the commonest ones—are represented in the texts exclusively by these Sumero-Accadian

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ideogrammes, so that their native Hittite forms cannot be ascertained by any means.

As the Indo-European character of Hittite is apparent chiefly from its nominal and verbal inflexions it is not necessary for our present purpose—which is just to indicate some salient features of the various ancient languages discovered at Boghaz-köi—to go into the details of Hittite phonology. A few Hittite words, however, are being cited, along with recognized cognates in other Indo-European languages, to suggest the relation in which Hittite stands to the original Indo-European and its daughter dialects[1]:—

ed- 'to eat', *adanna* 'food'—Skt. *ad-*, *adana*, Gk. *édomai*, Lat. *edere*, etc.
eš- 'to be'—Skt. *as-*, Gr. *estí*, Lat. *esse*, etc.
eš- 'to sit down'—Skt. *ās-*, Gr. *hēstai*, etc.
ešḫar 'blood'—Gr. *éar* < **esr̥*, Skt. *asr̥j-*.
taḭ-, *te-*, *ti-* 'to set'—Skt. *dhā-*, Gr. *títhēmi*, etc.
mekki 'much'—Skt. *magh- mah-*, Gr. *mégas*, Lat. *magis*, etc.
nebiš 'sky'—Skt. *nabhas*, Gr. *néphos*, etc.
luk(k)- 'to light up'—Skt. *ruc-*, Lat. *lux*, etc.
u̯atar 'water'—Engl. *water*, Gr. *húdōr*, etc.
u̯eš- 'to clothe'—Skt. *vas-*, Lat. *ves-tis*, etc.
u̯ek-, 'to demand'—Skt. *vaś-*, Gr. *hekṓn*, etc.
paḫḫur 'fire'—Gr. *pũr*, Engl. *fire*, etc.
kuen- 'to kill'—Skt. *han-*, Gr. *theínō*, etc.
genu 'knee'—Skt. *jānu*, Lat. *genu*, etc.
barkuš 'high'—Skt. *br̥hant-*.
aššuš 'good'—Gr. *eús* < **esús*.
dalugašti 'length'—Slav. *dlŭgostĭ* (cf. Skt. *dīrgha*).

As for nominal flexion, let us take as example of a vowel stem the *i*-stem *šallaiš*, *šalliš* 'large':—

Sing. Masc.-Fem. Nom. *šallaiš*, *šalliš*, cf. Skt. *śúcis*.
Masc.-Fem. Acc. *šallin*, cf. Skt. *śúcim*, Gr. *pólin*.
Neut. Nom.-Acc. *šalli*, cf. Skt. *śúci*.
Gen. **šalliḭaš*, cf. Skt. *yuvatyās*, Gr. *pólios*.
Dat.-Loc. *šallai*, **šalli*, cf. Skt. *bhr̥tyái* (for the usual *bhr̥táye*), Gr. *pólei*, *pólī*.
Abl. *šallaḭaz*, **šalliḭaz*, cf. Skt. *aryás* and *ávyas* of *flexion forte*.
Instr. **šallit*.
Plur. Nom. Masc.-Fem. *šallaēš*, **šallēš*, cf. Skt. *śúcayas*, Lat. *civēs* < **keiu̯eḭes*.

[1] The phonetic value of Hit. *š* is *s*; that of Hit. *z* is *ts*.

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Acc. Masc.-Fem. *šalliuš* (like Lat. *filios*?).
Gen. **šallaiaš, *šalliiaš.*
Dat.-Loc. **šallaiaš, *šalliiaš.*

As example of a consonant stem let us take the *nt*-stem *ḫūmant-* 'whole':—

Sing. Nom. M.-F. *ḫūmanza* (inaccurate writing for **ḫūmants*), cf. Lat. *ferens.*
Acc. M.-F. *ḫūmandan*, cf. Lat. *ferentem.*
Nom.-Acc. Neut. *ḫūman*, cf. Gr. *phéron.*
Gen. *ḫūmandaš*, cf. Gr. *phérontos.*
Dat.-Loc. *ḫūmanti*, cf. Gr. *phéronti.*
Abl. *ḫumandaz.*

Plur. Nom. M.-F. *ḫumantes*, cf. Skt. *bhárantas*, Gr. *phérontes.*
Acc. M.-F. *ḫumanduš.*
Nom.-Acc. Neut. *ḫūmanda*, cf. Gr. *phéronta.*
Gen. *ḫūmandāš.*
Dat.-Loc. *ḫūmandaš.*

Heteroclitic *r/n*-stems (e.g. Skt. *áhar*: *áhan*, *ūdhar*: *ūdhan*) are justly regarded as one of the distinguishing features of the original Indo-European. Very few such *r/n*-stems, however, are preserved in the Indo-European dialects other than Hittite, for the primitive method of stem-variation was gradually given up in them in favour of exclusively flexional systems. But in Hittite, as we know it from the Boghaz-köi texts, these *r/n* stems are still in full bloom. As example let us take *ụatar* 'water':—

Sing. Nom.-Acc. *ụatar*, cf. Skt. *ūdhar.*
Gen. *ụetenaš*, cf. Skt. *ūdhnas.*
Dat.-Loc. *ụeteni*, cf. Skt. *ūdhni.*
Abl. *ụetenaz.*
Instr. *ụetenit.*

Hittite pronominal flexion is not so transparently Indo-European as Hittite nominal flexion. Let us take as example *kuiš* = Lat. *quis*:—

Sing.	Nom. M.-F. *kuiš.*	Plur. Nom. M.-F. *kuēš.*
	Acc. M.-F. *kuin.*	Acc. M.-F. *kuēuš.*
	Nom.-Acc. Neut. *kuit.*	Nom.-Acc. Neut. *kuē.*
	Gen. *kuēl.*	Gen. *kuēdaš.*
	Dat.-Loc. *kuēdani.*	Dat.-Loc. *kuēdāš.*
	Abl. *kuēz.*	

Hittite verbal flexion too is clearly of Indo-European origin, but the whole verbal system is attenuated to a degree that cannot but be surprising in so old a language. We get on the whole only an

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Indicative of the Present, an Indicative of the Preterite, an Imperative, a Participle, and an Infinitive. As an example let us take *ešuu̯ar* 'to be':—

Indicative Present.		Indicative Preterite.	
Sing. 1.	*ešmi*, cf. Skt. *ásmi*.	Sing. 1.	*ešun*.
2.	—	2.	*ešta* (= *ešt*).
3.	*ešzi*, cf. Skt. *ásti*.	3.	*ešta* (= *ešt*).
Plur. 1.	*ešuemi*.	Plur. 1.	*ešuen*.
2.	*ešteri*.	2.	*ešten*.
3.	*ašanzi*, cf. Skt. *sánti*.	3.	*ešir*.

Imperative.

Sing.	2.	*eš*.
	3.	*ešdu*, cf. Skt. *ástu*.
Plur.	2.	*ešten*.
	3.	*ašandu*, cf. Skt. *sántu*.

Participle *ašanza* (= *asants*, cf. Skt. *sant-*); Infinitive *ešuu̯anzi*. Hittite medio-passive endings are bewildering (see Sturtevant, §418); this much however is clear that in the 3. Sing. Hittite has a medio-passive with *r*, but without *t*, like Umbrian *ferar* (but Lat. *feratur*). Thus from *kiš-* 'to become' we have for the 3. Sing. Pres. in the Indicative *kišari* (and without *r kiša*; 3. Plur. *kišantari*) and in the Imperative *kišaru*. These *r*-endings are taken by some scholars to prove the special affinity of Hittite with Tocharian and Italo-Celtic. Yet, like the heteroclitic *r/n*-stems, these verbal *r*-endings too should rather be regarded as inherited relics of an irrational and outmoded verbal flexion.

We shall now discuss the other languages of Boghaz-köi of which our knowledge is extremely meagre and will perhaps always remain so, for it is hardly to be expected that further excavations will yield many documents written in the dialects spoken by the subject peoples of the Hittite empire. Luvian is the language of the country called Lu(w)ia in the texts. Only a few texts in this language have been discovered, and most of these few are moreover fragmentary. But even these few fragmentary texts are sufficient to prove that Luvian was closely related to Hittite. Compare, for instance, the following Hittite text with its Luvian parallel (both quoted by Friedrich):—

Hit. ^{ilu}*In-na-ra-u-u̯a-an-ta-aš . . . e-eš-ḫa-nu-u̯a-an-ta ku-e-eš u-e-eš-ša-an-ta* AN^{meš} *Lu-u-la-ḫi-i̯a-aš-ša-an ḫu-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫi-i̯a-an-ti-iš* 'the *Innarau̯antaš*-gods who

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wear (*ụeššanta*) the *ašḫanuụanta* (meaning uncertain) and the *Lulaḫḫi*-gods who have put on the *ḫupruš*'.

Luv. *^{ilu}An-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi aš-ḫa-nu-ụa-an-ta ku-in-zi ụa-aš-ša-an-ta-ri ^{ilu}Lu-u-la-ḫi-in-za-aš-tar ḫu-u-up-pa-ra-za ku-in-zi ḫi-iš-ḫi-ịa-an-ti-iš.*

The Luvian medial form *ụaššantari* 'they cover themselves with clothes' has here been rendered in the Hittite text by *ụeššanta*. Luvian *ḫišḫiịantiš* differs from Hit. *išḫiịantiš* only by its initial aspiration. Moreover of the Hittite relative *kuiš* at least the stem appears also in Luvian, only the ending *-inzi* is different. This typically Luvian ending is in evidence also in the Nom. Pl. *^{ilu}An-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi*. There are also other Luvian words and forms which might as well have been Hittite. At the same time there is much in Luvian to which nothing can be found in Hittite to correspond. On the whole Luvian too seems to have been an Indo-European dialect in origin; but its original character changed almost beyond recognition already in the 15th century B.C. It departs from the original Indo-European much more radically than Hittite. For these reasons Forrer was inclined to think that the Luvians were the earliest Indo-Europeans to set foot on the soil of Asia Minor, perhaps a thousand years before the Hittites.

Chattish (or Proto-Hattish according to Forrer) is the language of the native population of the Hittite empire residing in the central region of Asia Minor. The texts call this language *ḫattili*, and pieces in the Chattish language appear in more than fifty passages, some of them moreover being furnished with parallel Hittite translations. There was thus from the beginning a fair chance of the mystery of this language being solved. Yet, the peculiar character of this language with its bewildering variety of forms has hitherto foiled all attempts to fully decipher it. This much, however, can be said today with confidence that Chattish is fundamentally different from all the other languages of Boghaz-köi. It cannot as yet be connected with any of the known speech-families of the world. That it was no Indo-European dialect is quite clear, for its flexional elements are prefixes and not suffixes. The plural-prefix is *le-*, thus *binu* 'child', Plur. *le-binu*. Nouns take the prefixes *a-*, *i-*, *ụa-* which seem to have functioned as articles; thus *šaḫ* 'bad', *a-šaḫ*, *i-šaḫ*, *ụa-šaḫ* 'the bad one', Plur. *le-a-šaḫ*. Similar prefixing is in evidence also in verbal forms; cf. from *-kun* 'to notice' *ụaḫ-kun* 'he noticed him', from *-nuụa* 'to come' *taš-te-nuụa* 'he should not come' (*taš-* negation, *te* optative-particle).

Charrish or Churrish is the third Boghaz-köi language of which the linguisticians claim to possess some positive knowledge today.

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The designation of this language remains, however, uncertain, for the first syllabic sign of *Ḫar-ri* can be read both *ḫar* and *ḫur*. The name of the people speaking this language was formerly taken to be *Charri*, and the term *Charri* was even supposed to be somehow connected with the designation of the *Aryans*; Ungnad, however, prefers the reading *Churri* and connects the term with the Hurrites of pre-Israelite Canaan. The Charri or Churri State of which Charrish (or Churrish) was the native language was situated probably in the Armenian mountains. In twelve passages the pieces in these languages are called *ḫa/ur-li-li*, and texts in this language are not altogether rare; but no bilingual text with Charrish as one of its two languages has yet been discovered. Yet it is possible to form a fair idea of this language, for it is only dialectally different from the Mitanni language (of northern Mesopotamia) known from the eighties of the last century from a sole but pretty lengthy document of the same age as the Boghaz-köi texts discovered in the Egyptian State archive excavated at El-Amarna. The affinity between Charrish and Mitanni, perceived already by Hrozny, has been demonstrated by Ungnad who interpreted a Charrish fragment of the Gilgamesh epic mainly on the strength of his knowledge of the Mitanni language. Ungnad also suggested the common designation 'Subaraean' for the two languages Charrish and Mitanni on the assumption that both should be connected ultimately with the country of Subartu (north-west of Babylonia) of which the kingdom of Mitanni was only a part.

The following examples will be sufficient to prove the close affinity between Charrish and Mitanni: The Nom. Sing. in Mitanni ends with *-š* or *-l* as in Charrish; in both the Acc. Sing. ends in *-n*; Plural in *-na*. Some words have the same meaning in both languages; thus *atta-* 'father', *šen-* 'brother', *umini* 'country', *eṷri* 'master', *tiṷina* 'words'. As for the verbal system, compare the endings in Mit. *tatia* 'he loves' and Char. *katia* 'he communicates', Mit. *tanau* 'I do' and Char. *katiu* 'I communicate', Mit. *gul-uša* 'I have spoken' and Char. *naḫḫuša*. In both the languages the ending of a word is repeated in all the following words syntactically connected (attribute, etc.) with it. This peculiarity is considered by Bork to be characteristic of the Caucasian languages, and therefore he considers Mitanni to be a language of the Caucasian family. Be that as it may, this is however certain that Subaraean is neither Indo-European nor related to Chattish.

Palāish is the language of the country of Palā, about the situation of which there is no unanimity among the scholars (according to Forrer *Palā* = Paphlagonia; according to Götze *Palā* was situated to the south-east of Ḫattušaš = Boghaz-köi). In five

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passages of the descriptions of sacrifices it is said that certain formulas are recited *palāumnīli*, but in no case have the words of the Palāish formulas been given.

Lastly, we have to discuss the Indo-Iranian speech element in the languages of the Hittite empire. Already from the Amarna letters it was known that princes with Indo-European names of the Indo-Iranian type were the rulers of what is now Syria in the 15th century B.C. Some of these names may well pass as Sanskrit names, e.g. *Šuṷardāta* (= Skt. *svardatta*), *Artamaṇiu* (= Skt. *ṛtamanyu*), *Śubandu* (= Skt. *subandhu*), etc. Similar Sanskritic names were borne also by princes of the kingdoms of Mitanni and Charri, e.g. *Artatama* (= Skt. *ṛtatama*), *Artašuṷara* (= Skt. *ṛtasvar-*). Moreover the fighter caste in the Syrian principalities had a distinctly Sanskritic designation, viz. *mariannu* (cf. Skt. *marya*). It was therefore assumed that in these regions the native non-Indo-European population was ruled by an Indian or Indo-Iranian nobility. Now Boghaz-köi excavations have yielded further speech material of the same Indo-Iranian stamp. As is well known, in a document recording a peace-treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni which has been discovered at Boghaz-köi are found mentioned among other gods also the Indian gods *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Indra* and the *Nāsatyas*. And further, in a manual of chariot-racing composed in Hittite by Kikkuli of Mitanni, also discovered at Boghaz-köi, there are used some technical terms which must have been borrowed from an Indo-Iranian (or a proto-Indo-Iranian) dialect, viz. *aika-ṷartanna* 'single round', *tera-ṷartanna* 'three-fold round', *panza-vartanna* 'five-fold round', *nā-ṷartanna* (evidently haplology for **naṷa-ṷartanna*) 'nine-fold round'. It will be noticed at once that these numerals are more specifically Indian than Indo-Iranian in form.[1] Thus *aika-* exactly corresponds to Skt. *ēka-* but not to Avestan *aēva-* or Old Persian *aiva-*; the form *satta-* is identical with MIA. *satta-* but greatly differs from Iranian *hapta-*. This fact decidedly goes against the popular theory that the ruling class of Mitanni, from whom, presumably, the Mitanni people had learnt these numerals, were proto-Indo-Iranians, i.e. the undivided people which later, in course of further eastward progress, split up into the different peoples, Iranian and Indian; for in that case the numerals in question must have been more Iranian than Indian in form and not *vice versa*. Eduard Meyer (Geschichte des Alter-

[1] This, however, cannot be said, in spite of appearances, of the four names of gods. For in their case there is nothing to show that the three Iranian forms concerned (Varuṇa going by default) could not have been directly derived from the corresponding Boghaz-köi forms like their Indian counterparts.

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tums II, 1, 1928, zweite Auflage, pp. 34–36) has moreover argued on historical grounds that if the Indo-Iranians of Mitanni were but a pocket left behind by the Aryans on their eastward march, then similar pockets should have been discovered also in the Armenian region which they would have had to traverse. But among the numerous personal and place names known from Armenia till up to the end of the Assyrian age nothing Indo-European has yet been discovered, and even the frontier hills of Media are found to have been peopled by non-Aryan tribes. It is clear that the Aryanism of this region was due purely to the westward expansion of the Medes from the east. On the other hand the *beginning* of Vedic culture can on no account be set down later than 1500 B.C.—wherefore the Aryan occupation of the Punjab must have taken place centuries earlier. Out of these considerations Eduard Meyer came to the conclusion that the Aryans of Mitanni, i.e. the Maryanni, should rather be regarded as conquering immigrants to the west from India. Friedrich also admits the possibility of a westward back-migration of the Vedic Aryans (Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. I, 1924, p. 137): Doch könnte sich auch von dem bereits weiter ö. wohnenden Hauptteile des Volkes ein Splitter nach W abgezweigt haben.—It may be mentioned in passing that in the opinion of Professor Keith 'we attain no result of value for Vedic chronology' (*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 111) from the mention of Vedic gods in the document of treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni; but Keith's 'excessive' scepticism has been castigated by Hall (*Bronze Age Greece*, p. 85, f.n. 1), even though Hall does not accept Meyer's theory of the westward migration of the Vedic Indians.

So far as the Hittite empire is concerned, it is quite certain that about the middle of the second millennium B.C. both in north Syria and in Asia Minor there were people speaking an Aryan tongue. They must have formed an influential community, for otherwise their gods would not have been invoked in a State-document recording a peace-treaty. They must have been popular also, for why else should the Hittites have wanted to learn from them the art of chariot-racing? That the Hittites learnt from them chariot-racing and not horse-riding is also significant: the Vedic Aryans, as is well known, used to ride in chariots drawn by horse, but did not ride on horseback. All this goes to support rather Meyer's theory than Keith's or Hall's.

Lastly let us mention that Forrer also at first took the Aryans of the Hittite empire to be *Urinder* (i.e. primitive Indians), plain and simple (SB. Preuss. AK. 1919, p. 1035), though later he proposed to call them '*Manda*' (ZDMG. NF. I, pp. 247ff.) on the ground that

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'*Manda*' as a people's name occurs already in the Boghaz-köi texts, and that in the Assyrian age this was the designation of the Aryans (cf. also Old Persian *Māda*, Gr. *Mēdoi*). But the designation '*Manda*' for the Aryans of the Hittite empire is quite uncertain. And to call their dialect *Mandaean*, as Forrer does, would be doubly misleading, for '*Manda*' is also the designation of an Aramaic dialect of south Babylonia in the post-Christian era.

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THE CHIEF POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA DURING THE EIGHTH CENTURY

By H. L. JAIN

The history of northern India during the three or four centuries immediately following the period of the great emperor Harsha is very obscure, and whatever light is shed by any literary or epigraphical records is most welcome. One such important ray of light is furnished to us by the Jaina writer Jinasena who in his Harivaṃśa purāṇa says that he finished the work at Vardhamānapura in the Śaka year 705. He also makes mention of the contemporary kings and locates their spheres of influence and power. The verses run as follows:—

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजेऽपरां
सौराणामधिमण्डलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥ ५२ ॥
कल्याणैः परिवर्धमानविपुलश्रीवर्धमाने पुरे
श्रीपार्श्वालयनन्नराजवसतौ पर्याप्तशेषः पुरा ।
पश्चाद्दोस्तटिकाप्रजाप्रजनितप्राज्यार्चनावर्चने
शान्तेः शान्तगृहे जिनस्य रचितो वंशो हरीणामयम् ॥ ५३ ॥ (सर्ग ६६)

The value of these mentions has long been recognized and historians like Vincent Smith, R. G. Bhandarkar, C. V. Vaidya, H. C. Ojha and A. S. Altekar have utilized them in their works. But none has cared to discuss the boundaries of the kingdoms as suggested by the poet nor tried to locate the town where he wrote and which formed the dividing centre of the kingdoms mentioned by him. They have generally gone on the presumption that Jinasena had merely mentioned the leading kingdoms of the four directions of northern India without any specific idea of the dividing line. This presumption has sometimes led to confusion as, for example, in the case of C. V. Vaidya who, while trying to explain the mention of the king of Avanti ruling in the east, says: 'It seems the word Avanti Bhūpati has been wrongly translated as king of Avanti, for Avanti or Malwa cannot be in the east. The proper translation should be King Avanti, Avanti being the name of a king.' (Mediaeval Hindu

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India, Vol. II, pp. 101-102; Poona, 1924.) But he has not tried to identify this King Avanti who controlled the entire east, obviously because there was no such king known to history.

An attempt at the identification of the central place mentioned by Jinasena with reference to the political divisions of India has been made recently by Dr. A. N. Upadhye in the introduction to his edition of Harisena's Bṛihat-kathā-kosha (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay, 1943) and by Pandit Nathuram Premi in the chapter on आचार्य जिनसेन और उनका हरिवंश in his जैन साहित्य और इतिहास (Bombay, 1942). Their conclusion is that Vardhamānapura where Jinasena wrote the Harivaṃśa purāṇa was identical with Wadhwan in Kathiawar because 'Jinasena wrote his Harivaṃśa at Vardhamānapura when Indrāyudha was ruling in the north; Śrī Vallabha, the son of Kṛishṇa nṛpa in the south; Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti in the east; and in the west, Vīra Jaya Varāha over the Sauramaṇḍala. Harisena, just 148 years later, associates one Vinayādikapāla with Vardhamānapura. These conditions are not fulfilled, so far as the available material is concerned, by locating that town in Bengal or Deccan; but by accepting its identity with Wadhwan with reference to which the directions are to be understood, all the facts can be satisfactorily explained. Indrāyudha is identified with Indrarāja of Kanauj whose territory appears to have extended sufficiently westward; Śrī Vallabha with Govinda II, the son of Kṛṣṇa I of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in the south; Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti, with the Gurjar Pratihāra ruler of that name; and Vīra Jaya Varāha might have been some king ruling over Sauramaṇḍala or Saurāṣṭra about whom we do not know anything from other sources. These directions and ruling kings are suitable only for Wadhwan'. (Bṛihat-kathā-kosha, Intro., p. 121.)

Pandit Nathuram Premi has discussed the position of the four kings and their kingdoms somewhat more fully and subscribes to the same view. With regard to the position of इन्द्रायुध and वत्सराज and their kingdoms, the remarks of Pandit Premi are as follows:—

"श्वेताम्बराचार्य उद्योतन सूरि ने अपनी 'कुवलयमाला' नामक प्राकृत कथा जावालिपुर या जालोर (मारवाड़) में जब शु० सं० ७०० के समाप्त होने में एक दिन बाकी था तब समाप्त की थी, और उस समय वत्सराज का राज्य था। अर्थात् हरिवंश की रचना के समय (शु० ७०५ में) तो (उत्तर में) मारवाड़ इन्द्रायुध के अधिकार में था और (पूर्व में) मालवा वत्सराज के अधिकार में। परन्तु इसके पांच वर्ष पहले (शु० ७०० में) कुवलयमाला की रचना के समय मारवाड़ का अधिकारी भी वत्सराज था। इससे अनुमान होता है कि

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पहले मारवाड़ और मालवा दोनों ही इन्द्रायुध के अधिकार में थे और वत्सराज ने दोनों ही प्रान्त उसीसे जीते थे—पहले, ग्र० ७०० से पहले मारवाड़ और फिर ग्र० ७०५ से पहले मालवा। इसके बाद ७०७ में ध्रुवराज ने मालवराज की सहायता के लिये चढ़ाई करके वत्सराज को मारवाड़ की अर्थात् जालोर की ओर खदेड़ दिया होगा, और मालवे का पुराना राजा यह इन्द्रायुध ही होगा जिसकी सहायता ध्रुव ने की थी। यह निश्चित है कि कन्नौज का साम्राज्य जो बहुत विस्तृत था और जिसमें मारवाड़ और मालवा भी ग्रामिल थे, इसी वत्सराज के पुत्र नागभट्ट ने इसी इन्द्रायुध के पुत्र चक्रायुध से छीना था और इस प्रवृत्ति का प्रारंभ वत्सराज के समय से ही हो गया था। पहले ध्रुवराज ने इसमें बाधा डाली, परन्तु पीछे उक्त साम्राज्य प्रतीहारों के ही हाथ में चला गया। इन सब बातों से हरिवंश की रचना के समय उत्तर में इन्द्रायुध और पूर्व में वत्सराज का राज्य होना ठीक मालूम होता है (जैन साहित्य और इतिहास पृ० ४२६-७)

The remarks of both these scholars need scrutiny. The first point for consideration is whether Indrāyudha's kingdom extended sufficiently to the west so as to fall to the north of Wadhwan in Śaka 705. Looking at the map, we find that Wadhwan is situated well within Saurāṣṭra or Kathiawar. To the north of it are the territories of Marwar and there is absolutely no evidence available to prove that Indrāyudha ever ruled over those parts. On the contrary, Pandit Premi draws our attention to a mention by Udyotana Sūri in his Kuvalaya-mālā, according to which Vatsarāja was ruling over Marwar in Śaka 700. To overcome this difficulty in the fulfilment of the conditions for the identification of Vardhamānapur with Wadhwan, he conjectures that the kingdom may have changed hands about the time of Jinasena. There is some confusion in the argument, as a result of which a case is made out for the contrary of what is desired to be established, and no argument remains in favour of Indrāyudha being regarded as the ruler to the north of Wadhwan. We learn from contemporary history that the kingdom of Kanauj was hard pressed at this time from the north-west by the rulers of Kashmir and from the east by the rulers of Gauda or Bengal. The Kanauj ruler was thus finding it difficult to maintain his dominions and was not at all in a position to undertake any new conquests. On the contrary, the kingdom of Marwar, founded by Nāgabhaṭṭa or Nāgāvaloka the great-grandfather of Vatsarāja himself at Bhinmal, was constantly expanding at the expense of the Kanauj and other neighbouring kingdoms. Nāgāvaloka's supremacy extended to the south, at least up to Broach, as is clearly shown by a copperplate inscription from Hansot in Ankleśvara Taluka, dated V.S. 813,

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Śaka 678 (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 202-3). Nāgabhaṭṭa also had a trial of strength against Balach Mlechhas whose forces he shattered. (Gwaliar Praśasti, *Arch. Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 280.) Thus Vatsarāja's great-grandfather was supreme from Bhinmal to Broach in Śaka 678 and there is no evidence to show that the fortunes of the kingdom had in any way shrunk by the time of Vatsarāja. There is thus no evidence whatsoever to prove that Indrāyudha's kingdom extended sufficiently to the west so as to make him supreme in the north of Wadhwan in Śaka 705. On the contrary, there is the kingdom of Vatsarāja both to the north as well as to the east of Wadhwan.

The next important question to be considered is whether Jinasena's statement can be interpreted to mean that Vatsarāja was the king of Avanti ruling in the east of Vardhamānapur and Vīra Jaya Varāha ruling to its west over Saurāṣṭra in Śaka 705. In this there is a two-fold difficulty—of syntax as well as of fact. The two pertinent lines of Jinasena's verse are—

पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजेऽपरां

सौराणामधिमंडलं जयत्युते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Now, if Vatsarāja is to be qualified by the adjective Avanti *Bhūbhṛti* where is the word नृपे to be construed? If that also qualifies Vatsarāja, the verse becomes open to the fault of the worst kind of tautology, which can only be avoided by taking अवन्तिभूभृत् as one person and वत्सराज नृप as quite another. The fact of history also bears this out. Although Dodwell (Cambridge Shorter History of India, p. 131) and Altekar (The Rashtrakutas and their times, p. 55, f.n. 21) presume Vatsarāja to be the ruler of Avanti, there is clear evidence to the contrary. We have already seen from the Kuvalaya-mālā of Udyotana Sūri that Vatsarāja ruled in Marwar in Śaka 700. Then the Baroda copperplate inscription of Karkarāja, dated Śaka 734 (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 160), bears clear testimony to the fact that the Gurjar Lord made a severe attack on the Malwa king who was saved from ruin by the help of Karkarāja. The Radhanpur and Dindori inscriptions of Govindrāja III, both of Śaka 730 (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 243 and XI, p. 157), make it clear that this Gurjar Lord was no other than Vatsarāja himself. These records also claim for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruvarāja the credit of having thrown Vatsarāja back into Marwar after depriving him of the trophies which he had snatched from the Gauda king. This evidence of these contemporary records is quite sufficient to prove that the king of Malwa who alone could be called Avanti Bhūbhṛit was quite a different person and his territories were invaded by Vatsa-

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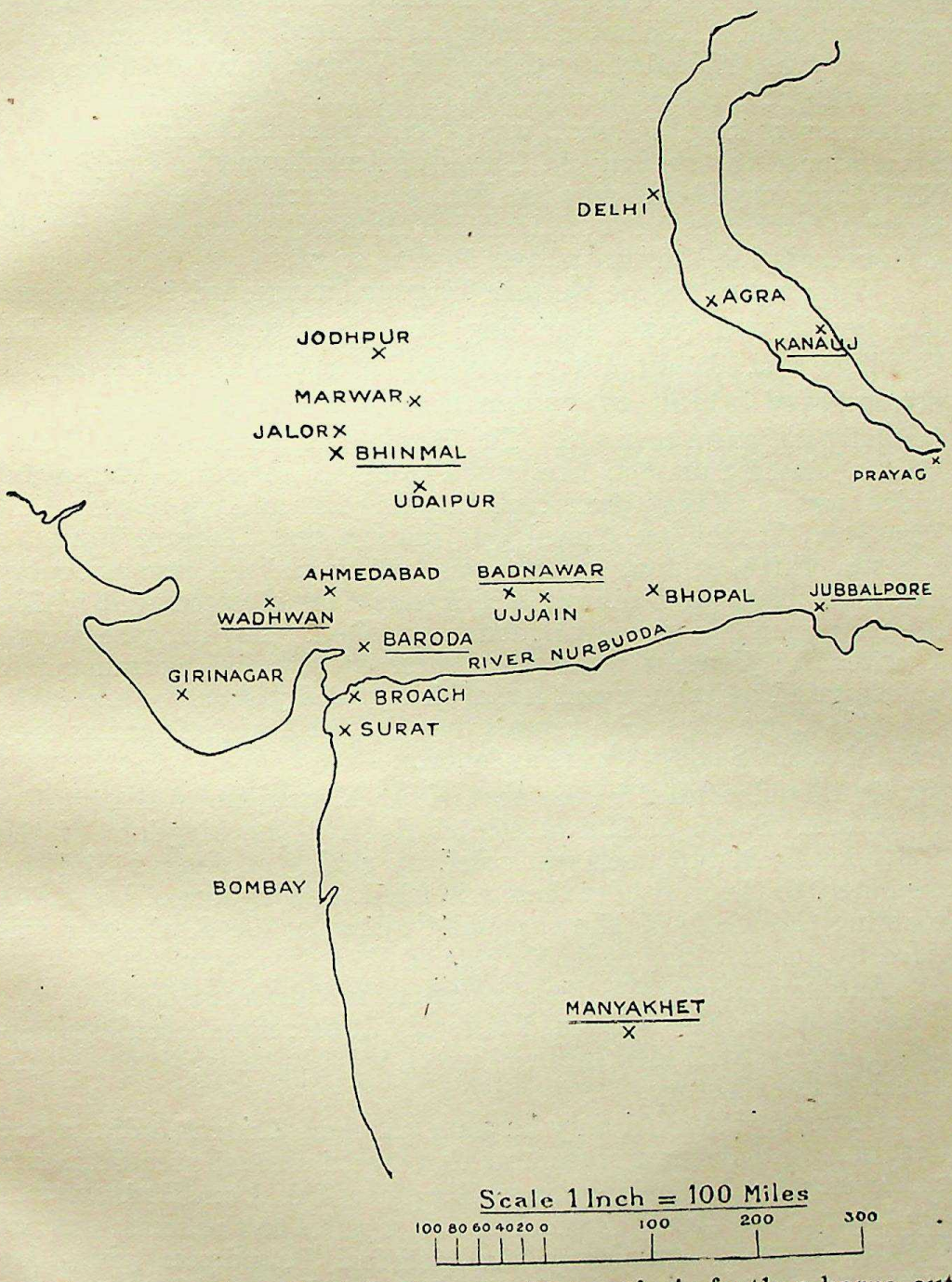
rāja. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came to the help of the Malwa king and Vatsarāja had to fall back into Marwar. That Malwa could



not be annexed to his kingdom by Vatsarāja is further borne out by the fact that his son Nāgabhaṭṭa II after wresting the imperial

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power from Chakrāyudha, had to capture the fortresses in Malwa (Gwaliar Ins., *Arch. Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 281, verses 8–11). Thus the Avanti king was altogether different from Vatsarāja and the former's dominions did not extend up to the borders of Sauramaṇḍala or Saurāṣṭra. Bhandarkar, Ojha and Vaidya have all taken the two as separate and Vatsarāja is taken to rule over the west. The contemporary king of Avanti was probably called Candragupta who is mentioned in the Sanjana Plates of Amoghavarsha I (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 235ff.) and who has been conjectured to be the ruler of Central India (see V. V. Mirashi's 'Date of Tivaradeva' in Jha Commemoration Volume, p. 232, Poona, 1937).

With regard to the western kingdom mentioned by Jinasena, the word अपरां (दिशं) according to the interpretation of Dr. Upadhye and Pandit Premi has to be taken in apposition to सौराणामधिमंडलं which is grammatically not very happy, and factually not quite accurate. The Haḍḍala copperplates of Dharaṇī Varāha, dated Śaka 836, are issued from Vardhamāna (Wadhwan) which was obviously their capital. We can safely presume that Vīra Jaya Varāha mentioned by Jinasena was Dharaṇī Varāha's ancestor three or four generations earlier and he also probably had his capital at Wadhwan which was thus situated well within the Sauramaṇḍala as the kingdom was called. In that case, would a writer like Jinasena writing at Wadhwan say that Sauramaṇḍala was situated to its west and Avanti king ruled just in the east?

The above discussion reveals that the political divisions as they existed about Śaka 705 were as follows:—

Indrāyudha ruled in the north from Kanauj up to the borders of Malwa. South of Malwa stretched forth the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Malwa itself was ruled by a king at Avanti, and immediately to the west of it there extended the kingdom of Vatsarāja covering the whole of Marwar and Gujarat, while Kathiawar was ruled by another king probably named Vīra Jaya Varāha.

As shown above, Wadhwan situated in Kathiawar does not suit as the centre of these political divisions. It therefore becomes necessary to seek a fresh identification which would fit in with the established facts of history.

Obviously it would only be some place in Central India to the west of Avanti and east of Gujarat that would meet the requirements of the situation. Looking for such a place, I find one Badnawar in the Dhāra State, being situated about 40 miles to the south-west of Ujjain. It suits excellently the political boundaries given by Jinasena. The Kanauj kingdom of Indrāyudha would fall exactly to its north and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, which is known to have

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touched the borders of Dhāra, would lie exactly to its south. The Avanti kingdom is to its east and Vatsarāja's dominions to its west, being in their turn contiguous with Sauramaṇḍala or Saurāṣṭra. There is also no difficulty in recognizing the old name Vardhamānapura in the modern name Badnāwār. *War* is very well known as a modern form of the old *pura*, as we find in names like Peshawar (Purushapura), Narwar (Nalapura) and Chandwar (Chandrapura). The corruption of Vardhamān into *Badna* is also intelligible. *Ba* easily replaces *Va*, the conjunct *rdha* gives place to simplified cerebral *ḍa* or dental *da* and *ma* may easily be lost due to the proximity of another nasal letter *na* which, however, inherits its long vowel *ā*. Thus Vardhamānapur gives us the modern *Badnawar*.

Having arrived at this conclusion I made inquiries from Badnāwār without in the least giving out my identification. In response to it Mr. Nandlal Lodhā of Badnāwār kindly wrote to me as follows:—

बदनावर का प्राचीन नाम वर्द्धनापुर था जिसकी साक्षी कुछ मूर्तियों के लेखों से मिलती है। इसी का अपभ्रंश बुधनावर हुआ जो कि अभी भी कितनेक पत्रों से पता चलता है और अब बदनावर के वर्तमान नाम में लागू है। यहां पर प्राचीन किला (गढ) है जो अभी टूटी फूटी हालत में खड़ा है। गांव के किनारे बलवन्ती नदी बहती है। उत्तर की तरफ नदी के पार खेड़ा नामक ग्राम है जहां पर प्राचीन मूर्तियां मिलती हैं। यहां पर प्राचीन जैन प्रतिमा, चरणचौकी परिकर आदि भग्नावस्था में कितनी ही जगह मैंने संग्रह किये हैं और कितनी ही अन्य स्थानों पर रक्खी हुई हैं। प्राप्त किये हुए लेखों में से आवश्यकीय लेख उतारकर भेज रहा हूं। उनमें वर्द्धमानपुर भी नाम आया है। यह नाम क्यों आया यह मेरे ख्याल से बाहर है।

लेख १

संवत् ११२२ माघ सुदी ६.....हरा दिनेश्च अद्येह वर्द्धनपुरे श्री सीमापुरवास्तव्य प्रनसलन देव.....सेवा प्रणमति नित्यं।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक पुरुष स्त्री की मूर्ति की पाटली पर है। यह गांव के पश्चिम बाजू नागेश्वर नामक स्थान पर रखी हुई है।

लेख २

सं० १२१६ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ५ बुधे आ. कुमारसेन चन्द्रकीर्ति वर्द्धमानपुरान्वये साधु बोहित्थ सुत माल्हा भार्या पाणू सुत पील्हा भार्या पाऊणी प्रणमति नित्यं।

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उक्त लेख श्याम पाषाण की चरण चौकी पर लिखा ऊआ है और जैन मन्दिर के पास संगृहीत है।

लेख २

संवत् १२२९ वैशाख वदि ७ शुक्रे अद्येह वर्द्धनापुरे श्री शांतिनाथचैत्ये सा० भलन सा० गोशल ठ. बच्छदेव ठ. कणदेवादि कुटुंबसहितेन निजगोत्र देव्याः श्री अंक्कुशायाः (अंबिकायाः ?) प्रतिकृतिः कारिता श्री कुलचन्द्रोपाध्यायैः प्रतिष्ठिता।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक देवीमूर्ति की पाटली पर है और देवी के सिर पर अरहंत की मूर्ति है। यह गांव के पूर्व बैजनाथ मंदिर में रक्खी ऊई है।

लेख ४

संवत् १२३४ वर्षे माघ सुदी ५ बुधे श्रीमान् माथुर संघे पंडिताचार्य-धर्मकीर्ति-शिष्य-ललितकीर्तिः। बर्द्धमानपुरान्वये सा० प्रामदेव भार्या प्राहिणी सुत राणू सा० दिगम सा० याका सा० जाहड सा० राणू भार्या मणिकसुत महण कीनू केलू बालू सा० महण भार्या रूपिणी सुत नेमि धांधा बीजा यमदेव षमा रामदेव सिरीचन्द प्रणमति नित्यं।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक देवी की मूर्ति की पाटली पर है। यह मूर्ति बदनावर से पूर्व में अमला नामक ग्राम में गई ऊई जैन मंदिर में स्थापित है। अमला पांच मील दूरी पर है।

In these inscriptions it appears to me the name Vardhanpur or Vardhanāpur is a mere Sanskritization of Vadhanawar into which Vardhamānapur may have already got corrupted during the preceding centuries, while the true ancient name is preserved in the name of the Āmnāya which had persisted there and which may be the branch of Pannāṭa gaṇa established there at the time of Jinasena.

There remains only one difficulty in these identifications. In verse 44 of his praśasti Jinasena makes mention of the goddess Simha-vāhinī of Ūrjayantālaya being in the vicinity for the sake of Śiva. The verse runs as follows:—

ग्रहीतचक्राऽप्रतिचक्रदेवता तथोर्जयन्तालयसिंहवाहिनी।
शिवाय यस्मिन्निह सन्निधीयते क्व तत्र विघ्नाः प्रभवन्ति शासने॥

Obviously the reference here is to the famous shrine of Ambā-devī at Ūrjayanta or Girnar and it cannot ordinarily be said to be close to Badnawar. But a little closer attention to the verse and its poetic conception suggests the solution. Though Badna-war is not very near to Ūrjayanta, it is quite close to Ujjain

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where the famous Mahākāla temple of Śiva has existed for ages. Probably a replica of the Ambikā's image at Ūrjayanta was installed at Vardhamānapura and this fact is conceived by the poet as the arrival of Ambikā in the locality for the sake of Śiva. Thus, there is a pun on the word Śiva meaning god Śiva or welfare. This idea makes the verse particularly beautiful and poetic. It is probably the only way in which a Jaina monk could regard a goddess riding on a lion to be conducive to welfare. In this connection the inscription No. 3 from Badnawar given above is noteworthy. It shows that the practice of installing replicas of the goddess Ambikā had persisted there even up to the twelfth century.

Incidentally, Jinasena has given to us quite a new suggestion regarding the origin of the name Saurāṣṭra which was so far understood to be derived from सु+राष्ट्र and was regarded synonymous with Saurājya (JASB, 1873, p. 105; N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionary). Jinasena's mention of the country as the Maṇḍala of the Sauras shows that the ancient people of that country called themselves *Sauras* probably from the fact of their being sun-worshippers, and they gave the name to that region.

This Badnawar or old Vardhamānapura must also be the town where Hariṣeṇa wrote his Kathā-Kosha in Śaka 853, i.e. 148 years later than Jinasena. It is well known that by this time the whole of northern India including Central India and the kingdom of Malwa had come directly under the rule of the Gurjar-Pratihāra kings of whom Vināyakapāla is known to have been ruling in A.D. 931 or Śaka 853, that is exactly the year of the composition of the Kathā-Kosha. Although the suzerainty of these monarchs is known to have extended to Saurāṣṭra, nevertheless it is also known that the local rule of the Varāha kings had persisted there, as is clear from the Haḍḍala copperplates of Dharaṇī Varāha, dated Śaka 836. If Hariṣeṇa was writing at Wadhwan, the capital of the Varāha rulers, he could not have omitted to mention the local ruler at least side by side with his overlord. This also shows that Wadhwan was not the place where the Kathā-Kosha was written.

If the identification of Jinasena's Vardhamānapura with Badnawar is correct, it should leâd us to the identification of the other place mentioned by Jinasena, namely Dostaṭikā where he completed the remaining portion of his Harivaṃśa purāṇa and which Pandit Premi and Dr. Upadhye have not attempted to identify. At a distance of about twelve miles to the west of Badnawar there is a village called *Dotaria* which appears to me to be the modern representative of Dostaṭikā where Jinasena completed his composition of Harivaṃśa purāṇa which could not be completed at Vardhamānapura when he left it.

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From the comparison of the modern name with the older one it appears that the original name may have been दोस्तरिका which might have been at first applied to the stream Bagedi flowing on its eastern side and which may be deep enough 'to be crossed by arms'. By its association the village also may have come to be called by the same name. Or the original name may have been द्वितटिका, later on corrupted into दोतटिका and then wrongly Sanskritized into दोस्तटिका. The significance of this name would be that the village had river-banks on its two sides, it being situated between the rivers Bagedi and Mahi, the latter flowing about a mile to its west into which the river Bagedi itself falls at some distance away from the village. Writing about Dotaria Mr. Nandlal Lodhā informs me as follows:—

दोतरिया बदनावरसे पश्चिम दिशा में १० मील की दूरी पर है। गांव के पास बागेडी नदी वहती है और एक मील की दूरी पर मही नदी बहती है। बागेडी कुछ दूर जाकर बोरदा के पास मही में मिली है। दोतरीया के पास मही नदी जो है उसके पश्चिम तरफ गुजरात वा पूर्व तरफ मालवा की सीमा की शुरुवात मानते हैं।

Thus, Dotaria still forms the boundary between Malwa and Gujarat.

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BODHICITTA IN TANTRIC BUDDHISM

By S. B. Das Gupta

Prajñā and Upāya as Śiva and Śakti

With the conception of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* as *Nivṛtti* and *Pravṛtti* or as the *Ādi-prajñā* and *Ādi-Buddha* we may compare the conception of Śiva and Śakti and the *aham* or the 'I-ness' which is said to be produced by their union (*śiva-śakti-mithunapiṇḍa*). The ultimate truth is the union of Śiva and Śakti. Śiva represents pure consciousness which is inactive—the static aspect of the ultimate reality; while Śakti represents the world force—the kinetic energy of the ultimate truth. Śiva is *Nirvṛtti* and Śakti is *Pravṛtti* and in the ultimate state they remain in a union of oneness.[1] From the cosmological standpoint Śiva is said to be the *Bindu* (of white colour to suggest the comparison with the seed or semen) and Śakti is *Rakta* (of red colour to suggest the comparison with the ovum) and this *Bindu* and *Rakta* unite together to produce the principle of I-ness or egoism.

This conception of the two counterparts of the ultimate reality has its correspondence in the conceptions of the *Garbha-dhātu* and the *Vajra-dhātu* of Northern Buddhism in general. The Vajra-dhātu or the 'thunder-element' is the immutable nature—it is, in other words, the *tathatā* element; while the Garbha-dhātu is the 'matrix element' or the phenomenal world corresponding to the *tathāgata-garbha*. They are the two parts of the Maṇḍala.[2] Their union is symbolized in Nepal by the flame arising from the lotus or the moon-crescent (the flame symbolizing the male element and the lotus or the moon-crescent symbolizing the female element) or by the flame arising from the *kalaśa* (jar); in Tibet the union is symbolised by the *Aśoka* branch in the ambrosia vase, and in both Chinese

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[1] Cf. the Hindu Tantric principle of designating the *Sahasrāra* (situated in the cerebrum region) to be the abode of Śiva and the lowest *Mūlādhāra-cakra* to be the seat of Śakti in the form of an electric force, generally known as the *Kūla-kuṇḍalinī-śakti*; this lower region where Śakti resides is generally known as the region of *Pravṛtti* while the higher region or the region of pure intellection is called the region of *Nirvṛtti*—and the Sādhana consists in rousing the Śakti, residing in the region of *Pravṛtti*, to unite with the Śiva residing in the region of *Nirvṛtti*; the bliss proceeding from the union of Śiva and Śakti is the highest religious realization.

[2] The Maṇḍala is the circle with Buddha Mahāvairocana in the centre and with numberless manifestations of his body, such as Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and others, gathered round him.

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and Nepalese Buddhism by Yin-yang (the female and the male).[1] There Yoga consists in the mystic union of this immutable element, or we may say, the 'thatness' of the dharmas with the active element as the material world. It is for this reason that the theory of Yab-yum (the male and the female) could find so much prominence in Northern Buddhism, particularly in Nepal and Tibet where almost all the divinities are accompanied by their female counterparts in a state of close union.

Getty interprets the *Mudrā* (the posture, generally of the hands) of Vairocana (the Lord Supreme of the Shingon Sect) as indicating this mystic union. "As Dhyāni Buddha he has the *Dharma-cakra-mudrā*, which the Tibetans call Thabdong-shesrab, or the union of wisdom with matter."[2]

This two-fold division of the ultimate reality is also found in the Taoism of China. There also Tao means 'The Great' (Cf. Skt. Brahman) and Tei is the power, or activity or the Śakti of 'the great'. They are the negative and positive aspects of the one truth. The creation is through their union—through Yinn and Yang (the female and the male).

But we should notice here a very important point of difference between the Buddhist conception of the two aspects of the truth and that of the Śāktas as well as of the Taoists. In Śākta-tantra as well as in Taoism the passive subjective aspect of the ultimate reality is conceived as the male, whereas the active counterpart has always been conceived as the female, and this conception of passivity as the male and the active counterpart as the female is found in many of the systems of Indian philosophy as represented in the Tantras. The Puruṣa of the Saṁkhya-system is absolutely qualitiless, he is the pure inactive consciousness, while all the *guṇas* with all their active functions belong to Prakṛti who is generally conceived as the

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[1] See *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* by A. Getty.

[2] "As Ādi-Buddha he has the mudra of the Six-Elements, which also indicates the same principle, and although rare in Tibet, is often found in Japan. The index finger of the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right. The six fingers represent the Six-Elements which when united, produce the six-fold bodily and mental happiness". He further explains: "The five fingers of the right hand represent the five material elements of which man is composed: earth (little finger), water (ring finger), fire (middle finger), air (index finger) and ether (the thumb). The index finger of the left hand represents the same symbol of Ādi-Buddha; for the sixth element, the mind (manas) is a particle of his essence.

The two hands, thus representing the union of the Spiritual with the Material, correspond to the *Vajra-dhātu* and *Garbha-dhātu* of the Maṇḍala of the Two parts. The *Vajra-dhātu*, represented by the index finger, is the 'diamond' element corresponding to the spiritual world. The *Garbha-dhātu*, indicated by the five fingers, is the 'matrix' element, corresponding to the material world." *Ibid.*, p. 30.

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female. In Vedanta also the Brahman is qualitiless and indeterminate, while the world-illusion is ascribed wholly to the activity of *māyā*, and this *māyā* in Tantric literature always bears with her an air of femininity. But here in Buddhism we find the conception reversed; *Śūnyatā* or *Prajñā* which is qualitiless and unchangeable is conceived of as the female while *Karuṇā* or *Upāya* with the active inspiration is conceived of as the male. It may, however, be noted here that the conception of the female as the passive and the male as the active is not also quite unknown in the history of Indian thought.

Often we find that Prajñā and Upāya have been expressly identified with Śakti and Śiva. It has been said that by the union of Śiva and Śakti, who are free from all characteristics and definition and who transcend all verbal expression, is produced wonderful bliss; when we consider things from the ultimate standpoint, we see that there is no existence in reality; all existence is brought forth through the activities of Śakti. This Śakti becomes the *śūnyatā*-perception when she contradicts all affirmation about things.[1] Again it is said—Perfect bliss is obtained from the union of Śiva and Śakti and this bliss is the highest non-duality; but in the ultimate reality there is neither the Śiva nor the Śakti.[2] Again it has been demonstrated that the Vedāntists also take the bliss that proceeds from the union of Śiva and Śakti to be the same bliss which proceeds from the knowledge of the Brahman; there is no tinge of sorrow there—there is eternal and incessant bliss—this bliss or joy is the nature of the Brahman—this is what is called liberation.

In some places, however, we find that the Bodhi-mind is spoken of as the Upāya while the goddess *Nairātmā* or *Śūnyatā* as the *Prajñā*. In the *Guhya-siddhi* we find that the presiding deity over the mind is the Lord Supreme (*Bhagavān*) and *Prajñā* is the adamantine woman,[3] and the Lord was amorously sporting with this adamantine woman in the form of *Mahāsukha*. When the Bodhi-mind in its upward march reaches the ultimate state it merges itself wholly in *Nairātmā* or *Śūnyatā* or the Sahaja-bliss—and this

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[1] *lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-nirmuktaṁ vāg-udahāra-varjitam|*
śiva-śakti-samāyogāt jāyate cā'dbhūtaṁ sukham‖
na santi tattvato bhāvaḥ śaktirūpeṇa bhāvitaḥ|
śaktis tu śūnyatā-dṛṣṭiḥ sarvā-ropa-vināśinī‖
—*Nirnāda-tantra*, quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha* (G.O.S.), p. 28.

[2] *śiva-śakti-samāyogāt sat-sukhaṁ param advayam|*
na śivo nāpi śaktiś ca ratnā-ntargata-saṁsthitam‖
—*Ucchuṣma-tantra* quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*.

[3] *bhagavāniti nirdiṣṭam cittasyā'dhipatiḥ prabhuḥ|*
vajro-yoṣit smṛtā prajñā yā sā savajriṇā-tmikā‖

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merging of the Bodhi-mind in goddess *Nairātmā*, or perfect vacuity of the nature of intense bliss, is called the union of the Lord Mind and the Lady Vacuity. Thus we find in a song of Kukkurīpāda—'Desireless am I (the goddess *Nairātmā*), and the void-mind is my husband'.[1] Tillopāda says in his *Dohās*, 'Where the mind and the vacuity enter into the bliss arising out of the communion, the objects of the senses are not perceived at all.'[2] Again he says, 'The mind is the Lord and the Vacuity is the Lady; they should always be kept united in the Sahaja.'[3] In a *Dohā* of Kāṇhupāda also it has been said about the ultimate state that the lord mind merges himself in his wife vacuity and becomes one with her as salt dissolves in water.[4] In some places again intense bliss (*mahā-sukha*) as the ultimate nature and as perfect knowledge has been spoken of as the Yoginī, whereas the Bodhi-mind as the Yogin. This Yoginī was variously called as the *Jñāna-mudrā* (the woman of knowledge) or the *Mahā-mudrā* (the great woman)—she is the *Sahaja*-damsel, with whom the Yogin is united day and night. The Yogin often says, he would not live without her kiss and embrace—he passes his dark night (of ignorance) in union with that great woman. In the Caryāpadas of the Siddhācāryas we will find many songs about this transcendental love and union of the Yogin and Yoginī often garbed in the metaphors of ordinary love and sex-union of man and woman.

Prajñā and Upāya as Male and Female

It is clear from the above that the absolute reality contains two aspects in its nature—*Prajñā* or Śakti and *Upāya* or Śiva. Thus the fundamental theological position of the Buddhist Tantras and that of the Hindu Tantras become exactly the same. Now as there is the belief in the Hindu Tantras that the two aspects of the reality are revealed in the world in the form of male and female in general so there is the belief in the Buddhist Tantras that all men and women are nothing but the manifestation of

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[1] *hãu nirāsī kha-maṇa-bhatārī*| Song No. 20.

[2] *citta khasama jahi samasuha palaṭṭhai*|
(india-visaa tahi matta) ṇa dīsai‖
—*Dohā* No. 5. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Ed.)

[3] *maṇaha (bhaavā) khasama bhaavai*|
(divārātti sahaje rahiai)‖
—*Dohā* No. 17. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Ed.)

[4] *jima loṇa vilijjai pāṇichi tima ghariṇī lai citta*|
samarasa jāi takkhaṇe jai puṇu to sama ṇitta‖
—*Dohā* No. 32.

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Upāya and *Prajñā* respectively; or in other words all men and women are *Upāya* and *Prajñā* in their ultimate nature.

In the Buddhist Tantras Prajñā has generally been designated either as the goddess (*bhagavatī*) or as the *Mudrā* (which technically refers to the woman to be adopted for the *sādhanā*), or the *Mahā-mudrā*, or the *Vajra-kanyā* (the *vajra*-girl), or as the young woman (*yuvatī*), or often as the female organ.[1] In the *Hevajra-tantra*, we see that the *Prajñā* is called the mother (*jananī*), the sister (*bhaginī*), the washer-woman (*rajakī*), the dancing girl (*nartakī*), the daughter (*duhitā*), the Ḍoma-girl (*ḍombī*), etc. The terminology is of course explained, but often very arbitrarily. It is said that *Prajñā* is called *jananī* because she gives birth to all the beings of the world; she is *bhaginī* as she shows all the differences (*vibhāga*); she is *rajakī* because she pleases all the beings (*rañjanāt*); she is *duhitā* as she accumulates all the qualities (*duhanāt*); she is *nartakī* because of her changing character; she is *ḍombī* (a woman of a very low untouchable class) because she cannot be touched.[2] In the commentary of Kṛṣṇācārya (*Hevajra-pañjikā* or *Yoga-ratnamālā*) it has been explained that *Prajñā* is *jananī* because in the form of 'great-bliss' (*mahā-sukha*) she gives birth to the world.[3] Again as the beginners cannot grasp her steadily, she is called *nartakī*.[4] She is *asparśā* as she cannot be grasped by the senses.[5]

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[1] In the *Vajra-sarasvatī-sādhanam* of the *Sādhana-mālā* we find *Prajñā* styled as the goddess (*Prajñāṁ bhagavatīṁ*, etc.) (p. 329). In the *Kanaka-varṇa-prajñā-pāramitā-sādhanam* also *Prajñā-pāramitā* is said to be the *Bhagavatī* (p. 321). In the chapter on *Amanasikārā-dhāra* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha* we find *śūnyatā* described as the *Bhagavatī Prajñā* (p. 62). In the *Advaya-siddhi* also *Prajñā* is styled to be the goddess (MS. Central Library of Baroda, p. 36).

[2] *jananī bhaṇyate prajñā janayati yasmāt-jagaj-janaṃ |*
bhaginī'ti tathā prajñā vibhāgaṃ darśayet yataḥ ‖
rajakī'ti duhitā ca nartakī ca prakathyate |
rañjanāt sarva-sattvānāṁ rajakī'ti tathā smṛtā ‖
guṇasya duhanāt prajñā duhitā ca nigadyate |
nartakī bhaṇyate prajñā cañcalatvāt mahākṛpā |
asparśā bhavati yasmāt tasmāt ḍombī prakathyate ‖
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11317), p. 13(B).
These lines also occur in the *Saṃpuṭikā*. Cf. MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 4854), p. 4(A).

[3] *mahā-sukhā-kāreṇa viśvasya jananāt jananī |*
—MS. (Cambridge Add. No. 1699), p. 20(A).

[4] *ādi-karmika-sattvaiḥ sthirī-kartum aśakyatvāt nartakī |*
—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(A).

[5] *indriyāṇāṁ agocaratvāt |*
—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(A).

Here of course the designations of *Prajñā* as mother, sister, daughter, etc. have got some sort of metaphysical significance; but in other places the plain implication

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In the *Śrīguhya-samāja-tantra* a beautiful girl of sixteen to be adopted in the practice is said to be the *Prajñā*.[1] Sarahapāda in one place salutes all young women, who are described as the embodiment of Prajñā—who are like the wish-yielding creepers personified—who destroy all the sufferings (kleśa) of the three worlds.[2] In the *Hevajra-tantra* also we find that the female is called the *Prajñā* whereas the male is called the *Upāya*.[3] In the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* we find—'Appearance, Method and great compassion are the male deity whilst the void, *Prajñā*, tranquillity and great bliss are the female deity'.[4] In the *Jvālāvalī-vajramālā-tantra* it is said that the goddess Prajñā resides in all women and the

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is that the mother, sister, daughter, or any woman of any caste, however low it may be, can be adopted as the Prajñā (or the woman) in the mystic practice.

mātaraṁ bhaginīñcaiva duhitāṁ bāndhavīn tathā |
brāhmaṇīṁ kṣatriṇīñcaiva vaiśyāṁ śūdriṇīṁ tathā |
naṭīṁ rajakīṁ ca ḍombīṁ ca caṇḍālinīṁ tathā |
prajñopāya-vidhānena pūjayet tattvavatsalaḥ ‖

—*Samputikā*, MS., pp. 3(A), 3(B).

See also, *Prajño-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, ch. V, *Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 12A, 60(B); *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra*, MS., p. 8(B).

In justification of this action it is said, Prajñā is devoid of all thought-constructions and consequently she is above all the notions of differences; that being the case, for a Yogin there should not be any notion of difference among the mother, the sister, the daughter and any other girl even of the lowest caste. If there be any notion of distinction at all it is to be understood that the Yogin is not yet fully fit for the *Yoga*, for he has not obtained the *śūnyatā* knowledge which effaces all such notions of distinction. It is therefore warned that the *prajñā* should be carefully worshipped so that no notion of difference may arise at all—*sevitavyā prayatnena yathā bhedo na jāyate, Samputikā*, MS., p. 3(B); *Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 12(A); cf. also *Hevajra-pañjikā*, MS., pp. 17(B)–18(A); *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa*, verses (101–106). (Cf. *Srī-guhya-samāja*, Ch. V.)

[1] *ṣoḍaśā-bdikāṁ samprāpya yoṣitāṁ kānti-suprabhām |*
gandha-puṣpākulaṃ kṛtvā tasya madhye tu kāmayet ‖
adhiveṣṭya ca tāṁ prajñāṁ . . . . . etc.

—*Paṭala* IV, p. 19 (G.G.S.).

Cf. also : . . . . . *yāṁ kāñcit svabhā-(va?) prajñā-rupeṇa sarvā-laṅkṛta-gātra trivalī-taraṅga-bhaṅgābhirāma*. . . . . etc.

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

[2] *yāsām ākṛtir aprapañca-vimala-prajñāmayī sarvagā |*
sākṣāt kalpa-lataiva tri-bhuvane yāḥ kleśa-jvāla-cchidāḥ
śrī-mad-vajra-padā-ṅkitā yuvatayas tābhyo namaḥ sarvataḥ ‖

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

[3] *yoṣit tāvat bhavet prajñā upāyaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |*

—MS., p. 21(A)

Cf. also *Ibid.*, MS., p. 39(B). Cf. also *Sahaja-siddhi* of Ḍombī-Heruka.

—MS. (C.L.B.), p. 82.

Cf. also *Prajñā praveśayet tatra vajra-kanyām athānyapāt ‖*

—*Ḍākārṇava*, p. 157 (Sāhitya-Pariṣat Edition).

[4] Translated from Thibetan by Kazi Dawasamdup, p. 28.

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Lord remains in all men.[1] In the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* we find the Lord Caṇḍaroṣaṇa explaining to the Lady that all men are of the nature of the Lord who is *Upāya* and all women are of the nature of the Lady who is *Prajñā*; and the whole world is of the nature of the unity of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*. As the son of *Māyādevī* Lord Buddha was the incarnation of *Upāya* and his wife *Gopā* was the incarnation of *Prajñā* or *Prajñā-pāramitā*—and Lord Buddha attained *Mahāsukha* (supreme bliss) of the nature of *Nirvāṇa* in union with the *Prajñā* Gopā.[2]

In the *Pañca-krama* of Nāgārjuna-pāda we find four grades or stages in *Śūnyatā*, of which the first is the *śūnyatā* and the second is *atiśūnyatā*, and the *Śūnyatā* has been described as the *Prajñā*[3] and it is also called the woman.[4] *Atiśūnya* is called the *Upāya*.[5] And the sex analogy and the sex-element is also there.[6]

In some places, *Prajñā* is described as the female organ and *Upāya* as the male organ. *Prajñā* is called the female organ because it is the abode of all pleasure which is great bliss (*mahā-sukha*).[7] It can also be inferred that the female organ is called the *Prajñā*

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[1] *sarvanārī-mayā-devī sarvopāyamayaḥ prabhuḥ*
—MS., p. 14(B).

[2] *māyādevī-sutaś cā'haṁ caṇḍa-roṣaṇatāṁ gataḥ |*
tvam eva bhagavatī gopā prajñā-pāramitā-tmikā ‖
yāvantas tu striyaḥ sarvās t(v)ad rūpeṇaiva tā matāḥ |
mad-rūpeṇa pumāṁsas tu sarva eva prakīrtitā ‖
dvayor bhāva-gataṁ caitat prajño-pāyā-tmakaṁ jagat |
—MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 9089), p. 16(B).

Cf. also: *nara-vajradharā-kāraḥ yoṣitaḥ vajra-yoṣitaḥ ‖*
—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 15(A).

[3] *ālokaṁ śūnyaṁ prajñā ca cittaṁ ca paratantrakam*
—MS., p. 20(A).

[4] *strī saṁjñā ca tathā proktā*, etc.
—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(B).

[5] *ālokā-bhāsam ity uktam atiśūnyam upāyakam | Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(B).

Cf. also: *prajño-pāya-samāyogād iti | śūnya-prajñā āloka iti yāvat | atiśūnyam upāya ālokā-bhasa iti yāvat | tayoh samāyogo'bhyāsaḥ.*
Pañca-krama-ṭippanī, MS., p. 43(B).

[6] Cf. *rāgaś caiva virāgaś ca dvayor antarita-trayam |*
dvīndriyasya samāpatyā vajra-padma-samāgamāt ‖ etc.
Pañca-krama, MS., p. 22(A).

[7] Cf. *yena kleśo-panihanyate | prajñā-dhinaś ca te kleśāḥ saukhyāt prajñā bhaga ucyate.*
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 11(A).

Cf. also: *yoni-svabhāvataḥ prajñā upāyo bhāva-lakṣaṇam ‖*
—*Śrī-guhya-samāja-tantra*, p. 153.

Cf. *kha-dhātu-vajra-saṁyogāt*, etc.
—*Kriyā-saṁgraha*, MS., p. 75(A).

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because all the beings have their birth from here as all the beings have their origin from the *Prajñā* or the *Sūnyatā*.[1]

It is said in the *Hevajra-tantra*—'The lord is of the form of the seed while its pleasure is called the girl'.[2] These *Prajñā* and *Upāya* as the symbol of the female and the male are generally called the thunder and the lotus.[3] We have seen before that *Vajrā* is the *śūnyatā*; it has also been extensively used as the synonym for the male organ. The use of the lotus as the symbol of the generating organ is rather well known, but the use of the Vajra for the male organ is rather confusing and technical. They are also technically called the *bola* or *bolaka* and *kakkola* or *kakkolaka*.[4]

Prajña-Upāya as Lalanā-Rasanā, Right and Left, Vowel and Consonants, etc.

Prajñā and *Upāya* are also called *lalanā* and *rasanā* which are again found to be the name of two nerves corresponding to *Iḍā* and *Piṅgalā* well-known in Hindu Tantric nervous system. The nerve where the two nerves commingle is called the *Avadhūtī* which is again the middle nerve corresponding to the *Susamnā* nerve of the Hindu Tantras; and this nerve is regarded as the way to nirvāṇa. It has been said, '*Lalanā* is of the nature of *Prajñā*, and *Rasanā* remains as the *Upāya*, and *Avadhūtī* remains in the middle as the

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[1] *dharmo-dayo-dbhavaṁ jñānaṁ kha-samaṁ sopāyā-nvitaṁ |*
trailokyas tatra-jāte hi prajño-pāya-svarūpataḥ ‖
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 23(B).
Cf. Comm. *iha tan-mudrā-yoṣit-kamalaṁ dharmo-dayam |*

[2] *sukrā-kāro bhavet bhagavān tat-sukhaṁ kāminī smṛtam |*
—MS., p. 23(B). Cf. also *Heruka-tantra*.

[3] Cf. *prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, p. 42; *strī-ndriyaṁ ca yathā padmaṁ vajraṁ puṁse-ndriyaṁ tathā |*
—*Jñāna-siddhi*, ch. 2, verse 11.
Cf. *vajrā-bja-gharṣaṇāt prajño-pāya-samāpatyā*. Comm. on *Dohākoṣa* of Kāṅha.
Cf. also:—*Sahaja-siddhi* of Ḍombī-pāda, quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, p. 60. *Ghaṇṭā-padīya-pañcakrama*, quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, p. 74; *Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 21(B). (*kha-dhātāviti padmeṣu*); *Ḍakārṇava* (Ed. by Dr. N. Chaudhuri), p. 123; *Kriyāsaṁgraha*, MS., pp. 75(B), 76(A); *Śrī-guhya-samāja-tantra*, pp. 25, 28; Comm. on *Marmakalikā-tantra*, MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 83), p. 15(B).
Cf. also *kamala kuliśa mājhe bhaia miālī* (Cf. *prajño-pāya-samatāṁ*, etc. Comm.), *Caryā* No. 47.
vāja ṇāva pāḍī pāuā khāle vāhiu | *Caryā* No. 49.
(Cf. *prajñā-ravinda-kuhara-hrade sad-guru-caraṇo-pāyena praveśitam* Comm.)

[4] *vajraṁ volakaṁ khyātaṁ padmaṁ kakkolakaṁ matam.*
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 44(A).

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abode of *Mahā-sukha.*'[1] It is also interesting to note that in the Hindu Tantras the nerve *Iḍā* which corresponds to the *Lalanā* and which is of the nature of the moon is said to be the Śakti and *Piṅgalā* corresponding to the *Rasanā* and of the nature of the sun is spoken of as the *Puruṣa* (the male principle).[2] Again these *lalanā* and *rasanā* are said to carry seed and ovum respectively.[3] We may also notice that *Prajñā* has been called *vāma* (left) in the *Pañca-krama*[4] and *Upāya* has been named the *dakṣiṇa* (right),[5] and this *lalanā* is also the nerve in the left side and *rasanā* in the right side. Again *Prajñā* is often spoken of as the vowel or the vowel 'a', or the series of letters beginning with 'a' (*āli*); and *Upāya*, in contrast, is spoken of as representing the consonants or the

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[1] *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 448.
Cf. also *lalanā prajñā-svarūpeṇa rasano-pāya-saṁsthitā |*
tayor madhye gataṁ devī aṁkāraṁ viśva-rūpiṇī ‖
—*Heruka-tantra*, MS., p. 74(B).
Cf. also *lalanā prajñā-svabhāvena rasano-pāya saṁsthitā |*
avadhūtī madhya-deśe tu grāhya-grāhaka-varjjitā ‖
—*Vajra-vārāhī-kalpa-mahā-tantra*, MS., p. 27(A). *Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 3(*a*). *Heruka-tantra*, MS., p. 15(A).
lalanā rasanā nāḍī prajño-pāyaś ca melakaḥ ‖
—*Ḍākārṇava* (ed. MM. H. P. Sāstrī), p. 158.

[2] *vāmagā yā iḍā nāḍī śukla-candra-svarūpiṇī |*
śakti-rūpā hi sā devī sākṣād amṛta-vigrahā ‖
dakṣe tu piṅgalā nāma puruṣa sūrya-vigrahaḥ |
raudrātmikā mahādevī dāḍimi-keśara-prabhā ‖
—*Sammohana-tantra* quoted in the *Ṣaṭcakra-nirūpaṇam*. Ed. by A. Avalon.

[3] Cf. also:—
akṣobhya-vahā lalanā rasanā rakta-pravāhiṇī |
avadhūty amita-nāthasya ādhara bhāvinī sadā ‖
—*Sādhana-mālā*, p. 448 (G.O.S.)
akṣobhyavahā lalanā rasanā rakta-vāhinī |
tathā prajñā candra-vahā avadhūtī sā prakīrtitā ‖
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 3(A).
teṣām madhye sthitā nāḍī lalanā śukra-vāhinī |
dakṣiṇe rasanā khyātā nāḍī rakta (pra)vāhiṇī ‖
—*Heruka-tantra*, MS., p. 14(B).

Cf. *Vajra-vārāhī-kalpa-mahā-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11285), p. 26(B). This MS. preserved in the R.A.S.B. seems to be substantially the same as the *Śrī-Ḍākārṇave Mahāyoginī-tantrarāja* published with the *Apabhraṁśa dohās* along with the *Caryāpadas* by MM. H. P. Śāstrī; but there are important additions and alterations.

We should note one important confusion here. *Lalanā* is said to be *Prajñā* but it is said to carry seed, whereas *Rasanā* which is said to be *Upāya* is said to carry ovum; but the statement ought to have been reversed to be consistent with the analogy of the Tantric Buddhists.

[4] *vāma-saṁjñām punaścaiva*, etc., MS., p. 20(B).

[5] *divā-puruṣa-saṁjñā ca svarā-kāraśca dakṣiṇāḥ ‖* MS., p. 21(A).

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letter 'ka' or the series beginning with the letter 'ka' (*kāli*). In the chapter on *Amanasikāra* of *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* we find that the letter 'a' in the beginning of the word '*a-manasikāra*' implies the non-organization of all that is imagined to be produced.[1] In justification of this interpretation it is cited from the *Mantra-paṭala* (second chapter of the first *kalpa*) of the *Hevajra-tantra* that as the letter 'a' is without beginning or origination, so also are all the *dharmas*—so the uncreate nature of the *dharmas* as the *śūnyatā* is represented by 'a'; so *Prajñā* who is *śūnyatā* is 'a'. About the nature of 'a' it has been said in the *Nāma-saṅgīti* that 'a' is the first of all letters, it is full of deep significance, it is absolutely immutable—it is long—uncreate and free from all vocal modulations.[2] 'A' is said to be the first and the most important of all the letters and all other letters evolved from this first letter 'a'. In the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra* we find that the vowel 'a' means the non-artificial innate nature, and, therefore, 'a' represents *Prajñā* and 'va' represents the *Upāya*.[3] It is also interesting to note that in the Hindu texts we often find that 'a' represents Brahmā or the creator of the universe.[4] In the Gītā also Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among the letters he is 'a'. So the fact of the letter 'a' being the representative of the *śūnyatā* seems to be significant. Often it is seen that *Prajñā* or *Śūnyatā* is represented not merely by 'a' but by the vowels in general,[5] and is indicated by the general name *āli* (i.e. the vowel series beginning with 'a').[6]

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[1] P. 61 (G.O.S.).

[2] *akāraḥ sarva-varṇāgro mahā-rthaḥ paramā-kṣaraḥ|*
mahā-prāṇo hy anutpādo vāg-udāhāra-varjitaḥ‖
—Quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 62.
Cf. also: *akāro mukhaṁ sarva-dharmāṇām ādyanutpannatvāt|*
—*Kṛṣṇa-yāmāri-tantra* quoted in the *Catalogue of Sans. Buddhist MSS.*, R.A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 149.
Again, *ādi-svara-svabhāvā sā hīti buddhaiḥ prakalpitā|*
saiva bhagavatī prajñā utpanna-krama-yogataḥ‖
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 49(A).

[3] *akāreṇā'kṛtrimaṁ sahaja-svabhāvam uktam*
akāreṇocyate prajñā vakāreṇa hy upāyakam|
prajño-pāyaka-yogena lakāra-sukha-lakṣaṇā‖
—MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 9089), p. 23(B).

[4] *akāre līyate brahmā ukāre līyate hariḥ|*
makāre līyate rudraḥ praṇave hi paraḥ smṛtaḥ‖

[5] Cf. *Sādhana-māla*, pp. 476, 557.

[6] *prajñā'li kāly upāyeti.*—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 20(A).
Also *kakāra ādir yasyā'sau kādiḥ kāliḥ, akāraḥ ādir yasyā'sau ādir āliḥ|*
—*Marma-kalikā-tantra*, MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 83), pp. 9(A) and 9(B).
āli akārā-di-ṣoḍaśa-svarān tathā tenaiva krameṇa kāli kakārā-di-hakāra-paryantam|—MS., p. 53(A). Again, *akārā-di āliḥ kakārā-diḥ kāliḥ.*—*Hevajra-Pañjikā*, MS., p. 6(A).

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In contrast with *āli* representing *Prajñā*, *kāli* or the consonantal series represents *Upāya*. This *Prajñā* and *Upāya* or *āli* and *kāli* are then associated with the moon and the sun, or the night and the day respectively.[1] In the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* it has been said that the night is obtained through the consonants and the day through the vowels.[2] Here in the Buddhist texts there is an inversion of the notion. But this in general may explain the association of *āli* with the *moon* or the night and of *kāli* with the sun or the day. *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* has also been associated with the moon and the sun, and they are said to be the two nerves flowing from the left and right of the nasal cavity.[3]

Again *Prajñā* has been said to be the syllable 'e' and *Upāya* the syllable 'va'. In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find that *Prajñā* should be meditated on as the syllable 'e'.[4] It is said in the *Sampuṭikā*, "*Prajñā* is said to be 'e' while Upāya is the syllable 'va'; and this 'e' shines only when it is adorned with 'va'."[5] In the *Hevajra-tantra* and in many other Tantras it is said, "That divine 'e' which is adorned in the middle with the *vajra* is the abode of all bliss or happiness—it is the abode of all the gems of the Buddhas; all joy is produced there, qualified by the moments; when one is established in this *evaṅkāra* one realizes bliss through the knowledge of the moments."[6] In the *Dohākoṣa* of Kaṇhupāda

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[1] *sthitā-liś candra-rūpeṇa kāli-rūpeṇa bhāskaraḥ|*
candra-sūrya-dvayor-mela gauryādyās te prakīrtitāḥ‖
prajñāli-kāly upāye'ti candrā-rkasya prabhedanāt|
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 20(A).
candra-sūryo-parāgeṣu prajñā-vajra-prayogataḥ|
vilīne advaye jñāne buddhatvam iha-janmani‖
—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, p. 70.

[2] *vyañjanaireva rātrir āpnuvanti svarair ahani|*
—*Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (II 2, 4).
Quoted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, D.Litt., in his *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 73.

[3] Cf. *lalanā rasanā ravi-sasi tuḍia veṇṇa vi pāse|*
—*Dohākoṣa* of Kaṇhupāda, verse No. 5.
Cf. also the comm. *lalanā-śabdenā'liḥ prajñā-candro vidhīyate| tasya vāma-nāsā-puṭa-svabhāvas tena prāṇa-pravāhiṇī lalanā sthitā| rasanā-śabdena kālirūpā . . . . .* etc.
—MS., B.N. Sans. No. 47, p. 40(B).

[4] *sva-dhātau cintayet dhīmān prajñām ekāra-rūpiṇīm* |—P. 444.

[5] *ekāreṇa smṛtā prajñā vaṅkāraś cā'py upāyakam|*
vaṅkāra-bhuṣitaś cā'sāv ekāraḥ śobhate dhruvam|
adho-rddhva-samāpatyā prajño-pāya-svabhātaḥ‖
—MS., p. 10(A).

[6] *ekārā-kṛti yad divyaṁ madhye vaṇkāra-bhūṣitam|*
ālaya-sarva-saukhyānāṁ buddha-ratna-karaṇḍakam‖
ānandās tatra jāyante kṣaṇa-bhedena-bheditaḥ|
kṣaṇa-jñānāt sukha-jñānam evaṅkāre pratiṣṭhitam‖
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., pp. 38(B)–39(A).

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it has been said, 'He who has understood *e-vaṁkāra* has understood everything completely.'[1] This 'e' has again been called the mother and the 'va' the father and the *bindu* is produced by their union. Again, 'e' is the *Prajñā* and 'va' is the Lord in sex-intercourse, and the *bindu* is the immutable knowledge proceeding from their union.[2] This 'e' and 'vaṁ' have also been associated with the moon and the sun. But in explaining the well-known introductory line of the *Saṅgīti* literature, viz. *evaṁ mayā śrutaṁ*, etc., the *Samputikā* explains *evaṁ* rather in a different way. It is said there that by 'e' is to be understood the earth who is Karma-mudrā, also known as *Locanā*; she is of the nature of great compassion and great expedience—she is of the form of the whole universe and is known to the whole universe; she resides in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* in the lotus of the nave. 'Vaṃ' implies water representing the *Dharma-mudrā* or the goddess Māmakī; she is of the nature of universal love and concentration and resides in the *Dharma-cakra* in the heart in a lotus of eight petals.[3] We find this interpretation also in the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* of Kṛṣṇācārya.[4] But in offering another

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[1] *evaṁkāra je bujjhia te bujjhia saala asesa* |—Dohā 21

Cf. the comm. *evaṁkāra iti śūnyatā-karuṇābhinna-rūpiṇī mahāmudrā ittham evaṁkāram* |

[2] *ekāras tu bhave(t) mātā vakāras tu pitā-smṛtaḥ* |
bindus tatra bhaved yogaḥ sa yogaḥ paramā-kṣaraḥ ‖
ekāras tu bhavet prajñā vakāraḥ suratā-dhipaḥ |
binduś cā'nāhataṁ jñānaṁ taj jātāny akṣarāṇi ca ‖
—*Devendra-paripṛcchā-tantra* collected in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha.* (Bendall's Edition), p. 76.

[3] Again *ma* (of *mayā*) is fire, *Mahā-mudrā, Pāṇḍārā* in the *Sambhoga-cakra* in the throat; *ya* means air, *Samaya-mudrā*, goddess *Karmakulā* in the *Mahāsukha-cakra*, etc.

Cf. *ekāraṁ pṛthivī jñeyā karma-mudrā tu locanā* |
mahā-kṛpā mahopāyā viśva-rūpā viśva-gocarā |
sthitā nirmāṇa-cakre vai nābhau viśva paṅkaje ‖
vaṁ-kāraṁ tu jalaṁ jñeyaṁ dharma-mudrā tu māmakī |
maitrī-praṇidhi-rūpā tu devī vajra-mukhe sthitā |
dharma-cakre tu hṛdaye aṣṭa-dalāmbuje ‖
ma-kāraṁ vahnir uddiṣṭo mahāmudrā tu pāṇḍarā |
muditā-vala-yogena devī padma-kulodbhavā |
sthitā sambhoga-cakre tu kaṇṭhe dvyaṣṭa-dalā-mbuje ‖
yā-kāraṁ vāyu-rūpastu sarva-kleśa-prabhañjakaḥ |
mahā-samaya-mudrā vai devī karma-kulā mukhyā |
upekṣā jñāna-yogena tara saṁsāra-tāriṇī ‖
—*Samputikā*, MS., p. 10(A).

[4] *ekāraḥ pṛthivī jñeyā karma-mudrā tu locanā* |
catuḥṣaṣṭhi-dale nābhau sthitā nirmāṇa-cakrake |
vaṁ-kārastu jalaṁ jñeyam dharma-mudrā tu māmakī |
saṁsthitā tu dharma-cakre śuddha-divyaṣṭadalāmbuje ‖

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alternative meaning of the line *evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ*, etc., the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* says that by 'e' is meant the female organ while by 'va' is meant the male organ; by *mayā* is meant the sex-activity and by *śrutaṃ* is implied double nature of the *sādhana* (viz. *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta*). Then the commentator further explains that the male is of the nature of the seed, while the pleasure is the female—they represent the *Dharma-kāya* and *Sambhoga-kāya* and both of them are combined in the nature of the Lord (*vajra-dhara*). Thus 'e' and 'va' are the two aspects of the Lord; they are also called *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta* which again correspond to the *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* or *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.[1]

It is needless to say that many of these derivations and interpretations are merely arbitrary and they are introduced to demonstrate some purely sectarian view. It is for this reason that in the *Marmakalikā-tantra* and in the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* all the alternative interpretations are called 'Sectarian interpretation' (*sampradāya-vyākhyā*). Thus the verse—

caṇḍalī jvalitā nābhau dahati pañca-tathāgatān |
dahati ca locanādināṃ dagdhe huṁ sravate śaśī ||
—(*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 4(B))

has got as many as five interpretations. In the first interpretation *āli* has been explained as the wind blowing through the left nasal passage and *kāli* as the wind blowing through the right.[2] Again *caṇḍā* means *Prajñā* as she is very terrible (*caṇḍā*) in destroying

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śrutaṁ sahajam ityuktaṁ dvidhā-bhedena bheditam |
saṁvṛtam devatā-kāram utpatti-krama-pakṣataḥ |
vivṛti sva-svarūpan tu niṣpanna-krama-pakṣataḥ |
satya-dvayaṁ samāśritya buddhānāṁ dharma-deśanā ||
—*Hevajra-tantra*; *Hevajra-Pañjikā*, MS., p. 2(B).

But cf. also:—

ekāreṇa locanā devī vaṁkareṇa māmakī smṛtā |
makāreṇa pāṇḍarā ca yākāreṇa ca taruṇī ||
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 4(A).

[1] *ekāraṁ bhagam ityuktaṁ vaṁkāram kuliśaṁ smṛtam* |
mayeti cālanaṁ proktaṁ śrutaṁ yat tad dvidhāmatam |
tathā ca vakṣyati |
śukrā-kāro bhaved bhagavān tat-sukhaṁ kāminī smṛtam |
dharma-sambhoga-rūpatvaṁ vajra-dharasya lakṣaṇam ||
tathā ca
saṁvṛtaṁ kumkuma-saṅkāśaṁ vivṛtaṁ sukha-rūpiṇam |
ity anena hi vākyena śūnyatā-karuṇā-svabhāvam prajño-pāya-svabhāvaṁ dharma-sambhoga-kāya-svabhāvam |
—MS., p. 2(A).

[2] *āli vāma-nāsā-puṭa-prabhavo yāyuḥ* | *tadaparaḥ kālih* |
—*Hevajra-Pañjikā*, MS., p. 9(B).

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all sorts of afflictions; and *āli* here means *Vajrasattva*.[1] Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* who is *aṃ*; and *āli* is *Vajrasattva* who is *kraṃ*.[2] Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* which is the left nerve, while *āli* is *Upāya* or the right nerve.[3] Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* which is discriminative knowledge about the transcendental nature of origination and the originated; while *āli* is the mind full of universal compassion.[4] Here in these interpretations it is very easy to notice that *āli* has been explained as the *Upāya* which is contradictory to the interpretation of all the Tantras including the *Hevajra-tantra* (of which the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* is the commentary); *āli* has also been said to be *kraṃ* (while *caṇḍā* is *aṃ*), which is absurd and self-contradictory.

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[1] *caṇḍā prajñā kleśo-pakleśa-niṣkrantane* (?) *caṇḍa-svabhāvatvāt ālir vajrasattvaḥ*|

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 9(B).

[2] *caṇḍā prajñā aṁkāraḥ*| *ālir vajrasattvo kraṁ-kāraḥ*|

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(A).

[3] *caṇḍā prajñā vāmā-nāḍī*| *āli-rūpa upāyo dakṣiṇa-nāḍī*|

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(A).

[4] *caṇḍā prajñā utpatty-utpanna-krama-sambandhināṁ vicāraḥ*|
ālir mahā-karuṇāmaya-cittam|

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(B).

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POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE ṚG-VEDA (1)

By Miss Sakuntala Rao Shāstrī

Introduction

The life of women in India has been greatly influenced by the two Great Epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. These two books, looked upon as they are as sacred as the law-books, and considered as they are as embodying the kernel of the Vedas, are read vastly by all grades of society, from the highest to the lowest. These are the books commonly read and discussed by the Indian mother, wife and daughter in the closely guarded harem of a king, as well as in the humble cottage of the poor who have the ability to read. Even to the poor who are illiterate, the narratives of both the Epics are not unknown. The characters depicted in these are not only held up as ideals, but are imitated by many an Indian woman; and not only are they engraved on their hearts but they have to a great extent moulded the national character of Indian womanhood. In spite of the ravages of foreign invasions, that swept over Hindustān from age to age, these ideals have been cherished loyally, and the names of Sītā, Sāvitrī, Draupadī, Damayantī, and Gāndhārī and so on, are even today uttered with the deepest veneration by every daughter of the Indian soil. Shrines in commemoration of their virtue have sprung up all over India to which pilgrimages are made. An Indian father or mother cannot think of a higher blessing for his or her daughter than to wish her to be like 'Sāvitrī'. In the annals of India these are the few instances where a woman has been venerated in society, and a high tribute has been paid by men. In later times, they came to be adored for upholding the highest ideal of a devoted wifehood. The whole tragedy of the Rāmāyaṇa is the outcome of the efforts of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa to fulfil the wishes of Sītā. The younger brothers of Rāma, in consequence of the high esteem in which they held her, hardly dared to contradict her, even when conflict arose on important matters. Sītā is described as attending the open councils with her husband. Sāvitrī is the virtuous daughter, universally respected for her piety and goodness, whose devotion and virtue induced the god Yama to nullify the terrible destiny of her husband, as well as to restore the lost eye-sight of her father-in-law and his lost kingdom. Gāndhārī was one of those eminent women, who commanded universal respect owing to her truthfulness, singularity

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of devotion to her husband and keen sense of justice. It is said that her sons, though powerful rulers of a large kingdom, sought her blessings before they marched against their enemies, knowing that whatever was uttered by her would come to pass. Her stern sense of justice triumphed over her restless maternal affection and, knowing that her sons were not following the right path, and seeing clearly how they would be destroyed in the war, she wished victory to be on the side of the just. She said: 'यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः' 'Let victory be on the side of the just'.

These characters, priceless as they are, stand outside the pale of Vedic culture. Nor do they represent or reflect the woman as presented in the law. What their origin was, and what influences combined in the formation of the legends concerning them, is a matter for research. Whatever their influence in society, in the range of sacred literature they come second only to the Vedic and Smṛti literature. 'Śruti' or 'divine revelation', as represented by the Vedas, is considered to be the original and highest source of Dharma. These are increased by the addition of the Brāhmaṇas, which explain the complicated Vedic rituals.

The next important source of Dharma is 'Smṛti', that which is remembered, and has been handed down by the Ṛshis. This huge mass of literature is grouped into Śrauta Sūtras, Gṛhya Sūtras and the Dharma Sūtras. The Śrauta deals mainly with Vedic sacrifices; the Gṛhya Sūtra deals with laws relating particularly to the home, and the Dharma Sūtras lay down laws by which society is governed, such as the Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vaśishṭha, Gobhila and others. Then come the Dharma Śāstras or metrical versions based on the previously existing Dharma Sūtras; to this class belong the Code of Manu, the Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Parāśara and other fragmentary Dharma Śāstras and secondary Smṛtis of later period. The next authoritative group of literature consists of commentaries. The principal of these are Medhātithi and Kullūkabhaṭṭa on Manu, Vijñāneśvara's commentary on Yājñavalkya, commentaries on the Parāśara Smṛti, and so forth. These commentaries have given rise to the various schools of law, the Mitāksharā, Dāyabhāga, Maithilā and others.

The works already mentioned are part of the Vedic cult; how far the later ones differed from their originals, and how far they have been influenced by cults other than the Vedic, is a matter for investigation. As they stand, however, they present a gloomy picture of womanhood. A woman's status in home and society changed from age to age. The earliest and original records present woman as possessing similar status to that of man in social life and

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religious ceremonies. Many were given free scope for the exhibition and evolution of their natural gifts: certain names have been immortalized by the hymn ascribed to them and the discussions they participated in concerning the highest spiritual experiences of life. They have been given a place among the Ṛshis or Saints. With the development and complexity of ritual the face of things changed, and the degradation of womanhood is evident. This is clearly reflected in the Brāhmaṇas and the earlier law-books. It reaches its climax in Manu, where the angle of vision is completely changed: as woman's place in the religious field became unnecessary, she was regarded merely as an object of pleasure, and the main aim of her existence became the production of children. The later Codes of Law, especially, curbed to no small extent the liberty of woman in home and society. With the help of these laws, early marriages came to be sanctioned; widow-marriage, nay, marriage of even child widows, was strongly disapproved, and woman was denied any kind of higher education and culture. The status of women of even the highest class came to be regarded as equal to that of a man of the lowest, and the right of reading the sacred scriptures was denied to a woman. She had very little voice in home and none in society. Even in matters on which the sorrow and happiness of her whole life hinged she had not the liberty to utter a word. Her virtue was weighed by the degree of her obedience to her husband, and she was not expected to have any religious duties to perform except the serving of her husband as her god. She had, moreover, no right to partake in any religious rites or to utter texts from the Vedas except at the time of marriage. Severe punishments were enjoined, if she failed in her duty to her lord; the king could cause her to be devoured by dogs in a place 'frequented by many'. Even the conception of the composition of a woman is degrading. It is said that the Creator, in making her, placed all evil qualities, such as impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice and bad conduct (M. IX, 17 and 15) in her. Even when women are commanded by the sacred scriptures to be honoured, the motive is a selfish one. It is for the wealth and prosperity of the home that they are ordered to be honoured (Manu III, 59). The highest commendation that is spoken of a woman is in the following, which is like an oasis in the desert:—

> 'Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rites yield rewards.'
>
> 'Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes, but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers.' (Manu III, 56 and 57.)

Why this degradation of womanhood came and what influences acted in bringing it about, is a matter for investigation. We find

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that in religious movements outside the limit of this Vedic cult the position of woman is different. The Tāntric literature places a woman on a par with man. Tantras are of two kinds: Āgama and Nigama. The latter represents Devī as guru, and the worship of woman, as Śakti, is predominant throughout the literature. It has developed round the gods Śiva and Pārvatī. Its origin has been traced to a time earlier than Nāgārjuna, and some even claim it to be contemporary with the Upanishads. In the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa, a Tāntric version of the Epic, Jānakī is described as primeval, eternal, and she is the visible Prakṛti itself. Here the thousand-headed Rāvaṇa was killed by Sītā, and Rāma worships his wife thus:—

> 'Blessed be my birth today and successful is my devotion . . . . Thou hast favoured me by appearing to my view . . . . Thou art the highest good of Jīva.'

Women could be *gurus* and could initiate even men, and it is said that 'by the worship of such a woman both Sādhana, Śakti and spiritual knowledge are attained'.

The Buddhist and Jaina literature give a different picture of woman. We meet here two extremes: the glorious stage when women were admitted into the order of nuns, and in this respect were considered equal to men, and the other, in which they were regarded as objects of temptation and were impeached with lack of trustworthiness. It has to be noted in this connection, that the age was one of asceticism, and hence, though wider scope for the display of woman's activities was given, it was restrained by rigorous laws.

The demand for a higher standard of morality set up by the Buddha and his disciples influenced to a considerable extent the entire trend of the Hindu cult. We find its influence clearly reflected in the law-books. Those which were pre-Buddhistic gave greater liberty to women, but the freedom became gradually restricted in the later law-books.

One of the most important beliefs that influenced the Hindu cult and degraded the position of a woman from age to age was the eschatological belief regarding the life after death.

The belief that the soul of a dead person acquired its strength and nourishment through the food offered at the funeral oblation, and that it obtained the necessary ethereal body through those offerings for its existence in the next world, gave importance to the ceremonial of funeral oblations. It was believed that, in default of it, the soul would go to hell. Hence the necessity for a son to perform the required rites and to offer food for the benefit of the

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souls in the next world became a thing of utmost importance. A son was desired as an investment for future life. With the introduction of this belief into the Hindu cult thoughts were turned towards the birth of a son, and woman became regarded solely for the purpose of the production of sons.

So thoroughly and systematically has this belief influenced the Hindu religion, that even in the present time we hear of horrible crimes being committed in consequence of it.

In a recent publication regarding womanhood a medical missionary describes how she came across a patient (woman), who suddenly became blind, and, on inquiring into the cause learnt of the ghastly atrocity of her husband, who had blinded her with a knitting needle, as she could not give birth to a son! (India's Womanhood, by Christine I. Tintling, Ch. II, published 1935.)

It is to be noted that, in the earliest period, the Hindu cult was so thoroughly influenced by it, that all ceremonials were centred round the birth of sons and the aim and existence of a woman was mainly for this one purpose. Virtue was discarded and sons of every description were admitted into society. Nowhere in the earlier law-books can we meet with the ascetic standard that required a woman to lead a life of chastity, such as is enjoined in later law-books and commentaries. Whatever means were necessary for getting a son were allowed by the law-givers. Even when such foreign customs as the seclusion of women and the burning of widows were adopted into Hindu society and were sanctioned by the law-givers, the underlying reason was this eschatological belief. In the case of introducing close seclusion of women the underlying notion was that, as it was believed that the son belongs to his father in the next world, and, consequently, the funeral oblations offered by one who is not a natural son will not reach him in the next world, a close guard was put on them. In sanctioning the custom that required a wife to burn herself with the body of her dead husband the law-givers sanctioned it on the ground that the virtue reaped by so doing would enable the wife to drag her husband's soul even from Hell, and entitle him to live in Heaven.

It may now be asked whence came this belief that has influenced Hindu cult so thoroughly? The only hymn that describes and gives the rite of the disposal of the dead in the Ṛg-Veda ordains burial. From which we can conclude that cremation, even if it was known to them (the Aryans of the Ṛg-Vedic hymns) was not the usually observed custom. The next historically important Veda—the Atharva-Veda—while adopting the entire ritual of the Ṛg-Veda, gives other modes of disposal of the dead, among which is the custom of cremation. It also describes how the manes came and ate the

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funeral oblations offered in Agni. The Atharva-Veda, which represents an older order of civilization and which is definitely a scripture of the Aryans, since otherwise it could not possibly have exercised such an enormous influence on Vedic society and especially the domestic ceremonies, introduces a new element that has thoroughly moulded the life of a man and determined later the destiny of an Indian woman. The A.V. describes the ceremony for the benefit of the souls of the dead, in which funeral oblations are given to the fire in the belief that the manes would come to partake of it, in order to gain substance in their next life.

Among the cults outside the purely Vedic, we find in the Iranian scriptures a parallel ceremony prescribed for the souls of the dead and the same eschatology underlying it. It is probable that the Atharva-Veda is the scripture of an Aryan branch that came under the Iranian influence before they came to settle in India, carrying with them some of their superstitions, witchcraft and other degraded beliefs. Ideas strikingly parallel and similar to those of the Iranian scriptures are to be found in the Atharva-Veda. This supposition is further strengthened by the long argument put forth in the Nyāyamanjarī, in which the author, with the support of the opinions of various Brāhmaṇical schools, tries to prove the priority of the Atharva-Veda to the other Vedas. His argument shows that there were certain sections of Brāhmaṇical schools that regarded the Atharva-Veda as not only prior to the Ṛg-Veda, but more authoritative than the other Vedas, even in sacerdotal matters; whereas others deprecated it, refusing to give it a place in the *Trayī* or the three Canonical Vedas. The Atharva-Veda, on the other hand, praises things which the Ṛg-Veda deprecates. These reflect the antipathy and the unwillingness of the Ṛg-Vedic Aryans to assimilate into their cult the new elements brought in by the Atharva-Veda and its people.

It cannot be denied that the Atharva-Veda brought with it large Iranian influence, which gradually gained its way into the Vedic cult and thoroughly moulded the destinies of men and women accordingly from age to age.

The influence of the Atharva-Veda in the domestic rituals can be seen in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, which embodies the Gṛhya rituals and thus can be described as a forerunner of the Gṛhya Sūtras.

The Gṛhya rituals are developed forms of ceremonies round certain verses of the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa.[1] The magic and symbolism

[1] Comprising of various rituals to be performed at various stages of domestic life, viz., marriage, initiation, the birth of a child, the naming of a child, the tonsure of the head, the killing of animals at a sacrifice, the tending of cattle, the safeguard of the family from the attack of reptiles, worms, etc.

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with which the Gṛhya rituals are combined are the outcome of the influence of the Atharva-Veda. The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa institutes a system of marriage meant for adult people only. This is evident from the words used by it in different connections. It sets up an ideal based on the fellowship of a wife in the religious and domestic spheres. This demand for unanimity and intimate relationship of the wife in religious matters has been discarded by the Gṛhya rituals and in some of them transferred from the wife to the student. The gradual change in the marriage vows taken before the fire reflects the change in the position of the wife in society.

It is to be noted that in this period the centre of Vedic culture and learning moved to the south, and we find all the prominent law-givers flourishing there. The rituals of the north differed from those of the south, but we find none of the early Gṛhya Sūtras instituting a ritual of marriage suitable for children. They are clearly drafted for the marriage of adults.

The southern cult flourished under the fostering care of powerful Hindu dynasties; and we find all the prominent law-givers, beginning with Baudhāyana, coming from the south. In the great age of the Commentaries, which followed the creative period of the law-codes, the most authoritative books belonged to the south and these developed later into the different schools of law.

CHAPTER I

The Ṛg-Veda

The history of Ancient India begins properly with the period during which the Ṛg-Veda was composed. This work, even today, is looked upon by the priesthood of India with such awe and reverence, that it is regarded as infallible, and every word of it is believed to be an eternal revelation. The hymns of this book are mostly devoted to the adoration of the phenomena of nature personified as gods and goddesses, and came to be used in course of time by the priesthood of Ancient India for sacerdotal purposes. But a student of Sanskrit literature will discover in the Ṛg-Veda a great literary monument of that hoary antiquity which differs so widely from the present age of civilization. In the course of the adoration of the deities and the description of their superhuman powers, the thoughts, the aspirations, and the ethical standard of the nation are reflected. In fact, the pulse of the national life can be felt in the poems. The materials for the study of the life and position of women in each of their particular departments are very scanty; hence any observation on them is, in most cases, bound to be meagre and based more

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on indirect evidence in the way of possible inferences from literary allusions, than on direct and systematic evidence. The procedure, therefore, that can be followed with best advantage is to survey the subject from various points of view, regarding which some conclusions may profitably be drawn. It cannot be expected that such an inquiry would satisfy our normal curiosity regarding the various details of the different departments of a woman's life in Vedic times. Considering the dearth of materials, such a limitation cannot be avoided.

In hymn VIII. 31 [1] where a couple are described as washing and pressing the *soma* juice, and plucking the sacred grass for sacrifices we get a glimpse of the home of the Ṛg-Vedic times. Here the couple lived in harmony, helping each other in their daily routine of work. The hymn embodying the nuptial ceremony, as well as the references to the wifehood of a woman, reveal a home where the wife shares the burdens of her husband, not only in home life, but in religious ceremonies. The tenth Maṇḍala, however, contains hymns embodying the incantations used by the co-wives

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[1] या दम्पती समनसा सुनुत आ च धावतः ।

देवासो नित्ययाशिरा ॥—VIII. 31. 5.

'Gods, may the husband and wife, who with one mind offer oblations and purify them, and (propitiate you) with the Soma ever mixed with milk.'

प्रति प्राञ्चा इतः सम्यंचा वहिरा शाते ।

न ता वाजेषु वायतः ॥—VIII. 31. 6.

'Constantly associated, may they acquire appropriate (sacrificial) food; may they be able to offer sacrifices; may they never be wanting in food (given by the gods).'

अस्य प्रजावती गृहेऽसश्चंती दिवेदिवे ।

इळा धेनुमती दुहे ॥—VIII. 31. 4.

'In his house perpetual abundance, accompanied by progeny (is present) and milch kine are milked day by day.'

पुत्रिणा ता कुमारिणा विश्वमायुर्व्यश्नुतः ।

उभा हिरण्यपेशसा ॥—VIII. 31. 8.

'Blessed with youthful and adolescent offspring, and both having their persons richly ornamented they pass (happily) their whole life.'

वीतिहोत्रा ऋतद्दृशा दशस्यंता मृतायकं ।

समूधो रोमशं हतो देवेषु कृणुतो दुवः ॥—VIII. 31. 8.

'Offspring, acceptable sacrifices, obtaining the wealth they solicit, presenting gratifying (oblations to the gods) for the sake of immortality enjoying personal union, they (wife and husband) worship the gods.'

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which reflect a discordant home, but it cannot be said with certainty that these hymns really belonged to the Ṛg-Vedic times. If, on the other hand, they did belong to it, they present an element to which no reference is to be found in any other Maṇḍala of the Ṛg-Veda. From this it may be presumed that polygamy was not in vogue in the early Vedic days, at least in that circle, of which the culture is depicted in the Ṛg-Veda.

The position of a woman in society can be judged by the way in which the birth of a girl is welcomed in a home. Was she considered inauspicious? The hymns of the Ṛg-Veda say nothing to that effect, but we find prayers for the birth of a son, though we cannot come across any reference deprecating the birth of a daughter as in A.V., 7. 5, so it can be presumed that the position of a girl was not very low, though it cannot be said that she was regarded as equal to a boy.

We find in the Ṛg-Veda a number of names to denote a girl in her different stages of life and in her different positions in the family. A discussion as to the exact meaning of these words is important, as it may give a clearer idea of the various circumstances of a daughter in home and in society. Of these some have come down to our times with their denotation and connotation slightly changed. One or two of these, which were in vogue in the earliest stages of the Aryan life but were losing ground before the Aryans settled in India, are to be found in the Ṛg-Veda, but became obsolete in later literature. The different shades of meaning can be found by referring to the context. Of these various names the words *Kanyā* and *Duhitā* have come down to our times: they are to be found in the vernacular literature of the post-Vedic age. *Kanyā* came to acquire such a wide meaning as to cover the sense of *Duhitā*. The Smṛtis have fixed the age of a *Kanyā* to be ten. *Duhitā* is a 'daughter' in a house, but its use is not so popular as *Kanyā* irrespective of age. In the Ṛg-Veda its meaning is clear in one of the hymns written in adoration of Ushā, where the glory of aurora, the gradual development of the play of light and shade in the eastern horizon, is compared to a *Kanyā*. (I. 123. 10.)

कन्येव तन्वा शाशदानाँ एषि देवि देवमियक्षमाणां ।[1]

'Like a maid (*Kanyā*) developing in body, O Goddess, thou goest to the god who wishes to give what thou longest for.'

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[1] The gloss of Sāyaṇāchārya runs thus:—

तन्वा शरीरेण शाशदानाँ शाशद्यमाना स्पष्टतां प्राप्नुवती । शाशदानः शाशद्यमानः । (निः ६. १६) इति यास्कः । कन्येव कमनीया कन्यकेव । कन्या कमनीया भवति....क्षेयं नेतव्येति वा । (निः ४. १४) इति यास्कः ।

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From the gloss of Sāyaṇāchārya we find that *Kanyā* means not only a girl of growing age, but also a lovely girl. He supports his view by quoting from Nirukta (IV. 15; and VI. 16).

The word *Kanīnakā* [1] is rather interesting: the difference in the interpretation of the word shows the various stages through which it has passed. It is one of those rare words of the Ṛg-Veda which became obsolete in later literature, and its obscurity in meaning gave rise to various interpretations. Yāska, the earliest authority, records the meaning as 'a lovely girl', whereas Sāyaṇa explains it as 'a lovely doll'; Wilson renders it as 'two puppets', and Roth thinks it means 'a maiden' (St. Petersburg Dictionary). In later literature, however, the word came to designate the pupil of the eye, and it is perhaps from the affection felt for a girl that it acquired this meaning.

Another word that was going out of usage, even in the Ṛg-Veda, and became obsolete in later literature is *Kanyanā* (R.V., VIII. 35. 5). It meant a maiden, and the word appears in a slightly altered form in the Atharva-Veda and the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa (*Kanyalā*).[2]

Of all these epithets for girls, the word *Duhitā* [3] seems to have been more in use in the R.V., as it appears in most of the contexts that refer to a daughter.

There are two passages in the Ṛg-Veda (I. 124. 7; III. 31. 1)[4] which refer to the case where a daughter is the only child of the family. In later literature we find such a daughter designated as *Putrikā*.[5] Yāska quotes one of these to explain the legal position of the only daughter. According to his interpretation (II. 5), it means that a brotherless maiden (even after she has been given

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[1] R.V., IV. 32. 23; X. 40. 9.
Nirukta, IV, 15.
Yāska explains thus: कनीनके कन्यके। कन्या कमनीया भवति।

[2] A.V., 5. 3; XIV. 2. 52. M.B., 1. 2. 5. Ap.M.B., 1. 4. 4*a*.

[3] R.V., VIII. 101. 15; X. 17. 1; 40. 5; 61. 5. 7; A.V., II. 14. 2; VI. 100. 3; VII. 12. 1; X. 1. 25; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4, 1; 8, 1, 8, etc.

[4] अ॒भ्रा॒तेव॑ पुं॒स ए॑ति प्रती॒ची ग॑र्ता॒रुगि॑व सु॒नये॒ धना॑नां।—R.V., I. 124. 7.

and शसद्व॒र्हि॑र्दुहि॒तुर्न॒प्तयं॑ गद्विद्वाँ ऋ॒तस्य॒ दीधि॑तिं सप॒र्यन्।

पि॒ता यत्र॑ दुहि॒तुः सेक॑मृ॒जन्तसंश॒ग्म्ये॑न॒ मन॑सा दध॒न्वे॥—R.V., III. 31. 1.

[5] Vedic Index, I. 528, 537; II. 496. Weber, Indische Studien, 5, 343; Geldner, Vedische Studien, 3–34; Oldenberg, Ṛg-Veda Noten, 1, 239–241; Roth, Nirukta Erlauterungen, 27; Jolly, Recht and Sitte, 72, 73; Bṛhaddevatā, IV. 110, 111; Keith, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1910, 924, 925; Jolly, Die Adoption in Indien, 32.

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away in marriage) can perform the funeral rites of her father. Not only does this give her the right to inherit the property, but shows that she is legally recognized as equal to a son. This view must have been current at the time of Yāska, since the author included it in his book. The commentator Durgāchārya further elucidates it by saying that, even after her marriage, she can retain this right. It is perhaps because of this that an only daughter was not eligible for marriage. The later law-givers prohibited strictly such a union. The fourteenth century thought is reflected in Sāyaṇa's interpretation of the passage. He says that 'a maiden who has no brother seeks for clothes and ornaments from relatives belonging to her father's family. If she has a brother, he looks to her needs. It is only in his absence that she seeks the help of her uncles, etc.' He goes further and proposes another interpretation. If her own brother is living, he performs the funeral rites of their father, but in his absence she goes to the place of her paternal relatives to perform the funeral rites herself.

The interpretation which the western scholars give is quite different. The authors of the Vedic Index, as well as some other western scholars, have drawn the inference, probably based on the ordinary sense of the term 'Puṁsaḥ', that brotherless maidens in Vedic times were forced to lead an immoral life. Professor Geldner, however, upholds the interpretation of Yāska and understands the *Abhrātar* in the special sense of *Putrikā* (Ṛg-Veda, Kommentar, 2, 48, 49, on R.V., III. 31. 1).

The position of a girl in society, the measure of freedom she enjoyed, is further evident from the description that we can gather of *Samana*[1] from various hymns of the Ṛg-Veda. What was this Samana? The word is often to be met with in the Ṛg-Veda, but different scholars have rendered it differently. Sāyaṇāchārya renders and explains the word according to the context, and in some cases gives a meaning to fit in with the sacrificial ceremony. So his meaning of the word is not definite. Among the western scholars, Pischel[2] thinks it to be a popular festival or social gathering in which men and women took part.[3] Poets thronged there to acquire

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[1] Vedic Index, I, 481; I, 429; Roth in St. Petersburg Dictionary renders it as a battle or festival: R.V., VI. 75. 3–5; IX. 96. 9; X. 143. 4; R.V., II. 16. 7; VI. 60. 2; VII. 2. 5; VIII. 12. 9; IX. 97. 47; X. 55. 5; 86. 10; A.V., VI. 92. 2; II. 36. 1; Vājasaneya Saṁhitā, IX. 9.

[2] Vedische Studien, 2, 314.

[3] R.V., I. 124. 8; IV. 58. 8; VI. 75. 4; VII. 25; X. 86. 10; 168. 2; R.V., II. 16. 7; IX. 97. 47. Cf. Geldner, Vedische Studien, 2, 38; R.V., VI. 75. 3, 5; IX. 96. 9; A.V., VI. 92. 2; R.V., I. 48. 6; X. 69. 11; VII. 2. 5; R.V., IV. 58. 8; A.V., II. 36. 1. Cf. Geldner, Ṛg-Veda, Glossar, 190.

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fame, bowmen to exhibit their skill at archery, horses to run races, women young or grown-up to seek their partners in life, and courtesans to profit by the occasion. The festivity seems to have begun in the evening and went on until the morning or as long as the conflagration, caused by the ceremonial fires, lasted. Roth, however, takes it to be either 'a battle' or 'a festival'. Griffith has rendered the word as 'a gathering'. Setting aside all these interpretations of the word, if we read the passages where the word appears, however difficult the language may be, the firsthand impression suggests a festival rather than anything else.

Nowhere in the Ṛg-Veda can be found a detailed description of this Samana, but similes drawn from it, and used in the ceremony of the praise to the gods, serve as glimpses from which we can gather a fuller picture of this gathering. From the collection of such pieces strewn here and there we infer that Samana was a festival of the Ṛg-Vedic people, specially meant for recreation and not for any religious purpose. People of every station of life, rich and poor, young and old, looked forward eagerly to this function, which gave them an opportunity of meeting old friends, and knowing people of all sorts and conditions. Women, young and grown-up, are described as decorating themselves to take part in it. Young women, especially unmarried girls, are described as utilizing this opportunity of meeting and conversing with strangers, which reminds us of the Greek festivals.

स्वाध्यौ३ वि दुरो देवयतोऽश्रिश्रयू रथयुर्देवताता ।

पूर्वी शिशुं न मातरा रिहाणे समग्रुवो न समनेष्वंजन् ॥—VII. 2. 5.

In this verse the word '*Agru*' means 'a virgin'.

'With holy thoughts, the pious have thrown open doors fain for chariots in the gods' assembly.'

'Like two full mother-cows, who lick their younglings, like maidens for the gathering they adorn them.'

सं प्रेरते अनु वातस्य विष्टा एनं गच्छंति समनं न योषाः ।—X. 168. 2.

'Along the traces of the wind they hurry, they come to him as dames to a Samana.'

In the above the word 'Yoshāh', which stands for a woman, also means a girl, a maiden, a young woman and a wife, according to Monier Williams. It is therefore evident that the festival was attended by women, young and old. Pischel thinks

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that the following refer to the poets who attended the assembly to win fame by the display of their poetical faculties.[1,2]

In the latter, the word *Samana* has been explained by Sāyaṇa too, as a meeting. But Pischel's interpretation cannot be drawn directly from it. With what purpose does the *Hotā* or priest go to the assembly? This is not a meeting held for a purely religious purpose, so his services, strictly speaking, as a priest, are not required there. We may, therefore, infer that his going there is to display poetical skill and win fame.

From the references to the various kinds of activities displayed at a *Samana* the meeting seems generally to have been held in a large open space. In a corner devoted to feats of archery bowmen displayed their ability and won prizes. Pischel sees such a meaning in Ṛg-Veda, VI. 75. 3. Yāska here takes the word to mean *Samgrāma*; Sāyaṇa follows him. This change in the meaning must have been developed in the post-Ṛg-Vedic period, probably from the feats of archery exhibited in the festival assembly.

Another corner of this great gathering was reserved for horse-races, while the courtesans took their shelter in a different part of this extended area.[3]

Wilson takes *Samana* to mean 'a battle'. Sāyaṇa also understands 'a battle' here, by 'Samana'. Verses, R.V., VII. 2. 5; VI. 75. 4 and IV. 58. 8 refer to courtesans and the authors of the Vedic Index assert: 'We see in the above a picture of maidenhood akin to that of Greece and a festival parallel to those of Greece, where young girls were allowed to mix freely with strangers.'

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[1] II. 16. 7:

प्र ते नावं न समने वचस्युवं ब्रह्मणा यामि सवनेषु दाधृषिः ।

कुविन्नो अस्य वचसो निबोधिषदिन्द्रमुत्स न वसुनः सिचामहे ॥

'I approach thee in thy sacred rites, bold with prayer, thee like a saving ship, thee shouting in the war. May Indra listen to our words attentively; we will pour out libations to Indra, who is as a spring of wealth.'—Wilson.

[2] IX. 97. 47.

एष प्रत्नेन वयसा पुनानस्तिरो वर्पांसि दुहितुर्दधानः ।

वसानः शर्म त्रिवरूथमप्सु होतेव याति समनेषु रेभन् ॥

'Purified with ancient vital vigour, enveloping all his daughter's forms and figures, finding his threefold refuge in the waters, he goes to the assemblies calling aloud like a priest.'

[3] सहस्रधारः शतवाज इन्द्रवाजी न सप्तिः समना जिगाति ॥—IX. 96. 9.

'The thousand-streamed and hundred-powered Indra goes to the assembly like a strong car-horse.'

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At the centre of this area, a place seems to have been reserved, where a fire was burnt, around which all people met together. This indicates the time of the festival. It was held in the winter season, so that a fire was necessary, as in all cold climates, to warm the people. Pischel thinks that the meeting was generally held at night, as he thinks that the fire is described as being alight until morning, when the celebrators went to look after their own business. But the verse I. 48. 6, where the goddess Ushā is described as 'वि या सृजति समनं the creator of Samana', seems to imply that the festival began early in the morning, just at the break of day. Sāyaṇāchārya explains this passage by giving a far-fetched meaning to 'Samana'; he explains it as 'समीचीनं चेष्टावंतं पुरुषं'। The author must have given this meaning to bring out a consistent sense of the verse; but it cannot be applied here. The western scholars have all followed Sāyaṇa in translating the verse. But it can more correctly be taken to mean 'one who creates or sends forth Samana'.

This custom seems to have been prevalent in the earliest days of the Ṛg-Vedic period, and must have continued for some time after their settlement in India, for a passage in the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛg-Veda describes the custom as being an ancient one, and although the festival continued to exist, its scope was restricted, and women were not then allowed to join in it freely.

संहोत्रं स्म पुरा नारी समनं वाव गच्छति।[1]—X. 86. 10.

The explanation of Sāyaṇa is a far-fetched one: the verse, as it stands, is clear and simple, and indicates that women went to Samana in olden days. By the time this verse was composed, the ceremony was dying out, and only a reminiscence of it remained in the minds of the people.

The interpretation of Sāyaṇa runs thus:—

नारी स्त्र्यृतस्य सत्यस्य वेधा विधात्री वीरिणी पुत्रवतीन्द्रस्य भार्येन्द्राणी संहोत्रं स्म समीचीनं यज्ञं खलु समनं वा संग्रामं।.....अव प्रति पुरा गच्छति।

The hymn in which this verse appears describes the deeds of Indra and Indrāṇī. Indra of the Ṛg-Veda is a personified phenomenon of nature, and as such he had no wife. In the oldest Maṇḍalas, the name 'Indrāṇī' does not appear. She is the creation of a much

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[1] 'From olden times, the matron goes to feast and general sacrifice.'—Griffith. But 'गच्छति स्म' refers to rather to a thing of the remote past than the present, hence the meaning will be 'used to go' than 'goes'. The word पुरा is indicative of the fact that the custom became an old one by the time this hymn was composed.

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later age than that of the Ṛg-Vedic one, when the hierarchy of gods was formed, in which Indra became the king of Heaven, and had a partner in life, Indrāṇī, the Queen of Heaven. So this hymn certainly belongs to a later age.

A faint picture of a maiden's life is reflected in the characterization of Ushā, the goddess of dawn, who has been described in many places as a maiden. In the earliest Maṇḍalas, Ushā is described as a pure and simple phenomenon of nature, sweeping away the darkness of the night. In course of time, however, human feelings were introduced into the picture of Ushā, and Dawn came to be personified as a maiden. So in many places the touches given to the picture of Ushā are directly drawn from the life of a young maiden of Vedic society. She is described as a young maiden marching in the Heavens, not with the hesitation of a shy girl, but radiant in the pride of her beauty. (R.V., VI, k. 65. 1.) She is often described as inspiring admiration in the minds of all who looked at her. Sūrya is mentioned as her lover, and he is described as pursuing her, a scene which reminds us of the story of Apollo and Dephne in Greek mythology.

In the description and adoration of this goddess, certain other phases of a maiden's life and society are revealed, for it will be a psychological inconsistency to think that human references were introduced and human touches, such as were in existence under ban of censure, were given to one adored as a goddess. In many places (R.V., I. 115. 2; X. 56. 3; IX. 32. 5) reference to the love of young people is to be met with. The word for a lover here is *Jāra*, which is not used in the sinister sense, which it acquired in later times.[1] It reflects a society, where freedom was given to both sexes previous to marriage (X. 85. 7; I. 11. 17, 18). Marriage in the Ṛg-Vedic times, as Macdonell defines it, was 'a union of two persons of full development'. No reference regarding the age or its limitations, such as are found in later works, can be traced in the Ṛg-Veda. Neither can it be said that child marriage existed then, as a reference to it can be found only in the Sūtra period. The existence of the word *Amājur* which meant a girl who grew old at her father's house, and the references to the attendance of maidens and young women at the Samana festival, as well as the unmarried female Ṛishis as Apālā-Ātreyī, suggest that there was no rule that made

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[1] 'Jāra "lover" has no sinister sense in the early texts, generally, where the word applies to any lover. But it seems probable that the "Jāra" at the Purushamedha or human sacrifices must be regarded as an illegitimate lover; this also appears in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad, and Indra is styled the lover of Ahalyā, wife of Gautama.'—Vedic Index, Vol. i, 286-87.

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matrimony binding on a woman or placed any limitation on the age for marriage. The Vedic Index [1] holds up Ghoshā as the chief example of this condition, and in the two hymns attributed to her, she is depicted as being unmarried and living in her father's house. The Bṛhaddevata states what happened after this. However that may be, there is sufficient evidence in support of the view that there were at least a few cases in which girls remained unmarried in their father's houses up to an advanced age.

Widely different are the views regarding the origin of the institution of marriage. Some hold that monogamy was the original state, and that other forms of marriage have evolved out of it. Others take monogamy as the result of a higher civilization. In the Ṛg-Veda we find monogamy prevailing.

Of the various kinds of marriages that came to be developed and classified by the law-givers, the rudiments of two kinds can be traced back to the Ṛg-Vedic age. One is the Kshātra or Rākshasa type of marriage, and the other is the Svayaṁvara. Of both these the evidence is so slight and so infrequent, that it cannot be said with certainty whether they were largely prevalent in society or not. The only instance of the former is the stealing of Purumitra's daughter by Vimada, an account of whose story can be gathered from I. 116. 1; I. 117. 20; and X. 39. 7. Sāyaṇa in his commentary mentions Purumitra as a king; Kāmadyu was a princess, the daughter of King Purumitra. Vimada, who wanted to marry the princess, was unwilling to fight, according to Sāyaṇa. He prayed to the Aśvins, who brought his bride to him. Mention of the fact that he was unwilling to fight shows that, had he wished to take the girl openly from her father's house, a fight would have ensued, which would not have taken place, had the king been in favour of it; so, unobserved by her father, the girl was carried away stealthily from the palace, evidently with her consent.

The second type can be traced from the hymn embodying the marriage ritual.

'Soma was he who desired her hand, but Aśvins were selected as the bridegrooms. Sūryā was given away by Savitā to the lord whom she chose.' This verse by itself does not clearly describe the situation. In I. 16. 7, we find a reference to this incident where Sūryā is said to have ascended the car of the Aśvins after gaining the approval of all the gods. But why she chose the chariot of the Aśvins is explained by Sāyaṇa in his note, which supplies the con-

[1] 'Amājur is an epithet that denotes maidens "who grew old at home", without finding husbands or as they are elsewhere called, "who sit with their father" (Pitṛ-Sad). A well-known example of such was Ghoshā.'—Vedic Index, Vol. I, 30.

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necting link between these detached events. As there were many suitors for Sūryā, it was agreed that there would be a race in which the competitors had to run up to the sun, and that Sūryā should be given away to the victor as his bride. In this contest the Aśvins came out successful, and Sūryā got into their car.[1]

A reference to this event is found in the wedding hymn. The Aśvins here are described as having a son.[2]

Some scholars see a sense of *Didhishu* in it, but the word अवदणीत merely means the act of welcoming and as पितरौ indicates both the parents, it is doubtful if they took the part of a *Didhishu*.

The Aśvins are said to have played the part of *Didhishu* who acted as go-between for the parties; the Vedic Index refers to it in R.V., IV. 58. 9. But this cannot be said to have been the usual course in the case of the Kshātra and Svayamvara types of marriage, though the ritual described in the wedding hymn reveals that it was a friend or friends of the bridegroom who went to woo the maiden. The actual word *Didhishu*[3] does not appear here (X. 85. 23).[4]

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[1] आ वां रथं दुहिता सूर्यस्य कार्ष्मेवातिष्ठदर्वत जयंती।
विश्वे देवा अन्वमन्यंत हृद्भिः समुश्रिया नासत्या सचेथे ॥—I. 116. 17.

'O Nāsatyās, the daughter of the sun ascended your car, like a runner to a goal, when you won the race with your swift horses. All the gods agreed to it with their whole heart. O Aśvins, you thus were united with glory.'

[2] यदश्विना पृच्छमानावयातं त्रिचक्रेण वहतुं सूर्यायाः।
विश्वे देवा अनु तदामजाननप्सुजः पितरावदणीत पूषा ॥—X. 85. 14.

'When Aśvins, you came in your three-wheeled car soliciting the marriage of Sūryā, then all the gods assented and Pūshan (your) son chose (you as) his parents.'

[3] The word Didhishu appears in two places, R.V., X. 18. 8 and VI. 55. 5. In both Didhishu means 'a husband'. In the former it points more to the brother-in-law who was to be the husband of the widow. So the word does not mean in R.V. a mediator; moreover, we cannot trace the exact word used for a mediator then. The sense of a 'mediator' must have been transferred to 'Didhishu' in later times. Hillebrandt (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 40, 708) and Lanman (Sanskrit reader, 385) consider that the word originally meant only 'wooer' and applied to the king, who, after the queen had lain beside the dead victim in the Purushamedha or human sacrifice, claimed her again. But other scholars do not think it plausible (Whitney—Translation of the Atharva-Veda, 848, 849; Keith, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, 946.)
Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, IV. 2. 18; Pischel, Vedische Studien, 1, 21; Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, 7, 35).

[4] अघ्न्याश्चरा पदवः सन्तु पंथा येभिः सखायो यंति नो वरेयम्।
समर्यमा सं भगो नो निनीयात्संजास्पत्यं सुयममस्तु देवाः ॥

'May the paths by which our friends go to woo a maiden be straight and smooth. May Āryaman and Bhaga lead us aright. O Gods, may the union of husband and wife be easily accomplished.'

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In the above two kinds of marriage, we do not find any ritual accompanying it, nor do they seem to be the usual methods of marriage. In the wedding hymn we get definite proof of its development into a social institution, where it was concluded in accordance with the rules laid down by society. We find here the growth of a ritual.

It is not certain up to what extent marriage of relations was allowed. The references are meagre on this important point. The two stray instances that throw light on the subject are the dialogue of Yama and Yamī in X. 10, and the myth of Prajāpati in X. 61. 5–7. In the former the marriage between a brother and a sister is censured. The latter is represented as a pure allegory, and these two cases can be taken only as reminiscences of savage customs that were dying out. There is some doubt as to the latter hymn: it does not belong to the Ṛg-Vedic times, for the conception of the god Brahman as Prajāpati is a later one.

Hymn X. 85 represents the wedding ritual, and it is here that we first come across anything like a ceremony. It consists of 47 stanzas; if some of the verses are transposed, we get a consistent picture of the whole ritual.

From a close study of the rituals we find that marriage took place in the house of the bride. Before the ceremony a prayer to God Viśvāvasu, who is supposed to protect virgins, takes place, and he is begged to leave the bride and transfer his guardianship to her husband (X. 85. 21, 22).

उदीर्ष्वातः पतिवती ह्येषा विश्वावसुं नमसा गीर्भिरीळे ।

अन्यामिच्छ पितृषदं व्यक्तां स ते भागो जनुषा तस्य विद्धि ॥—X. 85. 21.

'Rise up from hence, for this (damsel) has a husband; I worship Viśvāvasu with reverence and with hymns; seek for another maiden still dwelling in her father's house, decorated with ornaments; this is thy portion; know this (to be thy portion, take it) from thy birth.'

उदीर्ष्वातो विश्वावसो नमसेळामहे त्वा ।

अन्यामिच्छ प्रफर्व्यं सं जायां पत्या सृज ॥—X. 85. 22.

'Rise up from hence, Viśvāvasu; we worship thee with reverence; seek another maiden, one with large thighs; leave the bride with her husband.'

The decorated bride was then presented at the place of ceremony with her friends and attendants. The bridal dress was rich and consisted of three cloths—a covering for the head; the divided skirt,

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and a border cloth which had to be given away to the priest Brahman at the end of the ceremony.

'ऐभ्यासीदनुदेयी नाराशंसी न्योचनी'—X. 85. 6.

'At the time of the marriage of Sūryā, Raibhī was her companion; Nārā-śaṁsī her attendant.'

आशसनं विशसनमथो अधिविकर्तनं।
सूर्यायाः पश्य रूपाणि तानि ब्रह्मा तु शुंधति ॥—X. 85. 35.

'Behold the forms of Sūryā, the Āśasana (border cloth), the Viśasana (head-cloth), the Adhivikartana (divided skirt); of these the Brahman relieves her.'

दृष्टमेतत्कटुकमेतदपाष्टवद्विषवन्नैतत्तवे।
सूर्यां यो ब्रह्मा विद्यात्स इदाधूयमर्हति ॥ —X. 85. 34.

'This garment is inflaming; it is pungent; it is like stale soma; it is like poison; it is not fit to eat; the Brahman, who knows Sūryā, verily deserves the bridal (garment).'

Then follows the ceremony. The bridegroom, taking hold of her right hand, utters the following verse, which was like an oath. It is from this that the husband came to be called a *hastagrābha*, one who seizes the hand (X. 18. 8).

गृभ्णामि ते सौभगत्वाय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदष्टिर्यथासः।
भगो अर्यमा सविता पुरंधिर्मह्यं त्वादुर्गार्हपत्याय देवाः ॥—X. 85. 36.

'I take thy hand for good fortune, that thou mayst attain old age with me, thy husband; the gods Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitar, Purandhi have given thee to me, that I may be the master of a household.'

There is nothing to indicate from the above that the ceremony took place before the fire; nor can we suppose that the bride has been led round the fire by the husband. That part of the ceremony, found in the Gṛhya rituals or the Atharva-Veda, is absent here. If at all, the existence of a fire can only be inferred from the 38th verse, and the four following written in adoration of Agni.

तुभ्यमग्रे पर्यवहन्त्सूर्यां वहतुना सह।
पुनः पतिभ्यो जायां दा अग्ने प्रजया सह ॥—X. 85. 38.

'(The Gandharvas) gave Sūryā to thee, Agni, with her bridal ornaments; do thou, Agni, give (us) husbands our wife back again with male offspring.'

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The ceremony ended with a mutual prayer to the gods for the prosperity and fruition of their married life.

आ नः प्रजां जनयतु प्रजापतिराजरसाय समनक्त्वर्यमा ।—X. 85. 43.

'May Prajāpati grant us progeny; may Āryaman unite us together until old age.'

समंजंतु विश्वे देवाः समापो हृदयानि नौ ।
सं मातरिश्वा सं धाता समुदेष्ट्री दधातु नौ ॥—X. 85. 47.

'May the Universal gods unite both our hearts. May the waters unite them; may Mātariśvan, Dhātṛi and the bountiful unite both our hearts.'

The bride is then transferred formally from the family of her father to that of her husband.

प्र त्वा मुंचामि वरुणस्य पाशाद्येन त्वाबध्नात्सविता सुशेवः ।
ऋतस्य योनौ सुकृतस्य लोकेऽरिष्टां त्वा सह पत्या दधामि ॥—X. 85. 24.

'I set thee free from the noose of Varuṇa, wherewith the (most blessed) Savitar had bound thee; I give thee up uninjured with thy husband to the world of virtuous action which is based on truth.'

प्रेतो मुंचामि नामुतः सुबद्धाममुतस्करं ।
यथेयमिन्द्र मीढः सुपुत्रा सुभगासति ॥—X. 85. 25.

'I set thee free from hence; not from thence; I place thee there firmly bound; grant, Indra, showerer, that this (damsel) may have excellent children and be very fortunate.'

After this the pair are asked to mount the chariot and set on their journey towards the bridegroom's house. (X. 85. 24, 20.) The guests who have come to witness the marriage ceremony are requested to shower their blessings on the new couple. (X. 85. 44, 45, 46.)

पूषा त्वेतो नयतु हस्तगृह्याश्विना त्वा वहतां रथेन ।
गृहान्गच्छ गृहपत्नी यथासो वशिनी त्वं विदथमा वदासि ॥—X. 85. 26.

'May Pūshān lead thee hence, taking thee by the hand; may the Aśvins convey thee away in their car; go to the dwelling (of thy husband) as thou art the mistress of the house; thou submissive (to thy husband) givest orders to his household.'

सुकिंशुकं शल्मलिं विश्वरूपं हिरण्यवर्णं सुवृतं सुचक्रम् ।
आरोह सूर्ये अमृतस्य लोकं स्योनं पत्ये वहतुं कृणुष्व ॥—X. 85. 20.

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'O Sūryā, mount this well-shaped, gold-hued, strong-built, light-rolling chariot which is made of *kiṅśuka* and *śālmalī* tree, the world of immortality make for thy lord a comfortable bridal journey.'

The gifts presented at the time of marriage are sent first.

सूर्याया वहतुः प्रागात्सविता यमवास्रजत् ।

अघासु हन्यंते गावोऽर्जुन्योः पर्युह्यते ॥—X. 85. 13.

'Sūryā's bridal procession which Savitṛi despatched has advanced; the oxen are whipped along in the Maghā (constellation); she is borne (to her husband's house) in the Arjuni (constellation).

With a prayer to the gods for their protection from robbers and highway thieves, with whom their path was beset, the pair now depart.

मा विदन्परिपंथिनो य आसीदंति दम्पती ।

सुगेभिर्दुर्गमतीतामप द्रांत्वरातयः ॥—X. 85. 32.

'Let not the robbers, the robbers who approach the husband and wife reach them; may they by easy roads pass the difficulty; may enemies keep aloof.'

A most hearty welcome awaits the bride at her new home. The assembled guests, friends and relatives shower blessings and benedictions on the arrival of the couple. The bride is specially welcomed to reign supreme over the whole household and all the members of the family, the relatives and dependants of the bridegroom.

'Fortunate is this bride, approach, behold her; having given her your congratulations, depart to your several homes.' (X. 85. 33.)

'Abide here together; may you never be separated; live together all your lives, sporting with sons and grandsons, happy in your own home.' (X. 85. 42.)

'(Look upon thy husband) with no angry eye;
Be not hostile to thy lord; be tender to animals;
Be amiable; be very glorious; be the mother of males;
Be devoted to the gods; be the bestower of happiness;
Be the bringer of prosperity to our bipeds and quadrupeds.'[1]
—X. 85. 44.

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[1] अघोरचक्षुरपतिघ्न्येधि शिवा पशुभ्यः सुमनाः सुवर्चाः ।
वीरसूर्देवकामा स्योना शं नो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे ॥—X. 85. 44.
अदुर्मङ्गली पतिलोकमा विश शं नो भव द्विपदे शं चतुष्पदे ॥—X. 85. 43.

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'Be a queen to thy father-in-law;
Be a queen to thy mother-in-law;
Be a queen to thy husband's sister;
Be a queen to thy husband's brother.'—X. 85. 46.[1]

Thus ends the marriage ceremony. The hymn comprises of 47 stanzas. It appears in the Atharva-Veda in the same form, but much enlarged. The ritual is more complex, being full of incantations. Here, in the earlier part of the hymn, we find the legend of Sūryā in a transformed condition. Soma takes the place of the Aśvins; the contest between the gods is thrust into the background, and the Aśvins appear as the attendants of the bridegroom Soma, whereas in R.V., I. 117, they were the victors who carried away Sūryā after the contest. In the later part we find the nucleus of the wedding ceremony that has been developed elaborately in the Gṛhya Sūtras.

The hymn, as it stands, seems to have passed through many hands, especially of the priests, who have added to the subject-matter according to the needs of the ceremonial. Verses 38–41 are clear examples of such additions. In the later part of the hymn the language is more akin to modern Sanskrit than to the Vedic, showing thereby that they are, in all probability, later interpolations.

Woman as a wife is denoted by the words *Jāyā*,[2] *Janī* and *Patnī*, each indicating special aspects of wifehood. *Jāyā* has the special sense of a sharer of the husband's affections; *Janī*, the mother of children; and *Patnī*, the partner in the performance of sacrifices. These three words are to be found in the Ṛg-Veda, and exist side by side; it cannot be said with certainty whether their simultaneous existence indicates the existence of wives in a family whose duties were specified. In later times we know that, especially in a king's household, the eldest of the queens had the right to take part in the sacrifices, whereas others could not. We cannot prove this conclusively, as the evidence for it is meagre. A *Patnī* had decidedly the right to perform sacrifices and give oblations to the fire.

युयूषतः सवयसा तदिद्वपुः समानमर्थं वितरित्रता मिथः ।—I. 131. 3.

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[1] सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव, सम्राज्ञी श्वश्र्वां भव ।
ननांदरि सम्राज्ञी भव सम्राज्ञी अधि देवृषु ॥—X. 85. 46.

[2] R.V., I. 105. 2; 124. 7; III. 53. 4; IV. 3. 2; 18. 3; IX. 82. 4; X. 10. 7; 17. 1; 71. 4; A.V., III. 30. 2; VI. 60. 1, etc.
Delbrück, Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen, 411-412. It is used of the wife of a gambler and of the wife of the Brāhmaṇa, R.V., X. 34. 2; 3. 13; and X. 109.

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'The married couples, anxious to satisfy thee and presenting oblations together, celebrate (thy worship), for the sake of (obtaining) herds of cattle.'

यमीं द्वा सवयसा सपर्यतः समाने योना मिथुना समोकसा ॥—I. 144. 4.

'He, whom the two, a pair of equal age, dwelling in the same place, and engaged in the same ceremony, worship night and day.'

In the above Sāyaṇa, too, takes *Mithunā* as *Dampatī* in the second verse. In explaining the former he quotes the Mīmāṁsā texts, which allow women to join in the sacrifices and to utter the Vedic texts, and compromises between the two extremes by asserting that the prohibition is not meant to exclude a wife from taking part in the sacrifices with her husband, or from joining in prayers which have been taught by him, but to prohibit her independent study of the Vedas and her celebrating the sacrifices independently. The fourteenth century thought is reflected in the view of the commentator.

Besides the above, there are several references which show that the household fire was reared by the husband and wife (VIII. 31. 6), quoted at the beginning of the chapter and II. 39. 2 where 'दम्पतीव क्रतुविदा' occurs.

So, on marriage, a woman was not only given a very honourable position in the household, but could offer oblations to the fire in performing sacrifices. She was looked upon as a guardian of all the young and old, where her husband was the eldest son of his father. The charge of the whole household was transferred into her hands, and she was charged to look not only to the physical needs of the members of the family but also to the growth of happiness and wealth of the house. What the ideal of home life was is hard to determine, but the wife seems to be an object of reverence and compassion. In the following we find that even a gambler repents at the sad condition of his wife brought about through his negligence :

'स्त्रियं दृष्ट्राय कितवं तातापान्येषां जायां सुकृतं च योनिम् ।'

—X. 34. 11 (Adh. 7, ch. 8; Varga V, 11).

'The gamester, having observed the happy wife and well-ordered home of others, suffers regret.'

That the husband and wife are regarded as a unit of society is evident from the use of the word *Dampatī* to denote a pair. (R.V., I. 127. 8.)

अंजंति मित्रं सुधितं न गोभिर्यद्दम्पती समनसा कृणोषि ।

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'They anoint thee, like a welcome friend, with milk and butter, when thou makest husband and wife of one mind.' (V. 3. 2 or III. 8. 16.)

In the above references the word *Dampatī* is used in the dual sense, and means a couple, which it came to designate in later literature. But there are some instances where the word (Dampatī) signified the 'lord of the house'. (V. 22. 4.)

विश्वासां त्वा विशां पतिं हवामहे सर्वासां समानं दम्पतिं ।—I. 127. 8.

'We invoke thee, the protector of all people, the same alike to all, the preserver of the house, to enjoy (the oblation).'

'जने मित्रो न दम्पती अनक्ति'—X. 68. 2.

'As Mitra (unites his radiance) with the people, so does he unite the husband and wife.'

'को दम्पती समनसा वियूयोत्'—X. 95. 12.

'Who shall sever husband and wife who are of one mind?'

'गर्भे नु नो जनिता दम्पती'—X. 10. 5.

'The progenitor made us two husband and wife, even in the womb.'

In the above it is clear that the word *Dampatī* (Dual number) is used in the sense of 'husband and wife', but there are instances where the word signified the lord of the house.

'तं त्वा सुशिप्र दम्पते'—IV. 1. 14.

'Handsome-jawed, lord of the dwelling.'

Again,—

'आ तु सुशिप्र दम्पते रथं तिष्ठा हिरण्ययं'—VI. 5. 7.

'Handsome-jawed (Indra) lord of the house, mount my golden chariot.'

'कस्य नूनं परीणसो धियो जिन्वसि दम्पते ।'—VIII. 84. 7.

'Whose many offerings dost thou gladden Agni—thou, who art the lord of the house.'

In the above references the god Agni is addressed as the 'lord of the house', and this meaning of the word became obsolete later on. We find it current in the Rg-Vedic literature. Why this change in the meaning of the word occurred—is hard to determine. With the gradual change in the position of woman in society the

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former meaning of the word was forgotten, and the epithet is exclusively transferred to Agni, who came to be termed—the Lord of the House.

As to the legal position of the wife, nothing has been clearly said anywhere. In the wedding hymn, we find that the gifts received by the bride at the time of her marriage were taken to her husband's house, and the husband as the legal guardian appropriated these gifts.

From the oath taken by both the bride and bridegroom at the time of the marriage ceremony and from the various references to home life, it is evident that monogamy prevailed generally. But there are a few references in the R.V., which clearly refer to the existence of more than one wife. The Vedic Index (I. 478-9) (I. 112. 19; I. 186. 7; VI. 53. 4; VII. 26. 3; X. 43. 1; 101. 1) refers to some passages in support of this view (I. 71. 1; I. 62. 11; I. 186. 7).

'पतिं न पत्नी रुशती रुशन्तं'—I. 62. 11.

'As a yearning wife cleaves to the yearning husband.'

'पतिं न नित्यं जनयः सनीलाः'—I. 71. 1.

'As wives their husband.'

'तमीं गिरो जनयो न पत्नीः सुरभिष्ठमं नरां न संत'—I. 186. 7.

'To him our songs shall yield themselves, like spouses.'

In these the word for a wife occurs in the plural, and hence they can be taken as referring to polygamy. Besides the above there are others which refer not only to polygamy but to the household of kings.

'जनीरिव पतिरेकः समानो'—VII. 26. 3.

'As one common husband doth his spouses.'

'राजेव हि जनिभिः क्षेष्येवाव द्युभिरभिविदुष्क्विः सन्।'—VII. 18. 2.

'Like a king among his wives.'

'सं मा न पतत्यभितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः'—I. 105. 8.

'Like rival wives on every side.'

'क्षीरेण स्नातः कुवयस्य योषे वृते ते स्यातां प्रवणे'—I. 104. 3.

'Kuvaya's (two) wives have been bathed in milk.'

X. 145 refers to a jealous wife practising a spell over her rival with the help of a plant.

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इमां खनाम्योषधिं वीरुधं बलवत्तमां ।

यया सपत्नीं बाधते यया संविन्दते पतिं ॥

'I dig up this most potent medicinal creeper, by which (a wife) destroys a rival wife, by which she secures to herself her husband.'

उत्तानपर्णे सुभगे देवजूते सहस्वति ।

सपत्नीं मे परा धम पतिं मे केवलं कुरु ॥

'O (plant) with upturned leaves, auspicious, sent by the gods, powerful, remove my rival and make my husband mine alone.'

Thus goes on the poem, ending with the prayer of the lady to vanquish her rival with the help of the plant.

The above are only a few references to polygamy. It is for scholars to judge if these passages are genuine productions of the Ṛg-Vedic Ṛshis or insertions of later writers, for the language where these references occur, is more akin to later Sanskrit than to the Vedic. Another significant point to be noted in this connection is the change of 'na' into 'iva' to denote comparison. Hymn X. 145, which embodies not a Vedic ritual, but rather an incantation, is clearly a later production. It is more akin in spirit to the hymns of the Atharva-Veda than to those of the Ṛg-Veda. However that be, it is clear that polygamy existed not only in the families of kings, but also in ordinary families, though it cannot be said that it was in general vogue.[1]

Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, 323) holds that monogamy is the more civilized condition of society and that polygamy was disappearing in the Ṛg-Vedic period, giving way to monogamy. Weber (Indische Studien, 5, 222), however, supports the view of the more recent anthropology, and thinks that polygamy is a secondary stage of civilization. In the Ṛg-Veda we find references to both, and in a comparison with the later literature we find polygamy gradually developing and firmly establishing itself in society rather than disappearing from it.

Reference to the life of a widow is very few. We get only glimpses of some aspects of the life of a widow. It was not characterized by so many restrictions and austerities as it came to involve later. X. 18. 8 and X. 40. 2 convey the idea that the charge of a widow was taken over by the brother of the deceased, who could

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[1] Schrader, Prehistoric Antiquities, 387; Jolly, Recht und Sitte, 64; Von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und cultur, 430, 431; Delbrück, Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen, 537, 540; Hopkins, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 13, 353; Bloomfield, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 48, 561.

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marry her with the permission of the elders. This custom must have been in vogue for a long time, at least in Ṛg-Vedic India, as it has been recorded in the course of the rituals on the death of a person.

Hillebrandt and Delbrück are of opinion that X. 18. 8 has a reference to Purushamedha ritual; but this is not accepted by others such as Roth and Zimmer. The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (IV. 2. 18, etc.) is against the view of Hillebrandt and Delbrück. This contentious passage runs thus[1]:—

'Rise woman, (and go) to the world of living beings. Come, this man near whom thou sleepest is lifeless: thou hast enjoyed this state of being the wife of thy husband, the suitor who took thee by the hand.' (X. 18. 8.)

Macdonnell's rendering runs thus:—

'Come, thou hast now entered upon the wifehood of this thy lord, who takes thy hand and woos thee.'

According to Sāyaṇa, the verse is spoken by the brother of the dead man to the widow. From Macdonell's rendering it is quite explicit that the widow has been married to the brother of the deceased; whereas from the other interpretation it seems to be more probable that the widow, who was at the side of the dead man, was taken away by his brother and near kinsman. She was brought home to live with and to take care of her kinsmen and grandsons, according to Sāyaṇa.

Sāyaṇa's gloss runs thus:—

'देवरादिकः' प्रेतपत्नीमुदीर्ष्वनारीत्यनया भर्तृसकाशादुत्थापयेत्। + + +

'हे नारि मृतस्य पत्नि जीवलोकं जीवानां पुत्रपौत्रादीनां लोकं स्थानं गृहमभिलक्ष्योदीर्ष्व। अस्मात्स्थानादुत्तिष्ठ।'

'The brother-in-law and others, addressing the wife of the deceased, raise her up from (the side of her husband) with the verse—

"O woman, get up from here with a view to enter the place of your sons and grandsons, which is now your house. Get up from this place."'

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[1] Hillebrandt—Zeitschrift der Deutschen, Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 40, 708; Delbrück—Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen, 553; Whitney, Translation of the Atharva-Veda, 848; Roth, Seibenzig Lieder, 151, n; Zimmer, Altendischen Leben, 329.

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Here there is no question of the younger brother marrying the widowed woman. But X. 40. 2 clearly refers to it. It forms the basis of the system of *Niyoga* of later times.[1]

को वां शयुत्रा विधवेव देवरं मर्यं न योषा कृणुते सधस्थ आ ॥—X. 40. 2.

'(Where are you, Aśvins, by night? Where are you by day? Where do you sojourn? Where do you dwell?) Who brings you homeward to the place (of sacrifice) as on her couch a widow (brings) her husband's brother, as a woman (brings) her husband (to her).'

From the above it can be inferred that the marriage of the widow with the brother of the deceased may not be insisted upon. On the other hand, there was also no restriction placed on the widow to bar such a union. The burning of a widow[2] does not come here at all, though Professor Kaegi refers to one of the verses as giving the highest authority for it, with a slight change in the verse. The verse referred to by him is X. 18. 7, which runs as follows:—

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीरांजनेन सर्पिषा सं विशंतु ।
अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहंतु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥

'Let these women, who are not widows, who have good husbands, enter (anointed) with unguent and butter. Let women without tears, without sorrow, and decorated with jewels, first proceed to the house.'

In the above, the alteration that has been suggested by Kaegi to have been made by the priesthood of later times, to derive the highest authority for burning of the widows along with the dead husband, is *agneḥ* in place of *agre*. But from what precedes and follows the verse, this cannot be maintained. The dead person was, in the first instance, not burnt, but buried. So there is no scope for the use of *Agni* or fire. The verses are as follows:—

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[1] Yāska, Nirukta, III, 15; Geldner, Ṛg-Veda, Kommentar, 160. Weber, Indische Studien, V, 343, n. Hopkins, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 13, 355, 367; Jolly, Recht und Sitte, 71; Muir, Sanskrit Texts, 5, 459; Von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur, 429.

[2] Schrader, Prehistoric Antiquities, 391; Von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur, 141; Jolly, Recht und Sitte, 67–69; Weber, Proceedings of the Berlin Academy, 1896, 254; Roth, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, 8, 468; Wilson, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 16, 202; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 329; Geldner, Ṛg-Veda, Kommentar, 154.

The Atharva-Veda, XVIII. 3. 1 mentions the burning of widows as an ancient custom. Such a practice seems to have been usual among the warrior class as is evident from the Indo-Germanic records. Herodotus, V, 5 (of the Thracians); IV, 71 (of the Scythians); Procopius, De Bello Gothico, II, 14 (of the Heruli).

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'Go to this thy mother-earth, the widespread delightful earth; this virgin (earth is) as soft as wool, to the liberal (worshipper); may she protect thee from the proximity of Nirṛiti.'

उच्छ्वंचस्व पृथिवि मा नि वाधथाः सूपयानास्मै भव सूपवंचना ।

माता पुत्रं यथा सिचाभ्येनं भूम ऊर्णुहि ॥—X. 18. 11.

'Earth, rise up above him; press him not; yield to him (and) afford him comfort; cover him up, Earth, as a mother covers her child with the skirt of her garment.'

उच्छ्वंचमाना पृथिवी सु तिष्ठतु सहस्रं मित उप हि श्रयंतां ।

ते गृहासो घृतश्चुतो भवंतु विश्वाहास्मै शरणाः संत्वत्र ॥—X. 18. 12.

'May the earth, heaped over him, lie lightly; may thousands of particles (of dust) envelope him; may these mansions distil ghee (for him); may they every day be an asylum to him in this world.

उत्ते स्तभ्नामि पृथिवीं त्वत्परीमं लोगं निदधन्मो अहं रिषं ।

एतां स्थूणां पितरो धारयंतु तेऽत्रा यमः सादना ते मिनोतु ॥—X. 18. 13.

'I heap up the earth around thee, placing (upon thee) this clod of earth; may I not be injured; may the Pitṛis sustain this thy monument; may Yama make thee a dwelling here.'

So the verse referred to by Kaegi, even with the alteration, cannot authorize the burning of widows. It can be utilized for such a purpose only when the verse is separated from its context. Moreover, we find that in the verse that follows, the widow is called away from the side of the dead, before the burial takes place, and hence she is not buried with her husband. The Ṛg-Veda does not supply evidence for the practice of either burning or burial of widows with their dead husbands anywhere, but on the contrary considers the widow to be married to the brother of the dead husband.

In the intellectual field[1] the only evidence of culture among women is to be inferred from the fact that some of the hymns are attributed to female Ṛishis. These may be classified as follows:—

(1) Hymns that are entirely attributed to female Ṛishis.
(2) Hymns that are partly attributed to female Ṛishis.
(3) Hymns that are attributed to female Ṛishis, but are doubtful as to the genuineness of authorship.

The first group includes the poems of Viśvavārā and Apālā, composers respectively of V. 28 and VII. 91. Both of them are alluded to as belonging to the Atri family.

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[1] Vedic Index, i, 486; ii, 485.

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Viśvavārā's hymn is in praise of Agni, Apālā's that of Indra. Of these two, it cannot be said with certainty which is the earlier. The linguistic as well as the internal evidence throws some light on the scene of the latter hymn. It belongs to a region where the Soma plant grew in abundance. The Western scholars all agree that Soma grew on the mountains. But from the account of Suśruta,[1] we find that certain species grew on the banks of the Indus, too.

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[1] With reference to the Soma plant Macdonell says in the Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 475: 'The plant grew on the mountains, that of Mūjavant being specially renowned. . . . . It has been held to be the *Sarcostemma viminale* or the *Aselepias acida*. Roth held that the *Sarcostemma acidum* more nearly met the requirements of the case. Watt suggested Afghan grape as the real Soma, and Rice thought a sugar-cane might be meant, while Max Müller and Rājendralāl Mitra suggested that the juice was used as an ingredient in a kind of beer, i.e. that the Soma plant was a species of hop. Hillebrandt considers that neither hops nor the grape can explain the references to Soma . . . . . In the Yajur Veda the plant is purchased ere it is pressed. . . . . It grew on a mountain and could not be obtained by ordinary people: perhaps some special tribe or prince owned it, like the Kīkaṭas (R.V., III. 53. 14).' Besides this the Suśrūta-Saṁhitā in chapter 29 of '*Chikītsita Sthāna*' gives a detailed account of Soma. The author gives 24 varieties of this Soma plant: 1. Aṁśumān; 2. Muñjavān; 3. Chandramāh; 4. Rajataprabhā; 5. Durvā-Soma; 6. Kanīyān; 7. Śvetāksha; 8. Kanakaprabhā; 9. Pratāpavān; 10. Tālavṛinta; 11. Karavīra; 12. Aṁśavān; 13. Svayam-prabhā; 14. Mahā-soma; 15. Garuḍāhṛta; 16. Gāyatrya; 17. Traishtubha; 18. Pāmkata Jāgata; 19. Śāṁkara; 20. Agnishtoma; 21. Raivata; 22. Tripāda; 23. Gāyatrīyukta; and 24. Udupati. The author gives a description of the plant, from which one can distinguish it from the rest. It is a plant containing fifteen leaves. In form it is like a plantain tree. All the leaves do not come out at the same time. One leaf comes out each day beginning from the new-moon day, so that by the full-moon day the tree is full with 15 leaves. From that day to the new-moon one leaf falls off each day, so that by the new-moon day the tree is bare. Further details for distinguishing one species from the other are also given. The root of the Aṁśumān Soma has the smell of clarified butter. The root of the Muñjuvān Soma is like that of the plantain tree and its leaves are like those of a garlic plant. The Chandramā Soma is golden in colour and it is to be found mostly near water. The Garuḍāhṛita and Śvetāksha Soma is pale in colour and is like the skin of a serpent; it is to be found entwined with the branch of a tree.

The author gives the names of the places where the Soma is to be found. They are the Himālayas, Arvuda, Sahya, Mahendra, Malaya, Śree Parvata, Devagiri, Devasahagiri, Pāripātra, Vindhya Parvata and Devaśuṇḍa Lake. At the foot and among the five mountains that are to the north of the Beas and in the Sindhu river the Soma named Chandramā is to be seen afloat like moss. The Soma called Muñjāvant Aṁśumān also grows near Indus. The Somas called Gāyatrya, Traiṣṭubha and Paṁtaka and Jāgata Śāṁkara grew in Kāśmīr near the lake called the Small Mānasarovara.

The author at the end of his valuable description says that none but the virtuous could see the plant, from which it seems that the plant had already become very rare. The description is a genuine one. None but an eye-witness can give such a detailed description of the plant and its varieties, and there cannot be any doubt that it was used as a medicine.

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The maiden Apālā gathers Soma to use its juice at the time of sacrifice. She picks it up from the bank of the river; so this Soma was that variety which grew near water. Suśrūta Saṁhitā, too, mentions that variety of Soma used at the sacrifices being found in Kāśmīr. So the scene of our hymn is either Kāśmīr or near that region. The word 'Kanyā', used in this connection, indicates that the author was a maiden. She comes to the brink of a stream, where she finds the Soma plant, which she picks up and takes home to smash and squeeze out the juice to be used at the sacrifice.

कन्याऽइवारेवायती सोममपि स्रुताविदत् ।
अस्तं भरंत्यब्रवीदिन्द्राय सुनवे त्वा ॥—VIII. 91. 1.

'Down to the stream a maiden came and found the Soma by the way; bearing it to her home, she said, "For Indra will I press thee out; for Śakra will I press thee out".'

Sāyaṇa's Commentary indicates that Apālā was going to bathe. The rendering of Sāyaṇa does not give us the sense of a stream but that of ordinary water. It may mean a lake or a stream. Sāyaṇa's meaning more appropriately fits in with the account of the Suśruta Saṁhitā, which mentions certain varieties of Soma growing in Kāśmīr, near Mānasarovara. The last verse describes her as a maiden of exceptionally fair complexion. Her name comes at the end of her hymn. Viśvavārā's hymn occurs in the fifth Maṇḍala, which consists of the oldest stock of the Vedic hymns. The word 'Viśvavārā' appears at the beginning of the hymn. It is

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Difference of opinion exists as to the date of the Suśrūta-Saṁhitā. Some of the Western scholars have ascribed to it a date contemporary with that of Śākya Sinha Buddha (Beal's Buddhistic Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 212). In the introduction to Sūśrūta-Saṁhitā, Vol. I, Intro., p. v, edited by Kavirāj Kuñjalāl Bhishagratna, the following occurs:—

'It is contended that the age immediately preceding Śākya Muni was a period of decadence in Hindu thought; and the Suśruta-Saṁhitā must have been the fruit of a revived intellectual activity which usually follows the advent of a new creed. . . . . The age which immediately preceded the age of Buddha was by no means an age of decadence properly speaking; the age which followed the downfall of Buddhism shows on the contrary, signs of true decadence. . . . . Suśruta is mentioned in the Vārtikas of (1) Kātyāyana (4th cent. B.C.), and we have no hesitation in saying that the original Saṁhitā was written at least two centuries before the birth of Buddha.' We have, on the other hand, a different opinion of the Western scholars in the view of Dr. F. Hessler, who, in the preface to his Latin translation of the book, says: 'non post millesimum annum ante Christum natum constituere. The same author refers again to the date of Suśruta in his 'Commentarii et Annotationes in Suśruta Ayurvedam': 'annum circiter millesimum ante Christum natum procedit' (p. 1).

[According to Sir A. Stein the Soma is the wild rhubarb.]

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doubtful if the word stands for a proper name or means something else. The Vedic Index (Vol. II, p. 310) describes Viśvavārā as a sacrificer. Prof. Geldner does not think that the word indicates a person. He takes the word as an adjective qualifying 'Ghṛitāchī' and thus differs from the traditional belief of holding Viśvavārā as the authoress of the hymn. So far as the internal evidence is concerned, there is, besides, a single reference which may be taken to throw some light as to the author of the hymn. In verse 3, the seer prays for the preservation of the household happiness and the word 'जाम्यत्यं' indicative of matrimonial relations is used in this connection. From this we may imagine the Ṛishi to be a woman. But this can in no way be taken as strong evidence for ascribing the authorship of the hymn to Viśvavārā.

एति प्राची विश्ववारा नमोभिर्देवाँ इळाना हविषा घृताची ।—V. 28. 1.

'The ladle, containing all good things, goes eastward, praising the gods with homage and oblations.'

सं जाम्यत्यं सुयममा कृणुष्व शृयतामभितिष्ठा मरुद्भांसि ॥—V. 28. 3.

'Make easy to preserve our household lordship, and overcome the might of our enemies.'

The second group in which parts of the hymns are traditionally attributed to female Ṛishis consists of Lopamudrā, Śaśīyasi, the wife of Taranta said to have been the seers respectively of I. 179. 1 and 2; V. 162. 5–8. The names appear in course of dialogues and parts of the hymns are attributed to them, but no internal evidence is available in support of their authorship.

The third group consists of the hymns attributed to Ghoshā Kākshīvatī, Sūryā-Sāvitrī, Indrāṇi, Sraddhā-Kāmāyanī, Śachī Paulomī, Sarparājñī, Ūrvaśī (they are X. 39. 40; X. 85; X. 95. 1, 3, 6, 8–10, 12, 14, 17; X. 145; X. 151. 154; X. 159 and X. 189). With the exception of Ghoshā all these hymns are attributed to mythological beings and abstract qualities, who cannot be the authors of these hymns. Whether the real authors are men or women is not known. No internal evidence is available on this point. Further, though these hymns are to be found in the Ṛg-Veda, the evidence available shows that they belonged to different periods. A detailed discussion of these hymns, though it may not be profitable for the subject of our survey, will show how far off they are separated from the Ṛg-Vedic age. Moreover, some of these hymns have exercised enormous influence on the Hindu literature of later times, sacred and profane. The hymn attributed to Sūryā comprising the marriage ritual, forms the kernel of the Wedding Ceremony of

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the later Gṛhya Sūtras and the legend of Ūrvaśī (appears not only in the Mahābhārata but) has been immortalized by Kālidāsa.

The doubt about Ghoshā's poems consists not only in their genuineness of authorship, but as to whether they really belonged to the Ṛg-Vedic times. The story of Ghoshā cannot be traced in the Ṛg-Veda. The Bṛihaddevatā (VII. 41–48) states her to be the daughter of King Kakshīvān; the Atharva-Veda, too, mentions his name. The Ṛishi prays to the Aśvins to relieve her of her curse. But what that curse is, she does not mention. The Bṛihaddevatā states the curse to be leprosy, owing to which she was not eligible for marriage.[1] The divine physicians took pity on her and cured her of it, after which she got married to some prince, at the age of sixty.

In the hymns, she is mentioned under her maiden name, and worships Aśvins as divine physicians.

अन्धस्य चिन्नासत्या कृशस्य चिद्युवामिदाऊर्भिषजा रुतस्य चित् ॥—X. 39. 3.

'O Nāsatyās, you have been looked upon as the refuge of the mean. . . . . You have been called the physician of the weak, the blind and those who are suffering from the torments of diseases.'

The mention of the twin gods as Nāsatyas is very significant, as it throws some light upon the date of the composition of the poem. In the Ṛg-Veda the Aśvins neither held an important position nor were regarded as popular deities. In some of the oldest Maṇḍalas they seldom appear. Even where they appear, they have been praised differently in different places. From the various references to them in the R.V., the gods may be traced to their human origin.[2] The hero became the divinity. They were hailed differently at different stages, as gods of the firmament, the sun and the moon, the heavens and the earth, the lords of Sūryā and the gods of speed. They have distinctly been termed as Bhishajās or physicians in Ghoshā's hymns. Yāska's statement about the Aśvins runs thus:—

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[1] Sāyaṇa in his gloss refers to a skin disease, which, according to a later tradition, is considered to be the cause of her remaining unwed. He also refers to her son Suhastya in an obscure verse of the Ṛg-Veda (I. 120. 5), a theory disapproved by other scholars. Oldenberg takes it as referring to Ghoshā herself and Pischel (Vedische Studien, 1, 4; 2, 92) thinks that the form Ghoshā is not a noun at all but a verb.

Cf. Ludwig, Translation of the Ṛg-Veda, 3, 143; Über Methode, bei Interpretation des Ṛg-Veda, 43; Muir, Sanskrit Texts, 5, 247; Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 52.

[2] II. 39; III. 58; IV. 43 and 44; V. 73–78; VII. 67–74; VIII. 5, 8, 9, 10, 26, 35, 62, 74, 75, and 9 of Valākhilya.

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"तत् कावश्विनौ द्यावा पृथिव्यावित्येकेऽहोरात्रावित्येके। सूर्याचन्द्रमसावित्येके राजानौ पुण्यकृतावित्यैतिहासिकाः।"—Ch. XII, p. 939 of Pt. II of Anandamayee Series.

'Who are the Aśvins? Some say they are the earth and the sky; others say they are the day and the night; others again the sun and the moon. The historians (relaters of legends) say they were two pious kings.'

This statement does not mention them as divine physicians. Tradition has not handed down to posterity either the name of the historian (relaters of legends) or the annals referred to by Yāska; but some kind of account certainly existed. It cannot be possible for Yāska to ignore the idea of the divine physicianship of the Aśvins, if it were prevalent at that time, especially when he has enumerated so many different views. Hence the divine physicianship of the Aśvins must be an idea developed later than the time of Yāska, though it occurs in several places in the Ṛg-Veda as well as in hymn. The internal evidence of the poem (X. 40) ushers in an atmosphere of plains and of a warmer climate. We meet with a description of floods and elephants, which are associated with the plains rather than the mountains. It evidently shows that the Aryan colonization had spread so far as to get a glimpse of the chase of elephants.

युवां मृगेव वारणा मृगण्यवो दोषावस्ताईविषा नि ह्वयामहे ॥—X. 40. 4.

'Like persons hunting two wild elephants, we entice you, Aśvins, with oblations night and day.'

The poems attributed to Ghoshā are rich in poetical thought and sentiment.

The second of the doubtful group is X. 85, ascribed to Sūryā-Sāvitrī, which embodies a detailed account of her marriage. Her name appears with her paternal designation.

It is absurd to suppose that Sūryā has composed a hymn on her own marriage before it took place. The hymn itself reveals that it is described neither by the bride Sūryā nor by the bridegroom, but by a third person. Nowhere do the verses appear as direct utterances of Sūryā and it could not be so as Sūryā was a goddess and hence an imaginary figure. These facts rather show that Sūryā is not the real author of the hymn.[1] Hymn X. 145, ascribed to Indrāṇī, ushers in an Atharva-Vedic atmosphere—that of spells and incantations. Indrāṇī is the wife of Indra, the

[1] The name of the real author is not known. It might possibly be some priest who, on compiling the existing rites of marriage in the form of a Vedic hymn, ascribed it to Sūryā, as she came to be considered a deity in the hymn.

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god of heaven, who is different in character from the Indra of the Ṛg-Veda—a personified phenomenon of nature. So Indrāṇī is the Queen of Heaven of the Puranic times. Śachī Pulomī is Indrāṇī only under a different designation and belonging perhaps to a different period of Indian mythology. The hymn ascribed to her (X. 159) deals with the exaltation of Śachī over her co-wives. Professor Wilson thinks that Śachī is neither a goddess nor a woman, but is a metaphorical representation of an action, and that the poem is meant to express the exaltation of the acts of Indra. But it is doubtful how far this can be consistent with the ideas expressed in the body of the poem, as they are more human than allegorical.

समजैषमिमा अहं सपत्नीरभिभूवरी ।
यथाहमस्य वीरस्य विराजानि जनस्य च ॥—X. 159. 6.

'Triumphant, I conquered these my rivals, so that I might rule this hero and his people.'

X. 154 deals with death, wishing the spirit of the departed to go to the realms of the blessed. The hymn is ascribed to Yamī. In X. 10 also Yamī appears, but there she is represented as the sister of Yama, and they both represent metaphorically the succession of day and night; whereas here Yamī is the supreme deity of the nether world. It is only in the tenth Maṇḍala that death first comes in as a topic. This reality, with all its gloominess, is avoided as far as possible. The vast difference in the characterization of Yamī, as well as the variation in thought in hymns occurring in the same Maṇḍala can only be due to the lapse of time between the composition of these hymns. They represent different stages of Indian thought. Hymn X. 189 is ascribed to Sarparājñī or the queen of the serpents. In Indian mythology she is also known under another designation—Kadru. She was a lover of Kṛshṇa. The mention of the thirty realms of the sun reflects a later stage in the evolution of Indian thought, when astronomy developed and spread among the people; X. 161 is ascribed to Śraddhā—an abstract quality. Lastly, we come to Ūrvaśī in X. 95 in the course of a dialogue, where she relates her story to Purūravas.

Ūrvaśī is not a human being, but an inhabitant of heaven, who came down to earth and married King Purūravas. The dialogue begins at the point where Ūrvaśī is leaving the King, the King entreating her to stay, and the nymph insisting on her going away, leaving her son behind to console Purūravas.[1] Max Müller,

[1] The story appears in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Mahābhārata and Purūravas and has been dramatized by Kālidāsa in his well-known drama, 'Vikramorvaśī'.

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in his selected essays, analyzes the etymology of the words Ūrvaśī and Purūravas, and is inclined to think that they represented Ushā or the Dawn and the Sun, and the whole dialogue is an allegory of the display of the sunlight and darkness. (Vol. I, pp. 407, edition of 1881.)

In the above the names of the authors are those of goddesses and one of an abstract quality.

It cannot be possible that the goddesses who are not beings of flesh and blood have composed the hymns. The poems are in all probability later productions, and the real authors have suppressed their names and ascribed their origin to the supernatural. As the Ṛg-Veda is thought to be a book of revelation and as such not to have been composed by any human being, the composers have possibly ascribed them to the supernatural beings as their names are mentioned in the hymns.

The position of a woman in society can further be known from some of the hymns of the second Maṇḍala of the Ṛg-Veda standing under the authorship of Parucehapa, the son of Devadāsī. Children were generally designated after the title and name of the father. But this exception to the rule indicates the existence of Devadāsī system—women dedicated to the service of gods, a system which has come down to posterity in India, and which can be traced back to the Indo-European period. For we find the same custom prevalent in other branches of the Indo-European stock.

The reference to instances in which women outstepped the codes of moral law, as we understand it in the present day, are frequent in the Ṛg-Veda. The way in which they are introduced in the hymns shows that such things were not regarded as objectionable in society (R.V., I. 134. 3; IV. 5. 5; VIII. 17. 7, etc.).

Indecent scenes creep into the description of the Goddess of Dawn. She is described often as a woman dressed in variegated colours, like that of a dancing maid, appearing on the stage to reveal her beauty. Reference to the existence of illegitimate love and the abandonment of offspring is also to be found in the Ṛg-Veda (R.V., II. 29. 1). That there were women who were professional dancers is evident from the description of the dawn (I. 92. 4).

The antecedent to the narrative is as follows: The nymph agrees to live with Purūravas on two conditions:

(1) that he should take care of her two rams;
(2) that he should never appear to her without clothes.

After four years the gods plan to bring her back to heaven and steal at night one of her rams. The King springs from his bed and runs after them in haste. The Gandharvas send on them a flash of magic lightning, and the nymph sees him naked; and as one of the promises is broken, she leaves him.

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The Vedic womanhood, then, as we have seen, has its heights and depths, its brighter and darker aspects of life. Woman was regarded with due respect in every station of life, and she was not subject to any of the merciless laws of an unsympathetic society. Even when she overstepped moral laws, she was judged with sympathy, and the anger of the gods incurred thereby affected the male and the female alike.

The question naturally comes to our minds how far this picture of womanhood painted in the Rg-Veda can be claimed as the heritage of India. The hymns, as we know, were not all composed in India, nor are they of the same period. Some of them were composed at a period about which history is silent. Others reflect the dawn of Indian history, when Aryans entered India through its north-western gates for the first time, and settled in the Punjab. In some of the hymns addressed to the Aśvins we find a vivid [1] description of the sea and *Samudra* [2] is the word used for it, as distinguished from the river which is designated as Nadī (VII. 68. 7; VII. 69. 7; VIII. 5. 22).

उपह्वरे गिरीणां संगथे च नदीनां।
धिया विप्रो अजायत ॥
अतः समुद्रमुदतश्चिकित्वाँ अव पश्यति।
यतो विपान एजति ॥—VIII. 6. 28-29.

'There where the mountains downward slope,
There by the meeting of the streams,

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[1] R.V., VII. 68. 7; VII. 69. 7; 70. 2; VIII. 5. 22; VIII. 10. 1.

[2] Vivien de Saint Martin (Etude sur la geographie du Veda, 62) does not think that the ocean was known to the Vedic Indians; Max Müller (SBE. 32, 61, quoting R.V., 1. 71; 190. 7; V. 78. 8; VII. 49. 2; 95. 2; X. 58) and Lassen (Indische Alterthumskinde, 12, 883) think that the sea was known to them; Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, 22 *et seq.*), too, admits it in elucidating R.V., VII. 95. 2 as well as in later literature (A.V., IV. 10. 4 (pearl shell); VI. 105. 3—the outflow of the ocean; XIX. 38. 2; Taittirīya Saṁhitā, VII. 4. 13, 1). According to him neither the ebb and flow of the sea nor the mouths of the Indus are known to the people and the use of the word *Samudra* is metaphorical, signifying two oceans—the upper and the lower, in the following passages: R.V., X. 136. 5; cf. A.V., XI. 5. 6; R.V., VII. 6. 7; X. 98. 5. Elsewhere the word refers only to Indus with its tributaries (R.V., I. 71. 7; III. 36. 7; 46. 4; V. 85. 6; VI. 36. 3; VII. 95. 2; VIII. 16. 2; 44. 25; IX. 88. 6; 107. 9; 108. 16; where reference is made to streams, or R.V., I. 163. 1; IV. 21. 3; V. 55. 5; VIII. 6. 29, where a contrast between land and sea is made). But references to the treasures of the ocean are to be found (cf. R.V., I. 47. 6; VII. 6. 7; IX. 97. 44); pearls or the gains of trade are alluded to in the following: cf. R.V., I. 48. 3; 56. 2; IV. 55. 6; and the general parallelism of the Dioscuri and the Aśvins. It is not known if trade was carried on by sea with Babylonia. Weber (Indian Literature, 3) bases his argument on the occurrence of Gof and Tukhum in the Hebrew book of Kings (I Kings, X. 22).

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The sage was manifest with song;
Thence marking from his lofty place,
Downward he looks upon the sea,
And thence with rapid stir he moves.'—Griffiths.

The above appears in books that are considered to be the oldest stock of the Ṛg-Vedic compositions. The internal evidence of the poem shows that they were composed in a mountainous region in the vicinity of a sea, which was perhaps at the foot of the mountains. Here we also see the mention of a river, or *nadī* running down the mountains, side by side with the description of the sea or *Samudra*. Now the question arises what sea is referred to in the above hymns. The records of history show that the Aryans, when they entered India, confined themselves to the north-western part of the Punjab for centuries, when the major part of the Ṛg-Veda was composed. With the growth of population, when they first thought of extending their dominions, it was towards the south-east that they moved. It is likely that at this stage the Arabian Sea came to their ken. The sea mentioned in the above is not the river Sindhu, for we find the description of the river in other verses. In R.V., VII. 10. 1, the Aśvins are invoked to come from a mansion built near the sea, which shows that the other side of the sea was known to the seers. It has to be mentioned in this connection that the rendering of *Samudra* as 'Antarīksha' by Sāyaṇāchārya is far-fetched, and hence not tenable. So the sea described in this connection seems to be an inland sea situated at the foot of the mountain ranges, and hence in all probability one situated near the Hindu-Kush in Central Asia. Discoveries in this region show that a part of Central Asia was a sea-bed, as the remains of many aquatic animals have been excavated from that area. Some of these poems usher in a picture of a mountainous region, which in all probability was beyond the outskirts of the Himālayas, as we cannot trace any inland sea of the above description on the southern side of the mountain ranges.

Turning to the other points of our survey, the development in the characterization of the Aśvins is noteworthy. We find here a wide gap between the beginning and the end. It has been systematically developed by the thinkers and seers of different ages. It is probable that at the outset they were two princes.[1] In the wide lapse of time the human origin of the heroes was forgotten and they were transformed into gods, first to the gods of the firma-

[1] R.V., VII. 67. 1; VII. 71. 4, where the word नपती occurs. In these Aśvin-hymns, the gods are addressed as 'Princes'.

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ment, the sun and the moon[1] and, lastly, they became the divine physicians, the whole thing thus bearing the stamp of the intellectual development of thousands of years. The last phase is purely an Indian development.

The same can be said of womanhood. We find here things common to earlier stages of civilization, rituals round the two primary factors of life—marriage and death—being developed into social institutions. They are recorded in X. 85 and X. 18 respectively. We cannot ascribe them to any legislator of this time.

The picture of Samana shows some aspects of this early civilization, where freedom was given to people of either sex to meet without any conventional bar. From the description of Ushā's and other references to courtesans it seems as though they were not highly censured; though it cannot be said with certainty whether they stood in the high estimation of the public, as in the times of Vātsyāyana.[2]

Capture of women for wives, which is common to primitive society is to be met with here. It is to be seen in other races, too. 'Capture of women for wives has prevailed among ancient Semitics. In Arabia it was common before Muhammad. Among Hebrews members of the military class were allowed to marry foreign women, taken in war, contrary to the law which forbade intermarriage with the Gentiles.' (History of Human Marriage, by Westermarck.)

'According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, marriage by capture at one time existed throughout Greece.'

Traces of primitiveness are not altogether absent here, and we find instances of a crude society existing side by side with the more developed civilized customs. Its influence can be traced in some of the developing social institutions. The winning of a maiden by feats of chivalry, the existence of mutual affection and love-making before marriage are, as we know from the literature of the Greeks and other nationalities, common to the Indo-European group.

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[1] R.V., VII. 72. 5; VII. 73. 5; III. 58. 2; IV. 44. 1. 'The praise of Ūsha hath awoke the Aśvins'—III. 58. 1. 'Come from the west, come from the east, Nāsatyas, come, Aśvins, from below and from above us.'—VII. 72. 5.

[2] 'वेश्याभवने सभायामन्यतमस्माद्वसिते वा समानविद्याबुद्धिशौलवित्तवयसां सह वेश्याभिरनुरूपैरालापैरासन्नवन्यो गोष्ठी। तत्र चैषां काव्यसमस्या कलासमस्या वा'

'Respectable citizens of equal learning, intelligence, wealth and age should assemble in the house of a courtesan, a courtyard of public meetings or in the house of any other man. This is called a *goshthī*. Investigation in arts or poetry should be carried out by attending the Goshthī.'—Adhikaraṇa I, chapter IV, 8.

The above describes how the houses of courtesans were centres where the learned met for their scholarly discussions. The debates were carried on in Sanskrit, which was probably the common language of the people.

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In the earliest books of the Ṛg-Veda, we do not find any reference to polygamy. Perhaps there was no scope for it. The rules of marriage were not so well laid down and life was not so regulated. But after the Aryans settled down, polygamy came into existence, and we find distinct traces of it in the last Maṇḍala.

So, to sum up: the womanhood depicted in the Ṛg-Veda is different from what we find in the later literature. The existence of festivals as Samana, where men and women joined, the free life of a maiden, the pursuit of Sūrya after the goddess Ushās, the custom of dedicating women to the service of gods known under the custom of Devadāsīs, the winning of a maiden by feats of chivalry, the burial of the dead and such various other touches have something in common with the other branches of the Indo-European group.

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THE GAYĀ AND NĀLANDĀ PLATES OF SAMUDRA-GUPTA

By R. C. MAJUMDAR

The Gayā Copper-plate of Samudra-gupta, dated year 9,[1] was regarded by Dr. Fleet as spurious, mainly on the following grounds:—

(1) The epithets of Samudra-gupta are uniformly in the genitive case, but his name is in the nominative.

(2) Some of the characters of the inscription are comparatively modern, belonging probably to the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

Fleet's opinion was generally accepted till R. D. Banerji challenged it and maintained that the Gayā Copper-plate was genuine.[2] He, however, made no attempt to answer the two objections noted above.

A second copper-plate of Samudra-gupta, dated year 5, was discovered in course of excavations at Nālandā in the year 1927-28. A short note on it was published by Dr. H. Sastri, and it was subsequently edited by Mr. A. Ghosh.[3]

Excepting the names of the donors, the villages granted, and the camps from which they were issued, the two copper-plates show a very close resemblance. The genealogical portion is identical, the phraseology of the formal portion is similar, and in both cases the deed was written by the order of Gopasvāmī, the *akṣapaṭalādhikṛta* of another village. The only notable differences are, that the Nālandā plate gives two official titles to Gopasvāmī and adds the name of 'Kumāra Śrī Chandra-gupta' at the end.

The language of the genealogical portion being identical, the first objection noted above, by Fleet, applies in this case also. But the characters of this inscription show early Gupta forms throughout.

Dr. Sastri regarded the Nālandā plate as spurious, but Dr. Bhandarkar did not agree to this view,[4] while Mr. Ghosh was of opinion that the genuineness of the plate was not above suspicion. Dr. D. C. Sircar, on the other hand, emphatically maintains that it is a forged document.[5]

In addition to the faulty grammatical construction noted by Fleet, several other arguments have been advanced against the

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1 Edited by Dr. Fleet, *CII*, III, 254.
2 Age of the Imperial Guptas, pp. 7-8.
3 *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, 50.
4 List of Ins. No. 2075.
5 *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, 135-36.

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genuineness of the Nālandā Grant, viz. (1) it is full of mistakes, (2) it indiscriminately uses *v* and *b* (which is unusual in Gupta records), (3) the epithet applied to Samudra-gupta meaning that 'he restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice which had been in abeyance for a long time' occurs only in the records of his successors; the performance of such a sacrifice is not mentioned even in the Allahabad Pillar Ins. and is very unlikely before the 5th year of his reign (or of the Gupta era) when the grant was made; (4) the title *Parama-Bhāgavata* is applied to Samudra-gupta, but both coins and inscriptions indicate that the title was assumed for the first time by his son Chandra-gupta II.

These arguments are undoubtedly very strong but cannot be regarded as final and conclusive, particularly if we bear in mind that there are serious difficulties in the way of regarding them as forged and spurious.

In the first place, the very close resemblance in the wording of the two plates leaves no doubt that both were based on a common draft. This must either have been an old document or one composed by the forger. In the former case, it would be exceedingly strange if this document were not a genuine grant and a spurious one. For while two persons living at different times and places might each be supposed to secure a genuine official grant, we could hardly believe that each of them would independently come across the self-same forged grant, containing the same faulty grammatical construction. In the latter case it is certain that the two copper-plates were not forged by one and the same individual, but two different persons. This is proved by the difference in the character employed. Dr. D. C. Sircar argues that 'it is always very easy for a forger to copy the script only four centuries older'. This may be doubted, for apart from mechanical difficulty, the necessity of such a procedure is not likely to occur to a forger who could not distinguish a genuine from a spurious grant. But, even granting this, we must hold that the forgers were different, as one of them foolishly used very late characters while the other very shrewdly copied the old Gupta alphabet. It is impossible to believe that one and the same man could be both so foolish and so shrewd at one and the same time.

Now this shrewd forger must have been a strange person indeed. He was clever enough to see that his forgery would be detected if he did not imitate the old characters employed in genuine Gupta records and he performed the not very easy task of using, throughout, exact replica of Gupta letters, without a single lapse, in this long record of twelve lines. But while he gave evidence of such judgment, foresight and skill, he wholly overlooked the comparatively simpler fact that the use of the genitive case-ending of the epithets, along

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with the name of Samudra-gupta in the nominative, would be the cause of a graver suspicion about the genuineness of his record. So the theory of forgery involves strange inconsistency, difficult to explain in a normal way.

The use of Gupta characters leaves no doubt that the forger of the Nālandā plate had a genuine Gupta record before him. Then why did he commit the grammatical blunder? Fleet offers the following explanation in the case of the Gayā plate: 'The drafter of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandra-gupta II or some other descendant of Samudra-gupta; and inscribed the portion relating to his epithets in the genitive case-ending; he only then recognized that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudra-gupta himself which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached and he promptly then adopted the nominative construction.'

Now this explanation presupposes that the actual engraver of the plate was a learned Sanskritist, who detected the mistake after he had inscribed a considerable portion of the plate. This is very unusual, for ordinarily the engraver is merely a skilled mechanic who copies the draft composed by another, and is not a literary man with knowledge or intelligence enough to enable him to detect such mistakes.

But even assuming Fleet's explanation to be true, the specific mistake could only occur in that particular record, on account of the exigencies of the seal used, and we cannot explain how the same mistake arose in connection with the Nālandā plate. It might be argued that the forger of the Nālandā plate used the forged Gayā plate as his model, but apart from the fact that it would then be the most curious accidence, it does not explain why the engraver of the Nālandā plate did not imitate the letters of the plate before him and went out of his way to imitate the characters of genuine Gupta records. He would not have copied the latter if he had no reason to suspect the genuineness of the former, and if he had any such suspicion he would have most assuredly followed a genuine record.

It does not appear that the Nālandā plate had any seal attached to it. Mr. Ghosh says that 'it is not unlikely that one was originally attached to it in that portion of the proper right side of the plate which is now broken'. But as lines 6 and 8 which cover the central part of the record begin as usual with the same margin on the left, and are not removed to the right, as in the case of the Gayā plate, it is very unlikely that any seal could be attached to it. Fleet's explanation that the seal of Samudra-gupta forced the forger suddenly to alter the grammatical construction would not suit the Nālandā plate, and, even if there were a seal in this case also, it

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would again be very strange indeed if the same sort of accidence happened to two persons at different times and induced them to commit exactly the same mistake. In this case, at least, we must think of two different forgers, for if he were one and the same man, he must have been wiser after committing his first blunder and would hardly repeat it. If there were no compelling circumstances like the seal, the forger had no reason to commit the mistake, for it would have been immaterial if the grant was purported to have been made by Samudra-gupta or one of his successors, and thus no satisfactory explanation of the grammatical blunder is afforded by the theory of forgery.

The more we think about it it becomes harder to offer a reasonable and consistent explanation of the forgery of the two plates. We can hardly think of one forger, showing such strange inconsistencies, or of two forgers at different times and places, by chance hitting upon the same curious resemblances and blunders. Further, if one man forged the two, the differentiation in the names of the camp of victory, and the dates, and the addition of the name of the crown-prince at the end of one would show a cleverness of manipulation and knowledge of history ill-matched with ignorance of ordinary rules of grammar.

Since the theory of forgery involves serious difficulties and inconsistencies it behoves us to reconsider the question and find out if the argument against the genuineness of the plates is really of a decisive character.

As regards the faulty grammatical construction, attention may be drawn to the Bilsad stone pillar inscription of Kumāra-gupta.[1] Here, also, all the epithets of Samudra-gupta are in the genitive case, followed by the compound *Samudra-gupta-putrasya*, though a separate genitive Samudra-guptasya is required by rules of grammar; and the same mistake is repeated in the following *Chandra-gupta-putrasya*. (Other similar instances may be cited from Vākāṭaka records.) Now this is a grammatical mistake, of the same kind, as we come across in Gayā and Nālandā plates, but no one can possibly suggest on that account that the Bilsad inscription (or the Vākāṭaka records) is a forgery. Howsoever the mistake might have arisen, the examples cited above ought to warn us against treating similar mistakes as conclusive evidence of spuriousness. It is interesting to note in this connection, that the drafters of the Gupta records always use the genitive case up to Samudra-gupta, and then, from his son onwards, use the nominative instead, though, in the records of Kumāra-gupta I and later kings it would have been more

[1] *CII*, III, 42.

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appropriate to use nominative case throughout as we find, for example, in the genealogy of the Maukhari, Pushpabhuti and Pragjyotisha kings. The reason of this prediction for using genitive case-endings up to Samudra-gupta is not known, but this tendency is possibly of early origin and probably accounts for the curious grammatical mistakes that we find not only in the Nālandā plate but also in the Bilsad stone pillar inscription.

The most important argument against the genuineness of the Gayā plate is that while some of the characters are antique, others are comparatively modern. In this connection attention may be drawn to the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman[1] which conclude with the following verse: 'Because after the burning of the plates, these newly written letters are of different form, therefore they are not forged.' On this Professor Sten Konow remarks: 'There are on the whole some features which would, in ordinary circumstances, throw doubt on the genuineness of the plates . . . . . There is no reason to compel us to doubt this statement (contained in the verse quoted) which, if we admit its correctness, accounts for the peculiarities drawn attention to above.'[2]

Now the case of the Gayā plate may be exactly similar. The seal of this plate contained a legend in five lines 'which is so worn that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there and the name of Samudra-gupta very faintly at the end'. If we assume that the original plate was burnt by fire and a duplicate copper-plate was prepared to which the original seal was attached we get an explanation of the points noted by Fleet in the following observation: 'The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper-plate.' Further, it is probable that while making the copy of the burnt charter, some of the letters which were legible were exactly copied while in other cases, the forms familiar to the copyist were used. This would account for the curious blending of antique and comparatively modern forms in the Gayā plate.

It is thus possible to meet the two principal objections against the genuineness of the two copper-plates of Samudra-gupta, by citing analogous instances. As regards the other objections they are less formidable. The coins of Samudra-gupta describe him as the restorer of Aśvamedha sacrifice. The performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice before the year 5 cannot be ruled out altogether as an impossible contingency, for we do not know exactly the chronology of Samudra-gupta's campaign and it is not necessary to

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 65.

[2] *Ibid.*, 72.

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assume that Samudra-gupta performed it after completing his conquests. Even less powerful kings, ruling over territories much smaller than that of Samudra-gupta at the beginning of his reign, have claimed to perform the sacrifice. As regards the title *Parama-Bhāgavata*, we have merely negative evidence to show that it was not assumed by Samudra-gupta, and such evidence, however strong, cannot be regarded as final and conclusive. As regards orthographical mistakes, it is hardly necessary to point out that they are sometimes very common even in genuine grants.

It is not my intention to minimize the importance of the points urged by scholars against the genuineness of the two grants. I have merely endeavoured to show that while it is possible to offer an explanation of the peculiarities which raise suspicion about the genuineness of the two copper-plates, the assumption that they are forgeries raises difficult problems which cannot be solved without having resort to abnormal and very inconsistent suppositions. It would, therefore, be much safer to keep an open mind about these plates rather than definitely declare them to be spurious or forged.[1]

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[1] [It is a matter of extreme delight that the views of Dr. R. C. Majumdar completely accord with mine. It is not, however, clear how the two notes of Sakuntala Rao Sastri on the subject have escaped his attention. They have been published *Above*, Vol. X, pp. 77–79.—D. R. B.]

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MISCELLANEA

GŌVINDAGUPTA AND PURUGUPTA

While tackling some of the problems arising out of my revision of the *Gupta Inscriptions* I wrote one note on *Break (?) in the Genealogy of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena* on pp. 175 and ff. (*Above*, Vol. IX) and another note on *Nṛpati-Parivrājaka* on pp. 227-28. The second note does not need much of a reply. But the first point is of such paramount importance that I hope the scholars mentioned in the last sentence of that note, and, others, if they so desire, will be so good as to raise a full and lucid discussion on it as early as possible.

Now and here I am referring to a third point connected with Gupta History. Who was Gōvindagupta? We know that he has been mentioned in a Basarh seal pertaining to Dhruva-svāminī which describes her as wife of Chandragupta II and mother of Gōvindagupta. Here the first of these is designated *Mahārājādhirāja* and the second simply *Mahārāja*. The conclusion is obvious that he was an heir-apparent to the Gupta throne and stationed as Yuvarāja at Vaiśālī. As no coin of Gōvindagupta has yet been found, it may perhaps be concluded that he died without coming to the Gupta throne. But there is an inscription which describes Gōvindagupta in such a manner that he seems to have been a supreme ruler (Bhandarkar's *List North Inscr.* No. 7). But as no coins of his have been identified, the conclusion is not unreasonable that Gōvindagupta and Kumāragupta were names of one and the same king. In this connection it is worthy of note that there is a type of coins which has on the obverse *Ku* beneath the left arm of the king and *Gō* between his feet. *Ku* seems to stand for Kumāragupta and *Gō* for Gōvindagupta.

It is well known by now that his father Chandragupta II had also another name, namely Dēvagupta. Why should not Kumāragupta have another name, namely, Gōvindagupta? It may be noticed that Kumarāgupta's son also had a second name. His well-known name was of course Skandagupta. But it now seems that he had another appellation, namely, Puragupta or Purugupta. There was a time when Mr. Allan's reading of the name Puragupta on some coins held the field. But Mr. Sarasi Kumar Sarasvati has correctly pointed out that the name is not Puragupta but Budhagupta. I sincerely hope that scholars will come forward to discuss this point also threadbare.

D. R. B.

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DID VĀKĀṬAKA RULE BECOME EXTINCT AFTER VINDHYAŚAKTI II?

In an interesting note published in this Journal (Vol. IX, pp. 175ff.) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has quoted a passage from my article on the Tiroḍi plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, in which I pointed out an apparently faulty construction in the stereotyped form of the Vākāṭaka genealogy. Dr. Bhandarkar asks why I have slurred over this faulty construction and followed Dr. Fleet in my translation of the record. He will find the reason given in the sentences immediately following the passage quoted by him, viz. 'But in that case the successor of Pravarasena I would be his great-grandson as Gautamīputra did not evidently come to the throne.... Besides, there is no reason why the name of Pravarasena's son should have been omitted.' If Gautamīputra was the grandson and not the son of Pravarasena I, who was the son of the latter? Why has his name been omitted? Was it because he did not reign? In that case Gautamīputra's name also should have been omitted, for he too did not reign, as the epithet *Vākāṭakānāṁ Mahārājasya* is omitted in his case. It seems best therefore to regard Gautamīputra as a son of Pravarasena I.

As regards Dr. Bhandarkar's ingenious suggestions that Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti (II), now known from the Bāsim plates, ruled after Pravarasena I, that the Vākāṭaka rule became extinct after them and that the power of the dynasty was revived by Samudragupta in the time of Rudrasena I who belonged to another line, it may be pointed out that they run counter to the statement in the Purāṇas that four sons of Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I) became kings. Secondly, the line of Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti (II) does not appear to have become extinct. It continued to rule at Vatsagulma (modern Bāsim) in Southern Berar as appears clear from the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā.[1]

We can reconcile all available data in the following manner. Pravarasena I had a long reign; for he performed four aśvamedhas and the Purāṇas also say that he ruled for sixty years.[2] After him his extensive empire in the Deccan was divided—among his four sons. His eldest son Gautamīputra had predeceased him.[3] So his grandson Rudrasena I succeeded him in Northern Vidarbha and

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[1] See *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14).

[2] Pargiter, *Dynasties*, etc., p. 50.

[3] As the statement in the Purāṇas is very brief, it does not give the further detail that in the eldest branch the grandson, not the son, came to the throne.

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probably ruled from the old capital Purikā. Sarvasena of the second branch ruled over Southern Vidarbha from his capital Vatsagulma. The territories held by his other two sons are not known, as no records of their times have yet come to light; but they may have been ruling over the country to the south of the Godāvarī. Perhaps their kingdoms were soon overthrown by other dynasties which rose in that part of the country.

Still the question remains, 'Why is there the faulty construction in the genealogical portion of the records of the eldest branch?' This question is not difficult to answer. The first part of the genealogical statement in the grants of Pravarasena II seems to have been originally drafted for a copperplate grant of Rudrasena I and was repeated in all subsequent records of his descendants just as the genealogy set forth in the grants of Pravarasena II is found repeated in the Bālāghāṭ plates of his grandson Pṛthivīṣeṇa II. The description in this earlier part is similar to that of Samudragupta in the Allahabad pillar inscription, viz. Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭotkaca-pautrasya Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Candragupta-putrasya. The only difference is that instead of *pautrasya*, the drafter of the Vākāṭaka record used *sūnoḥ sūnoḥ* because of his love for alliteration [1] and the absence of a suitable *taddhita* form from sūnu meaning 'a grandson'.

V. V. Mirashi.

AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE DHVANI-THEORY

Of all the poetic theories that were advanced in succession by the reputed critics of old with a view to accounting for the beauty and grace of a poetic composition, the theory of suggestion figures supreme by virtue of its freshness and novelty. The expounders of this new theory had ventured to depart from the stereotyped way of looking at a poetic composition, and with a rare critical acumen succeeded to hit upon the very quintessence of a true poetic art. Even a mere perusal of the *Dhvanyāloka* will be apt to give an idea, however insufficient, of the breadth of outlook which the new theorists brought to bear upon their task. Their critical vision was much sharper than that of their predecessors and rivals who posited either the *rīti*, or the *guṇas* as the soul of a poetic composi-

[1] For another instance of his fondness for alliteration, see *Gautamīputrasya putrasya* which occurs afterwards.

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tion. They could not conceive of anything new which might lend beauty to a poetic art. Their vision was riveted merely by the outward appearance—the limbs, so to say, and was shut out from having even the faintest glimpse of the soul. As Abhinavagupta so rightly observes: "वाच्यसंबलनाविमोहितहृदयैस्तु तत्पृथग्भावे विप्रतिपद्यते, चार्वाकैरिवात्मपृथग्भावे"। The Dhvani-theorists admit that रीति, वृत्ति and गुण add to the grace of a poem each in its own way, but their function is only secondary. The soul being there, the ornaments can adorn the limbs; but in its absence, they cease to be ornaments. So is it with *rīti*, *vṛtti* and *guṇa*. They have to depend for their very being on the presence of the soul, viz. the suggested sense.[1]

But the Dhvani-theorists had to face vehement challenges from various quarters, which they ably controverted. Ānandavardhana anticipates some of the contentions against the theory of which he was going to furnish an elaborate exposition—in the following verse which constitutes the opening stanza of the *Dhvanyāloka*:

काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्व-
स्तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये।
केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयं
तेन ब्रूमः सहृदयमनःप्रीतये तत्स्वरूपम्॥[2]

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[1] Cf. रसभावादितात्पर्यमाश्रित्य विनिवेशनम्।
अलंकृतीनां सर्वासामलंकारत्वसाधनम्॥—Dhvanyāloka ii, p. 197. (Ben. Edn.)

Also Abhinavagupta under it—एतदुक्तं भवति—उपमया यद्यपि वाच्योऽर्थोऽलंक्रियते तथापि तस्य तदेवालंकरणं यद् व्यङ्ग्यार्थाभिव्यञ्जनसामर्थ्याधानम्—इति वस्तुतो ध्वन्यात्मैवालंकार्यः। कटककेयूरादिभिरपि शरीरसमवायिभिश्चेतन आत्मैव तत्तच्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषौचित्यसूचनात्मतयाऽलंक्रियते। तथाहि अचेतनं शवशरीरं कुण्डलाद्युपेतमपि न भाति, अलंकार्यस्य अभावात्। यतिशरीरं कटकादियुक्तं हास्यावहं भवति, अलंकार्यस्यानौचित्यात्॥—*Op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

[2] Note also °Locana where Abhinava summarizes the three main complaints against the Dhvani-theory—तत्र समयापेक्षणेन शब्दोऽर्थप्रतिपादक इति कृत्वा वाच्यव्यतिरिक्तं नास्ति व्यङ्ग्यम्; सदपि वा तद् अभिधावृत्त्याक्षिप्तं शब्दावगतार्थबलादाकृष्टत्वाद् भाक्तम्; तदनाक्षिप्तमपि वा न वक्तुं शक्यं कुमारीष्विव भर्तृसुखमतद्वित्सु॥ But जयरथ in his विमर्शिनी notes as many as 12 rival sects: cf.

तात्पर्यशक्तिरभिधालक्षणानुमिती द्विधा। अर्थापत्तिः क्वचित् तन्त्रं समासोक्त्याद्यलंकृतिः॥
रसस्य कार्यता भोगो व्यापारान्तरबाधनम्। द्वादशेत्थं ध्वनेरस्य स्थिता विप्रतिपत्तयः॥—p. 9, NSP. Edn.

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Besides the contentions anticipated and refuted in the first chapter of the *Dhvanyāloka* a few other stern criticisms were levelled against the Dhvani-theory of which the *anumāna*-theory deserves special mention. Though no reference to it has been made in the opening chapter of the *Dhvanyāloka*, still Ānandavardhana notes it in brief in Chapter iii where he tries to endorse the claim of *vyañjanā* being recognized as a separate *vṛtti*.[1] The Anumāna-school found in Mahimabhaṭṭa, a Kāśmīrian, the most enthusiastic upholder of its cause. The *Vyaktiviveka* which is replete with instances of a wonderful skill of its author in polemics was written with the sole aim of proving the thesis that it was after all useless to reckon a separate function of words, viz. *vyañjanā*, its function being served by the process of Inference or *anumāna*.[2] Mahimabhaṭṭa, in the first instance, takes up the verse '*yatrārthaḥ śabdo vā*' where the Dhvanikāra furnishes a working definition of *Dhvani-kāvya* and with a rare zeal, which we can term ferocity even, tears it up clause by clause pointing out blemishes at every step.[3] Though Mahimabhaṭṭa tried his utmost to demolish the *dhvani*-theory, yet his endeavours could not be appreciated by men of letters. This neglect, in consequence of which the *anumāna*-theory gradually fell into an unmerited oblivion, was due to his 'being pitted against the famous Ānandavardhana'. Kane (HAL., xciii) had made his position safe and unshakable even by the most furious blast of adverse criticism.[4] Another cause of the neglect of the *Vyaktiviveka* is the terseness of the language in which the arguments have been couched; it lacks that grace and easy felicity which characterize the writings of Ānandavardhana and Abhinava, and which to no small extent made their works popular in educated circles. In the Third Uddyota Ānandavardhana brushes aside the contention of the *anumiti-vādins* with the curt remark that even

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[1] Compare: अस्यतिसंज्ञानावसरः—व्यञ्जकत्वं शब्दानां गमकत्वं तच्च लिङ्गत्वम्; अतश्च व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीति-र्लिङ्गप्रतीतिरेवेति लिङ्गलिङ्गिभाव एव तेषां व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावो नापरः कश्चित्।—*Op. cit.*, Ch. iii, p. 448.

[2] Compare: अनुमानेऽन्तर्भावं सर्वस्यैव ध्वनेः प्रकाशयितुम्।
व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरते प्रणम्य महिमा परां वाचम्॥—Vyaktiviveka, Chap. i, 1.

[3] Note: एतच्च विविच्यमानमनुमानस्यैव संगच्छते नान्यस्य। तथाहि अर्थस्य तावद् उपसर्जनीकृता-त्मत्वमनुपादेयमेव। तस्य अर्थान्तरप्रतीत्यर्थमुपात्तस्य तद्व्यभिचाराभावात्। नहि अग्न्यादिसिद्धौ धूमादि-रुपादीयमानो गुणतामतिवर्त्तते।.....*et seq.*—Vyaktiviveka, Chap. i.

[4] Compare: आनन्द इति च ग्रन्थकृतो नाम। तेन स आनन्दवर्द्धनाचार्य एतच्छास्त्रद्वारेण सहृदय-हृदयेषु प्रतिष्ठां देवतायतनादिवदनश्वरीं स्थितिं गच्छतु—इति भावः।.....सहृदयचक्रवर्त्ती अस्यैवं ग्रन्थकृदिति भावः।—°Locana, p. 41.

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though we concede for argument's sake that the power of suggestion is no other than the process of logical inference, still we must falter when we come to the instance of the lamp and the jar, on the analogy of which the whole fabric of the theory of Dhvani has been built up; for with no stretch of imagination can we regard the jar being inferred from the presence of light.[1] In the commentary on the *Vyaktiviveka*, Rūyyaka, the author of the *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, too, criticizes the views of the author Mahimabhaṭṭa. In the *Alaṁkārasarvasva*, he briefly touches upon the views of the Vyaktivivekakāra and points out the flaws in his thesis.[2] Jayaratha, too, the commentator of the last-named work, brings out in bold relief the utter improbability of the views of the Vyaktivivekakāra while commenting on the passage referred to just now.[3] Most of the critics of the Anumiti-theory lay stress on one point particularly, viz. that an inference of the *pratīyamāna* from the *vācya* is invariably vitiated on account of the 'middle term' (i.e. the *hetu*) being distributed (i.e. *anaikāntika*).

Thus in spite of the ingenuity of the author of the *Vyaktiviveka* his novel proposition failed to gain much ground in the teeth

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[1] Note: [अत्रोच्यते—नन्वेवमपि यदि नाम स्यात् तत् किं नश्छिन्नम् ? वाचकत्व-गुणवृत्तिव्यतिरिक्तो व्यञ्जकत्वलक्षणः शब्दव्यापारोऽस्तीति अस्माभिरभ्युपगतम्। तस्य चैवमपि न काचित् क्षतिः। तद्धि व्यञ्जकत्वं लिङ्गत्वमस्तु अन्यद् वा। सर्वथा प्रसिद्धशाब्दप्रकारविलक्षणत्वं शब्दव्यापारविषयत्वं च तस्यास्ति-इति नास्त्येवावयोर्विवादः।] न पुनरयं परमार्थः—यत् व्यञ्जकत्वं लिङ्गत्वमेव सर्वत्र, व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीतिश्च लिङ्गप्रतीतिरेवेति।—Dhv., Chap. iii, p. 449. On which Abhinavagupta has the following statement—प्रदीपालोकादौ लिङ्गलिङ्गिभावशून्येऽपि हि व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावोऽस्तीति व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावस्य लिङ्गलिङ्गिभावोऽव्यापक इति कथं तादात्म्यम् ?—*Ibid.*, °Locana.

[2] Compare: यत्तु व्यक्तिविवेककारो वाच्यस्य प्रतीयमानं प्रति लिङ्गितया व्यञ्जनस्य अनुमानान्तर्भावमाख्यत् तद्वाच्यस्य प्रतीयमानेन सह तादात्म्य-तदुत्पत्त्यभावात् अविचारिताभिधानम्। तदेतत् कुशाग्रीयधिषणैः क्षोदनीयमतिगहनम्—इति नेह प्रतन्यते॥—Alaṃkārasarvasva, pp. 12-13.

[3] इह लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोस्तादात्म्य-तदुत्पत्तिभ्यामेव तावत्प्रतिबन्धो निश्चीयते। तन्निश्चयेनैव च साध्यसिद्धिः। अन्यथा हि साध्यसिद्धिर्न स्याद् व्यभिचारात्। तत्र तादात्म्यं यथा कृतकत्वानित्यत्वयोः। तदुत्पत्तिर्यथा वह्निधूमयोः। वाच्यप्रतीयमानयोः पुनस्तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्ती न स्तः। तथाहि—"निःशेषच्युते" त्यत्र विधिना निषेधो निषेधेन वा विधिः प्रतीयते। न तस्य वाच्येन सह तादात्म्यम्—विरुद्धत्वात्। न ह्यभावो भावात्मा भवति, भावोऽप्यभावात्मा। नापि तदुत्पत्तिः—अभावस्य जन्यजनकत्वानुपपत्तेः। नापि निःशेषच्युतचन्दनादीनां विशेषणानां तदन्तिकगमनानुमापकत्वं युक्तम्। तेषां स्नानादौ अपि सद्भावादनैकान्तिकत्वात्। एतच्च ध्वनिकारेणादूषितत्वात् ग्रन्थकृता स्वकण्ठेन दूषितम्।—Alaṃ-Sarvasva, Comm., p. 13.

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of the increasing popularity of the Dhvani-theory. It must be alleged to his credit, however, that unaided though he was, he left a permanent impression in the field of poetics. Even the commentator Rūyyaka does not spare taunting him for his daring enterprise.[1] It can be safely asserted that had Mahimabhaṭṭa been fortunate enough in having a commentator like Abhinavagupta—sympathetic and sincere—his position would have been much different from what it is today.

Next to the Anumiti-theory, the Vakrokti-theory of Kuntala or Kuntaka deserves special mention. The theory is nothing but an elaboration of the implications of the assertion of Bhāmaha [2] to their logical consequence. This theory also sprang up as a protest against the views of the Dhvani-theorists, who though conceding the existence of *alaṁkāra-dhvani* still made it subservient to *rasa-dhvani*, which according to them is *dhvani* 'par excellence'.[3] We have noted the views of Abhinavagupta and Ānandavardhanācārya as regards the nature of *alaṁkāras or guṇas* and how they make them quite secondary in their function. According to the Dhvanikāra—*dhvani* and *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*—these are the main divisions of Kāvya. The third variety is merely an imitation of Kāvya, and not so in reality.[4] It is '*citra*'. But what is most interesting is the treatment of Rasa in *Vakroktijīvita*. Kuntaka agrees with the Dhvanikāra that the touch of sentiment makes a poetic art live, but still he will not reckon sentiment as anything quite different from the common figures of speech. This peculiar treatment of Rasa is quite a logical outcome of his view as regards the nature of Alaṁkāras or Vakrokti in general. He does not regard Vakrokti as adventitious or an extraneous element in a Kāvya, just as Dhvanikāra and others thought; but according to Kuntaka they are inextricably blended up with *śabda* and *artha* and cannot be detached without materially compromising the splendour of the poet's art. Thus Kuntaka's logical conclusion is that 'Vakrokti

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1 Compare: तदेवं महाविदुषां मार्गमनुसृत्य सहृदयशिक्षादराय विचारयतोऽस्य महामतेः न किञ्चित् पर्यनुयोगलेशस्याप्यवसर—इत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ।—Comm. on Vyaktiviveka, p. 152.

2 Note: सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलंकारोऽनया विना ॥

3 यस्तु स्वप्नेऽपि न स्वशब्दवाच्यो न लौकिकव्यवहारपतितः किंतु शब्दसमर्प्यमाणहृदयसंवादसुन्दर-विभावानुभावसमुचितप्राग्विनिविष्ट-रत्यादिवासनानुरागसुकुमार-स्वसंविदानन्दचर्वणाव्यापार-रसनीयरूपो रसः, स काव्यव्यापारैकगोचरो रसध्वनिरिति, स च ध्वनिरेवेति स एव मुख्यतया आत्मा ॥—Abhinava's °Locana, Dhv. pp. 51-52.

4 रसभावादितात्पर्यरहितं व्यङ्ग्यार्थविशेषप्रकाशनशक्तिशून्यं च काव्यं केवलवाच्यवाचकवैचित्र्यमात्राश्रयेणोपनिबद्धमालेख्यप्रख्यं यदाभासते तच्चित्रम् । न तन्मुख्यं काव्यं, काव्यानुकारो ह्यसौ ।—Dhv., Chap. iii, p. 495.

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is the soul'[1] of a poetic creation. So a Kāvya cannot be a Kāvya without Vakrokti, and the usage '*kāvyasyāyam-alaṁkārah*' is quite erroneous and illogical as it gives rise to the false notion that, as if, a Kāvya might exist without Vakrokti. This being Kuntaka's view about Vakrokti in general, it is but quite logical that he would not regard **रस** as distinct from the Vakrokti inasmuch as Rasa too imparts grace to the poetic art in the same way as other figures of speech do. As Prof. S. K. De so rightly observes: 'From the prominence given to the analysis of Alaṁkāras it will be clear that Kuntaka could not put enough emphasis on Rasa and Bhāva as elements of poetry. The Rasa is dealt with topically in connection with the poetic figures, or the different mārgas in which it is involved, as also in the treatment of *prakaraṇa-prabandha-vakratā*. Kuntaka admits the necessity of Rasa, but regards its delineation apparently as a special kind of realizing *vakratva* in composition. He quotes with approval an *antara-śloka* which lays down (Chap. iv):

"निरन्तर-रसोद्गार-गर्भ-सौन्दर्य-निर्भराः।
गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः॥"

He admits that it is not the mere matter or plot but the beauty imparted to it by the continuous development of Rasa which can make the words of a poet live, and in this he follows the dictum of Ānandavardhana, but as he had already the essentiality of Vakrokti, the Rasa could be comprehended only as an element of Vakrokti.'[2] Nevertheless Kuntaka does recognize the *pratīyamāna* or *vyaṅgya* sense,[3] and practically concurs with the Dhvanikāra in accepting the two varieties of Dhvani based on Indication (i.e. *lakṣaṇāmūla*)—viz. *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya* and *arthāntara-saṁkramita-vācya*—though he includes them under the single comprehensive head, viz. *upacāra-*

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[1] Compare: वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम्. Note also Rūyyaka: वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारः पुनर्वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभणितिस्वभावां बह्वविधां वक्रोक्तिमेव प्राधान्यात् काव्यजीवितमुक्तवान्। व्यापारस्य प्राधान्यं च काव्यस्य प्रतिपेदे। अभिधानप्रकारविशेषा एव चालंकाराः। सत्यपि चिभेदे प्रतीयमाने व्यापाररूपा भणितिरेव कविसंरम्भगोचरः। उपचारवक्रतादिभिः समस्तो ध्वनिप्रपञ्चः स्वीकृतः। केवलमुक्तिवैचित्र्यजीवितं काव्यं न व्यङ्ग्यार्थजीवितमिति तदीयं दर्शनं व्यवस्थितम्।—Alaṁ-Sarvasva, p. 8. Kuntaka defines वक्रोक्ति as—'वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभणितिरुच्यते' which has been again explained in the वृत्ति as—वक्रोक्तिः प्रसिद्धाभिधानव्यतिरेकिणी विचित्रैवाभिधा वैदग्ध्यं कविकौशलं तस्य भङ्गी विच्छित्तिः।

[2] Vakroktijīvita Intro., pp. xxxv-xxxvi. S. K. De.

[3] Compare: वाच्योऽर्थो वाचकः शब्दः प्रसिद्धमिति यद्यपि।
तथापि काव्यमार्गेऽस्मिन् परमार्थोऽयमेतयोः॥
—The vṛtti on which runs as follows—ननु च द्योतक-व्यञ्जकावपि शब्दौ संभवतः; तदसंग्रहान्नाव्याप्तिः। यस्माद् अर्थप्रतीतिकारित्वसामान्यादुपचाराच्चावपि वाचकावेव। एवं द्योत्यव्यङ्ग्ययोरर्थयोः प्रत्येयत्वसामान्यादुपचाराद् वाच्यत्वमेव॥ *Op. cit.*, I, 8.

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vakratā.[1] As Prof. Kane states: 'The Vakroktijīvita denies the independent existence of Dhvani or *vyaṅgya* as the soul of poetry and tries to include it under its all-pervading *vakrokti*. It therefore makes the soul of poetry to consist of something that is striking by its being very different from and above what is ordinary. It therefore holds the same view as those who regarded *dhvani* to be *bhākta*.' (HAL., p. lxxxv.)

Thus we find that Kuntaka gave a new impetus to the theory of Bhāmaha and revived it once more from the region of oblivion. Though he was influenced to no small extent by the writings of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, still he succeeded to give a new turn to the course of literary criticism, and his theory too appeals to our reason. He is right in stating that we cannot rob a composition of its figures without injuring its effect, and as such it is quite erroneous to look upon the figures as artificial or adventitious. They constitute part and parcel of the whole creation.

Coming to more recent times we find the polymath Kṣemendra, a Kāśmirian author of the eleventh century A.D., starting a new theory to the effect that *aucitya* or 'Propriety' alone is the soul of a poetic composition. He calls *aucitya* as *rasa-jīvita-bhūta*—being, as it were, the very soul of Rasa. This view, that Rasa must be developed with reference to proper *anubhāvas* and *vibhāvas* and *sthāyins*, is not a new discovery at all on the part of Kṣemendra. It has found eloquent expression in the works of Ānandavardhana, Mahimabhaṭṭa, etc., who regarded impropriety as a blemish that materially hampers the realization of the aesthetic pleasure or Rasa.[2] The

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[1] Note: यत्र दूरान्तरेऽन्यस्मात् सामान्यमुपचर्यते ।
लेशेनापि भवत् काञ्चित् वक्तुमुद्रिक्तवृत्तिताम् ॥
यन्मूला सरसोल्लेखा रूपकादिरलंकृतिः ।
उपचारप्रधानाऽसौ वक्रता काचिदुच्यते ॥—Vakroktijīvita, ii, 13-14.

—On which Kuntaka cites the two verses—"गअणं च मत्तमेहुं" etc. and 'स्निग्धश्यामलकान्तिलिप्तवियतः' as instances which are quoted by Ānandavardhana in his Dhvanyāloka to illustrate the two aforesaid varieties of लक्षणामूलध्वनि. The above two verses (viz. Vakroktijīvita, ii, 13-14) have been cited by Jayaratha, too, in his gloss on Alaṁkārasarvasva, p. 8.

[2] Compare: अनौचित्यादृते नान्यद्रसभंगस्य कारणम् ।
प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत् परा ॥

—We should also note here that a sentiment when developed by improper विभावs, अनुभावs, etc. ceases to be sentiment proper and is styled रसाभास and not रस. Cf. "तदाभासा अनौचित्यप्रवर्त्तिताः"—Kāvya-Prakāśa, iv. The most popular instance of रसाभास is the following verse from Kumāra iii, e.g. "मधु द्विरेफः कुसुमैकपात्रे पपौ प्रियां स्वामनुवर्त्तमानः", etc. where the permanent feeling रति has been improperly developed, resting as it does in a non-sentient bee.

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originality of Kṣemendra lies in the fact that he pushes this doctrine of *aucitya* too far, and holds it as underlying every sort of literary embellishment that heightens the beauty of a poetic art, whether it be *guṇa*, *alaṁkāra* or *rasa*. Thus he is led to the logical conclusion that *aucitya* alone is the *sine qua non* of a poetic art. He defines *aucitya* as—

"उचितं प्राऽऽचार्याः सदृशं किल यस्य यत् ।
उचितस्य च यो भावस्तदौचित्यं प्रचक्षते ॥"[1]

Just as ornaments, when placed in improper places, cease to adorn the limbs, so also the Guṇas and Alaṁkāras improperly introduced only make a poem ludicrous, instead of adding to its grace.[2] Thus Kṣemendra holds *aucitya* to be the sole underlying principle of literary embellishments, and poets should introduce them constantly keeping in view the fact that the element of *aucitya* is not violated in doing so.

This brief review of the views of the Dhvani-theorists, as also of their rivals, will be enough to reveal what an enormous impression was made by Ānandavardhana and his famous scholiast Abhinavagupta in the field of literary criticism. The current of literary criticism was in an ebb, till Ānandavardhana with his novel doctrine appeared in the field, and rejuvenated once more the dying stream. It must be noted that, however the rival theories might have denounced the position of the Dhvani-theorists, they could not but admit the presence of a sense quite distinct from the वाच्य sense which is conveyed by the denotative power of words. This is an axiomatic truth which they could not but concur with. And the credit of the Dhvani-theorists lies in this, that they were the first and foremost to reveal this truth. The only point on which the rival theorists ventured to disagree was concerning the process or *vyāpāra* which was auxiliary in conveying the *pratīyamāna* sense.[3]

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[1] Aucitya-vicāra, s. 7.

[2] Compare: उचितस्थानविन्यासादलंकृतिरलंकृतिः ।
औचित्यादच्युता नित्यं गुणा एव गुणाः सदा ॥
Note also the anonymous verse quoted in the Vṛtti to illustrate the point:—
कण्ठे मेखलया नितम्बफलके तारेण हारेण वा
पाणौ नूपुरबन्धनेन चरणे केयूरपाशेन वा ।
शौर्येण प्रणते रिपौ करुणया नायान्ति के हास्यताम्
औचित्येन विना रुचिं प्रतनुते नालंकृतिर्नो गुणाः ॥

[3] तदेवं लक्षणदोषदुष्टपदव्युदासेन परिशुद्धो ध्वनिलक्षणवाक्यस्यायमर्थोऽवतिष्ठते ॥ वाच्यस्तदनुमितो वा यत्रार्थोऽर्थान्तरं प्रकाशयति । सम्बन्धतः कुतश्चित् सा काव्यानुमितिरित्युक्ता ॥ इति । एतच्चानुमानस्यैव

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The dhvani-theorists reckoned quite a distinct function of words, viz. *vyañjanā* or Suggestion, while some disapproved it and thought Inference or *anumāna* as the process which conveyed the *pratīyamāna* sense, and others again, *lakṣaṇā* or Indication as the function which was sufficient to include in its scope the *vyaṅgya* as well as the *lakṣya* sense. Though Ānandavardhana has very aptly established the existence of the fourth power of words, viz. *vyañjanā*, still he is not very particular about it. His foremost aim was to establish the existence of the *pratīyamāna* sense which was altogether different from the *vācya sense*, and he thought his task fulfilled, successful as he was in doing so. About the function which was required to convey that sense, opinions might differ—he, himself has acknowledged this, and on his part he thought *vyañjanā* or Suggestion as the most logical and convenient way of revealing that sense.[1] This is, summarily, the position of the Dhvani-theorists.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA.

THE DATE OF BHAIRAVA-PADMĀVATĪKALPA

The Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa of Mallisena [2] is a work on Jaina rituals being devoted to the worship of Padmāvatī, a Bhairavī.[3] The name Bhairava is indicative of the influence of Tāntricism on Jainism. According to the Tantras, Bhairava is recognized as one of the eight forms of Śiva. The conception of Padmāvatī as a Mahā-Bhairavī is therefore of a late origin, Tāntric influence on Jainism being traceable not very far back, not perhaps earlier than the seventh or eighth century A.D. The author in the colophon to his work says

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लक्षणं नान्यस्य। यदुक्तं "विरूपलिङ्गाख्यानं परार्थानुमान"मिति। केवलं संज्ञाभेदः॥ काव्यस्यात्मनि संज्ञिनि रत्यादिरूपे न कस्यचिद् विमतिः। संज्ञायां सा केवलमेषाऽपि व्यक्त्ययोगतोऽस्य कुतः॥—Vyaktiviveka, Chap. i, 25–26.

1 Compare: वाचकत्व-गुणवृत्ति-व्यतिरिक्तो व्यञ्जकत्वलक्षणः शब्दव्यापारोऽस्ति—इत्यस्माभिरभ्युपगतम्। तस्य चैवमपि न काचित् क्षतिः। तद्धि व्यञ्जकत्वं लिङ्गत्वमस्तु अन्यद्वा। प्रसिद्धशब्दप्रकारविलक्षणत्वं शब्दव्यापारविषयत्वं च तस्यास्ति—इति नास्त्येवावयोर्विवादः।—Dhvanyāloka, Chap. iii.

2 Edited by Mr. S. M. Nawab.

3 Cf. पद्मावतीस्तोत्रम्—MSS. No. 27—Budreedass Temple Collection.—"श्रीपद्मावत्यै महाभैरव्यै नमः", etc.

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that he was the disciple of Jinasena.[1] This Jinasena is further stated to have been a disciple of Kanakasena Gaṇi, a pupil of Ajitasena Gaṇi.[2] The chain of preceptor and disciple thus traced is to be compared with the concluding Praśasti of Śrī-Vardhamāna Tīrthakara Purāṇa, being a part of the Triṣaṣṭi lakṣaṇa mahāpurāṇa-sangraha[3] of Malliṣeṇa Sūri. In the concluding Praśasti to that work we get first the name of Ajitasena Sūri belonging to the Śrī Mūlasangha.[4] He was followed by his disciple Kanakasena who had a pupil in Jinasena Suri. In the next verse we get the name of one Narendra Sena who is called an younger (pupil) of the said Jinasena. Jinasena was followed by Malliṣeṇa, the author of the said Mahāpurāṇa. Although he has been called a 'tanuja' this term may be taken to mean a direct disciple, or if literally taken, a son at the same time. But the reader is referred to the verse 29 of the opening Praśasti.[5] Thus it is clear that the two lists of succession from preceptor to pupil agree substantially, which makes Malliṣeṇa of the Padmāvati-kalpa identical with Malliṣeṇa of the Purāṇa.

It is also a significant fact about the author of the Purāṇa that he is called—'gāruḍa-mantra-vādasakalāgama lakṣaṇa-tarka-vedin'.[6] The tenth and last chapter of the Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa occupied itself with Garuḍa-Tantra.

Malliṣeṇa of the Purāṇa is called 'Ubhaya-bhāṣā-Kavicakra-vartin'.[7] The Kalpa too, significantly enough, calls its author Malliṣeṇa, 'Ubhaya-bhāṣā-Kaviśekhara'.[8] The two languages in which Malliṣeṇa was equally expert are Sanskrit and Prākrit,[9] and not Sanskrit and Kanarese as supposed by Prof. Hiralal.[10]

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1 Cf. तच्छिष्यो जिनसेनो बभूव भव्याब्जघर्म्मांशुः ॥ ५५ ॥

and तदीयशिष्योऽजनि मल्लिषेणः सरस्वतीलब्धवरप्रसादः ॥ ५६ ॥

2 भैरवपद्मावतीकल्प—x. 53–55.

3 Ind. Antiquary, xl, pp. 46ff.

4 Cf. श्रीमूलसंघेऽजितसेनसूरिः, etc.—*Ibid.*, p. 47.

5 Cf. तदेव पद्वन्धेन मयेह पुनरुच्यते ।

जिनसेनाग्रशिष्येण मल्लिषेणेन सूरिणा ॥ २९ ॥ Cf. also, v. 77 of सरस्वतीमन्त्रकल्प of our author.

6 Verse 5—Ind. Ant., xl, p. 47.

7 I.A., xl, p. 49.

8 Cf. इत्युभयभाषाकविशेखरश्रीमल्लिषेणसूरिविरचितो भैरवपद्मावतीकल्पः समाप्तः ॥

9 Cf. तेन महापुराणमुदितं भुवनत्रयवर्त्तिकीर्त्तिना ।

प्राकृतसंस्कृतोभयकवित्वधृता कविचक्रवर्त्तिना ॥ ५ ॥

10 *Vide* p. xxii, Intr. to Nāyakumāra Carin of Puṣpadanta.

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That our author Mallisena was a southerner is, however, quite probable. His work, the Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa, is commented on by a southerner, Vandhusena, who gives in the course of his commentary certain Karnāta synonyms of the Sanskrit words in the text.[1] This clue to the fact of the author being a southerner is strengthened by the statement in the Mahāpurāna[2] that its author Mallisena wrote the work in the city called Mulagunda. This city of Mulagunda has been identified with the mod. vill. Mulgund in the Gadag Tāluka of the Dharwar district.[3]

The verse that follows the above description is the one in the Mahāpurāna Praśasti, that contains the date of composition of the Purāna. Verse 7 of the text has it that the Purāna was composed in Śaka 969, i.e. in 1047 A.D. We think the date of the Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa should, therefore, be about the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Our author Mallisena is, however, to be distinguished from Mallibhūsana Bhattāraka who has been credited with the authorship of a Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa by Prof. Hiralal Jain.[4] We think this Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa is none other than the work of Ubhaya-bhāsā-Kavisekhara Mallisena, and its date of composition falls in the second quarter of the eleventh century and not some time about Sam. 1510.[5] It is interesting that a Mallisena has also been credited[6] with the authorship of a Padmāvatīkalpa. To our mind this latter view is correct only with the emendation that the name of the work is Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa. The Nāgakumāracarita attributed to Mallisena, the author of the Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa, has certain features which really makes its author identical with the author of the Kalpa, as also the Purāna. Thus the line वक्ष्ये नागकुमारस्य चरितं दुरितापहम् ॥ १ ॥ from the Nāga-kumāracharita[7] may be compared with "अनादि तत् समाप्तं त (तु) पुराणं दुरितापहम् जीयाद्....." etc.[8]; and the line तन्मया पद्यबन्धेन मल्लिषेणेन रच्यते in the beginning of the Nāgakumāracarita with the line तदेव पदबन्धेन मयेह पुनरुच्यते ॥ verse 29, in the Purāna attributed to Mallisena. We may also remark *passim* that the Sajjana-citta-vallava of one Mallisena is also the work of our author who wrote the Bhairava-

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1 Cf. Comm. on X, 25—भैरवपद्मावतीकल्प—"'बनवसल्लारसपिष्टम्' अरण्योद्भव (ञ)पोदकीरसेन पेषितं वनवला इति कर्णाटभाषायां कासलि"।

2 Cf. तीर्थे श्रीमुलुगुन्दनाम्नि नगरे श्रीजैनधर्मालये
स्थित्वा श्रीकविचक्रवर्त्तियतिपः श्रीमल्लिषेणाक्रयः। etc.—v. 6, p. 47, I.A., xl.

3 Fr. p. 48, I.A., xl.
4 Intr. to Nāyakumāra Carin, p. xxii.
5 *Ibid.*
6 Jaina Hitaisi, Vol. VI, 5-6.
7 *Vide* Intr. to Nāy., p. xxii.
8 Cf. v. 8—I.A., xl, p. 48.

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Padmāvatīkalpa and the Nāgakumāracharita and not of Mallibhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka [1] as supposed by Prof. Hiralal.

The composition of the Padmāvatīkalpa must have preceded that of the Purāṇa. The language of the Kalpa shows a diction and a style which is characteristic of an younger age. Secondly, the extensive knowledge of the intricacies of Gāruḍatantra as revealed in the tenth chapter of the Kalpa must have won for our author the compliment which he himself ventured to put before his own name in the concluding Praśasti of the Purāṇa written subsequently. The other work Sajjana-citta-vallabha of Malliṣeṇa, our author, must be a still earlier production. Had he been the recipient of such honours as of being called the best of poets in two languages ("उभयभाषा-कविचक्रवर्त्तिन्") he must have used that epithet in that work also. But his silence proves that he was still not a far-famed poet.

One point, however, is clear from the above and may be noted in this connection most pertinently. That the text of the Kalpa belongs to the Digambara sect prevalent in Southern India is a conclusion which we can tentatively draw from a careful study of the facts available at our disposal, both internally in the text and externally. This makes one fact very significant from the point of view of Digambara-Jaina Iconography. The Goddess is four-handed and holds Aṅkuśa (elephant-goad), Varada pose, a noose and a celestial fruit.[2] This form thus has to be distinguished from another form of the four-handed Goddess in which she holds a goad, rosary and two lotuses.[3] These two forms are, however, of the Digambara variety, the Svetambara variety of the Goddess has three forms of the four-handed Goddess herself. The one form in which she holds a lotus, a noose, a fruit and a goad was the one that was current in westernmost parts of India in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.[4] The other two forms have (1) lotus, Aṅkuśa (goad), Varada pose, and a noose; and (2) a celestial fruit, Aṅkuśa (goad), Varada pose and a noose. These latter two varieties were current simultaneously among the Svetambaras.[5] A detailed discussion about the time and region of the prevalence of these different forms is, however, reserved for a separate paper.

ASOKE KUMAR BHATTACHARYYA.

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[1] Cf. v. 8—I.A., xl, p. 48.

[2] Cf. भैरवपद्मावतीकल्प—II, 12.

[3] Cf. प्रतिष्ठासारसंग्रह—quoted in Jaina Iconography, p. 144.

[4] Cf. पार्श्वनाथचरित by हेमचन्द्र quoted, *loc. cit.*

[5] Cf. अद्भुतपद्मावतीकल्प of चन्द्र—IV, 53 and p. 13 in Nawab's edition.

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THE HOME OF BHĀRAVI

No scholar is known to have discussed at length and critically the question of the exact home of Bhāravi. Bhāravi himself has nowhere in his own writings mentioned any royal court with which to connect him or referred to any places or historical events by which to determine his local environments and contemporaneity. So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, the Avantisundarīkathā, which is a work of doubtful authenticity, contains a tradition averring that the great poet Bhāravi was a native of Nasik and that King Viṣṇuvardhana of Kānchī was his royal patron. It will be seen that this tradition agrees so far with the conclusion arrived at in this paper from the internal data gathered from Bhāravi's own work Kirātārjunīyam, that it also connects Bhāravi's poetic career with the southern part of South India. The two inscriptions[1] in which we have incidental mention of Bhāravi are to be left out of account as having no bearing upon the point of issue.

There is a poetic tradition that the sun rises from the Udaya Mountain and sets behind the Asta Mountain. Bhāravi is aware of this tradition. In IX. 19 there is a reference to the rays of the rising moon obstructed by the mountain, i.e. the Udaya Mountain.[2] In XVIII. 47 there is a reference to the radiant sun rising from the Udaya Mountain.[3] In IX. 7 an enquiry is made about the setting sun as to where it has gone and in that connection three alternatives are suggested, viz. it has entered either the forests on the Asta Mountain or the sea or the earth.[4] The above-quoted instances prove his knowledge of the tradition. In spite of this he always describes the sun setting into the waters of the sea.[5] In IX. 23 it

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1 Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II and one of the Gaṅgā Inscriptions.

2 नीलनीरजनिभे हिमगौरं शैलरुद्धवपुषः सितरश्मेः ।
खे रराज निपतत्करजालं वारिधेः पयसि गाङ्गमिवाम्भः ॥ IX. 19.

3 असंहार्योत्साहं जयिनमुदयं प्राप्य तरसा
धुरं गुर्वीं वोढुं स्थितमनवसादाय जगतः ।
स्वधाम्ना लोकानां तमुपरि कृतस्थानममरा-
स्तपोलक्ष्म्या दीप्तं दिनकृतमिवोच्चैरुपजगुः ॥ XVIII. 47.

4 अग्रसानुषु नितान्तपिशङ्गैर्भूरुहान्मृदुकरैरवलम्ब्य ।
अस्तशैलगहनं नु विवस्वानाविवेश जलधिं नु महीं नु ॥ IX. 7.

5 विधिसमयनियोगाद्दीप्तिसंहारजिह्मं
शिथिलवसुमगाधे मग्नमापत्पयोधौ ।
रिपुतिमिरमुदस्योदीयमानं दिनादौ
दिनकृतमिव लक्ष्मीस्त्वां समभ्येतु भूयः ॥ I. 46.

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is expressly stated that the moon rises from the eastern sea.[1] We know that when the sun or the moon rises from the sea, just before the severance of its connection from the sea, it takes the shape of a jar and just at the moment of severance it seems that that jar is suddenly forcibly thrown upwards from below and its connection with the sea is severed. In IX. 32 it is said that the moon like a silvery jar is thrown upwards by night for the sake of the ablution of Cupid.[2] It shows that he has noticed the sight of the moon rising from the sea. From XVII. 39 we learn he knows both the eastern and the western seas.[3] His reference to four seas in II. 23 is traditional and is only for a comparison.[4] It is evident from the above that he is a native of the southernmost part of India where both the seas can be seen.

In XVIII. 5 we find the waves of the sea striking against the Sahya Mountain.[5] In XIV. 1 Bhāravi has marked the waves of the sea dashing against hills.[6] His mention of the Sahya Mountain is rather misleading, for nowhere the sea really strikes against it. On the western side of India to which Sahya Mountain belongs, in Travancore 'along the coast are white sand dunes and areas of red sand or teri. These last stand high, though close to the coast, and are a well-known landmark for mariners. Westward of Cape Comorin are a few fringing reefs of dead coral' (vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Travancore State, p. 4). Also here 'from the main range of the ghats rocky spurs run out towards the west, in some cases to within a short distance of the sea' (vide the same, p. 3). Now on the western coast of India these are the hills against which the waves of the sea can dash and they are all in Travancore or near it.

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1 दीपयन्नथ नभः किरणौघैः कुङ्कुमारुणपयोधरगौरः ।
हेमकुम्भ इव पूर्वपयोधेरुन्ममज्ज शनकैस्तुहिनांशुः ॥ IX. 23.

2 संविधातुमभिषेकमुदासे मन्मथस्य लसदंशुजलौघः ।
यामिनीवनितया ततचिक्षः सोत्पलो रजतकुम्भ इवेन्दुः ॥ IX. 32.

3 बभार शून्याकृतिरर्जुनस्थौ महेषुधी वीतमहेषुजालौ ।
युगान्तसंशुष्कजलौ विजिह्मः पूर्वापरौ लोक इवाम्बुराशी ॥ XVII. 39.

4 द्विरदानिव दिग्विभावितांश्चतुरस्तोयनिधीनिवायतः ।
प्रसहेत रणे तवानुजाद्विषतां कः शतमन्युतेजसः ॥ II. 23.

5 उरसि शूलभृतः प्रहिता मुहुः प्रतिहतिं ययुरर्जुनमुष्टयः ।
भुजरया इव सह्यमहीभृतः पृथुनि रोधसि सिन्धुमहोर्मयः ॥ XVIII. 5.

6 ततः किरातस्य वचोभिरुद्धतैः पराहतः शैल इवार्णवाम्बुभिः ।
जहौ न धैर्यं कुपितोऽपि पाण्डवः सुदुर्धरात्मा करुणा हि साधवः ॥ XIV. 1.

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In XIII. 70 the Kirata king, surrounded by the soldiers armed with sharp weapons and not doing any harm to Arjuna because of decorum, is compared to the wavy sea checked by some embankment.[1] We know that a comparison is made of a less known thing to a more known thing to make the former clearer. So the sight of the waves of the sea stopped by some embankment is familiar to Bhāravi. Where is this embankment? Is it a reference to the Great Dam on the west side of the Pamban Pass consisting of large masses of sandstone, all having a more or less flat surface which are said to have once formed part of the causeway extending across the mainland? Or is it a reference to the famous sand bar of Travancore which separates the lagoons or the back-waters from the sea? Whatever it may be, these are the only embankments on the coast of India which can stop the wavy sea.

In II. 40 it is said that the sea previously beaten by Bhīma through calmness has now become superior to him who has shown an untimely outburst of mind.[2] This shows that Bhāravi knows a calm sea. Where is this sea? The seas of India are full of waves. Only in Travancore 'a phenomenon which has given rise to no small discussion is the remarkable mud-bank lying in the sea 6 miles south of Alleppey. This is about 4 miles long by 1½ miles wide and is affected by tidal action. It operates in a remarkable way to prevent the formation of waves; the soft oily mud mingles with the sea-water when the heavy ocean waves touch the bank, and so smother their crests that the water inside the bank is quite smooth and forms an admirable anchorage' (vide I.G.I., 1908, Travancore, p. 4). Has Bhāravi referred to this portion of the sea?

In XV. 32 there is a reference to the other side of the sea.[3] We rarely see the other side of the sea and if there is the other side that other side must be an island in the sea which can be seen with naked eyes. This island may be Pamban Island on the south-east coast, separated from the mainland by the narrow Pamban Pass 1,350 yards in width, or the coral girt Hare Island situated 2½ miles from Tuticorin, or Vypeen Island on the west coast, 14¾ miles in length bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea and cut off from

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1 दृश्यतामयमनोकहान्तरे तिग्महेतिपृतनाभिरन्वितः ।
साहिवीचिरिव सिन्धुरुद्धतो भूपतिः समयसेतुवारितः ॥ XIII. 70.

2 किमसामयिकं वितन्वता मनसः क्षोभमुपात्तरंहसः ।
क्रियते पतिरुच्चकैरपां भवता धीरतयाधरीकृतः ॥ II. 40.

3 महेषुजलधौ शत्रोर्वर्त्तमाना दुरुत्तरे ।
प्राप्य पारमिवेशानमाशश्वास पताकिनी ॥ XV. 32.

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the land on the north, south and east by the mouths of the Cramganore and Cochin rivers and the back-water, or the island known as Sacrifice Rock situated about 8 miles out at sea, to the north of Quilandi in Malabar (vide Madras Presidency—Prov. Geog. of India Series, pp. 32–36).

From a study of the Kirātārjunīyam it is clear that the poet is very fond of the sea[1] and the elephant.[2] Whenever he finds an opportunity he refers to them or draws similes from them. In XV. 17, XVII. 22 and VIII. 43 there are references to the lake.[3] In his description of forests he almost always refers to the sandalwood trees. In VIII. 12 table-lands abounding in the vegetation of sandalwood tree are described.[4] Now all these things, viz. the sea, the elephant, the lake and the sandalwood tree, can be found together only in Travancore, the lake being the famous back-waters or lagoons extending along the coast from the northernmost frontier of Travancore to Trivandrum.

The use of the word Gopura in the sense of a palace-gate or a city-gate proves the South Indian origin of Bhāravi,[5] only because this word in this sense is prevalent only in the south.

His description of autumn or Śarad season of the place between Dvaita forest (somewhere in the Punjab or the western U.P.) and the Himalayas does not tally with the geographical peculiarities of that place, because according to him in Śarad there is water in the fields of Kalama or rice[6] and śāli or rice ripens as the water in

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[1] II. 23, III. 60, IX. 19, XI. 40, XII. 7, etc.

[2] I. 16, II. 6, III. 38, VII. 8, etc.

[3] (*a*) चोभेन तेनाथ गणाधिपानां भेदं ययावाकृतिरीश्वरस्य ।
तरङ्गकम्पेन महाह्रदानां छायामयस्येव दिनस्य भर्तुः ॥ XVII. 22.

(*b*) भवद्भिरधुनारातिपरिक्षापितपौरुषैः ।
ह्रदैरिवार्कनिष्पीतैः प्राप्तः पङ्के दुरुत्तरः ॥ XV. 17.

(*c*) ह्रदाम्भसि व्यस्तवधूकराङ्कते रवं मृदङ्गध्वनिधीरमुज्झति ।
मुञ्चः स्तनैस्तालसमं समाददे मनोरमं नृत्यमिव प्रवेपितम् ॥ VIII. 43.

[4] उपेयुषीणां दृढतीरधित्यका मनांसि जह्रुः सुरराजयोषिताम् ।
कपोलकाषैः करिणां मदारुणैरुपाहितश्यामरुचश्च चन्दनाः ॥ VIII. 12.

[5] (*a*) दधतमुच्चगिलान्तरगोपुराः पुर इवोदितपुष्पवना भुवः । V. 5.

(*b*) व्यधत्त यस्मिन् पुरमुच्चगोपुरं पुरां विजेतुर्धृतये धनाधिपः । V. 35.

(*c*) सुराङ्गना गोपतिचापगोपुरं पुरं वनानां विजिहीर्षया जह्रुः । VIII. 1.

[6] तुतोष पश्यन् कलमस्य सोऽधिकं सवारिजे वारिणि रामणीयकम् ।
सुदुर्लभे नार्हति कोऽभिनन्दितुं प्रकर्षलक्ष्मीमनुरूपसङ्गमे ॥ IV. 4.

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the field dries up.[1] But this description well applies to Travancore. His description of other seasons also well suits the actual conditions in Travancore.

In XII. 51 it is related that the beasts of Mount Indrakīla being frightened by the attendants of Śiva rushed to the lakes on that hill and make the water agitated.[2] Which are these panic-stricken beasts? In the two preceding verses Mahiṣas (bison) and elephants are mentioned and it is strange that Mahiṣa is mentioned only here and nowhere else in the Kirātārjunīyam. Hence it is expected that Bhāravi knows some lakes in some hills haunted by elephants, Mahiṣas (bisons), etc. As a matter of fact in Travancore 'the Periyar Lake, the Sportsman's Paradise situated in the Pariyar hills, is the haunt of wild elephant, bison, deer, tiger, etc.' (vide South India Article on Travancore—published by the Central Publicity Officer, Indian State Railways, Delhi).

In IV. 33 it is said that in Śarad when the crops are ripening the deer are so absorbed in listening to the songs of Gopī (milk-women or protectresses of paddy fields) that they forget to approach the crops.[3] In Śarad Bhāravi must have observed the sight of women singing outdoors in fields so that they may be heard by the deer. But it is no common sight in India. Only in Malabar ballads 'in popular tunes are sung by the people at large in chorus and are commonly heard in fields at the beginning and end of the harvest season' (vide Ballads of Malabar by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon in summaries of papers submitted to the 12th session of the All-India Oriental Conference). This shows his acquaintance with Malabar.

From the above observations it is extremely clear that Bhāravi belongs to that region of India where the sea is seen on the western side and at some part of which the sea is seen also on the eastern side. According to the description some hills are so near the coast that the waves of the sea may strike against them and the place

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1 क्वसावनास्थापरयावधौरितः सरोरुहिण्या शिरसा नमन्नपि ।
उपैति शुष्यन् कलमः सहाम्भसा मनोभुवा तप्त इवाभिपाण्डुताम् ॥ IV. 34.

2 (a) मथितास्भसो रयविकीर्णमृदितकदलीगवेधुकाः ।
क्लान्तजलरुहलताः सरसीर्विदधे निदाघ इव सत्त्वसंप्लवः ॥ XII. 51.

(b) महिषत्वतागुरुतमालनलदसुरभिः सदागतिः । XII. 50.

(c) पङ्कविषमितनटाः सरितः करिरुग्नचन्दनरसारुणं पयः । XII. 49.

3 कृतावधानं जितबर्हिणध्वनौ सुरक्तगोपीजनगीतनिःस्वने ।
इदं जिघत्सामपहाय भूयसीं न सस्यमभ्येति मृगीकदम्बकम् ॥ IV. 33.

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has an embankment checking the waves of the sea and includes an island so near the coast that the other side can be seen with naked eyes. The place is described as having the sea, the elephant, the chandana tree together and in which some lakes are to be found. In that very country the word Gopura is known in the sense of a gate and in which in Śarad water remains in rice-fields and water dries up gradually as the rice ripens. In the same country a calm sea is visible and in which there is a lake in hills and in harvest season women sing in fields so that they may be heard by deer. The only place which satisfies the above conditions appears to be Travancore and adjoining regions in South India. Hence we are fully justified in holding the view that Bhāravi was probably a native of Travancore.

In this connection it is necessary to mention that Bhāravi had imperfect knowledge of Northern India and the Himalayan regions as much as his description of the Śarad season of a place between Dvaita-vana (in the Punjab or the western U.P.) and the Himalayas does not tally with the physical conditions of that place and also because he finds pearl-oyster,[1] coral[2] and the water-elephant[3] (Hippopotamus) in Mount Indrakīla which is a part of the Himalayan range.

NIBARAN CHUNDER CHATTERJEE.

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[1] प्रतिबोधज्वभणविभिन्नमुखी पुलिने सरोरुहदृशा ददृशे।
पतदच्छमौक्तिकमणिप्रकरा गलदश्रुविन्दुरिव शुक्तिवधूः॥ VI. 12.

[2] शुचिरम्बु विद्रुमलताविटपस्खनुसान्द्रफेनलवसंवलितः।
स्मरदायिनः स्मरयति स्म भृशं दयिताधरस्य दशनांशुभृतः॥ VI. 13.

[3] उपलभ्य चञ्चलतरङ्गधृतं मदगन्धमुत्थितवतां पयसः।
प्रतिदन्तिनामिव स संबुबुधे करियादसामभिमुखान्करिणः॥ VI. 14.

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REVIEWS

THE RUINS OF DABHOI OR DARBHAVATĪ IN BARODA STATE by Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda Śāstrī. Gaekwad's Archaeological Series, Memoir No. III, Baroda State Press, 1940.

This memoir may justly be regarded as a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier publication entitled 'The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat' by the late Dr. J. Burgess and Mr. M. Cousens of the Archaeological Survey of India. The interest of the new materials added lies in the fact that they have helped the author to 'establish the date of the monuments with certainty'. The identification of the names of the architects settling their age is a creditable performance. The main purpose of the memoir, however, is to furnish the visitors from all parts of India to the monuments at Dabhoi with a reliable and handy guide-book. Besides the references to Dabhoi in literature and in inscriptions and the text and translation of the Someśvara *praśasti*, the Marathi inscription and the inscription near Ganje Shahid, the memoir contains an useful structural description of the Hira, Mahuḍi, and Nāndod Gates, the Kālikā-mātā and Vaidyanātha temples. The sculptures on these monuments are fully described, and the excellent illustrations have enriched the publication. The Māmā Dokri's Stone with a boy trying to crawl through the hole is but 'a stone ring used for ordeals in deciding suspected persons' guilt or innocence by subjecting them to the physical test of passing through it'. The readers interested in the critical study of the antiquities of Dabhoi will surely find this book useful and instructive.

B. M. BARUA.

JĀTAKA PĀLI, Part I, Nipātas 1–10, by Nārada Thera. Vajirārāma Tipiṭaka Edition, Vol. I, Royal 8vo, 1944.

This handy but critical edition of the Jātaka Pāli is a creditable work on the part of the Venerable Thera of the Vajirārāma Vihāra of Ceylon. Here an attempt has been made for the first time to separate the Canonical text of the Jātakas from the Commentary in which it remained so far embedded. The author has proceeded apparently to prepare the edition on the assumption that the Jātakas in the Canonical text were entirely composed of verses which, however, is still debatable and doubtful. There are a few Jātakas, e.g., the Valāhassa, that are conspicuous by the absence of any verse in them. The first four Nikāyas contain a few Suttanta Jātakas that consist mostly of prose like the Jātakas in the extant Commentary version. It should also be borne in mind that the Abhisambuddha *gāthās* were obviously later additions. To be on the safe-side the author ought to have stated in the Preface that by the Jātaka Pāli he means no more than the verses contained and explained in the Commentary. The verses without *vyākaraṇas* or glosses are in many places unintelligible. The author may be requested to include them in a separate part. On the whole, the author has removed a long-felt want by the publication of this valuable and useful work.

B. M. BARUA.

RIVERS OF INDIA AND MOUNTAINS OF INDIA by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.B., F.B.B.R.A.S. (Historico-Geographical Studies), published by the Calcutta Geographical Society (1944). Publication Nos. 5 and 6.

The above two volumes are publications of the Calcutta Geographical Society. Their author, Dr. Law, needs no introduction to scholars interested in the field of Indology.

India is a land of rivers that have nursed ancient cultures, and mountains of awe-inspiring grandeur, and they add to her historical stature. Strangely enough, we are apt to accept their modern names and functions without an inquisitiveness into their past. Dr. Law has thrown his vast erudition into the scale and has been able to locate almost all the important rivers and mountains in Rig Veda, Puranas, the Mahabharata, historical writings of the Greek and Chinese scholars, to name

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only a few among the sources mentioned by the author. He has delved deep into both Hindu and Buddhist scriptures to discover that most of the topographic elements are as old as Indian history itself.

In the volume on Rivers of India, Dr. Law has carefully classified the rivers of India before explaining their main characteristics. Since the rivers of Northern India are more important than those of south India, Dr. Law has devoted more pages to the former than to the latter. The perennial nature of north Indian rivers has given rise to cheap hydro-electricity, a fact of very great consequence on the industrial development of India, particularly in regions deficient in coal and hence the justification of devoting more pages to the north Indian rivers.

Not only does the hydrology of a country form the basic study of any region but helps the development of trade and commerce in any country. An intimate knowledge of the rivers of India and a treatise on that subject was an urgent necessity to the Indian scholars which has been largely fulfilled by the author. We offer him our congratulations for the fulfilment of the long-felt want.

In the volume designated 'Mountains of India' the author has rightly stressed that 'from the tectonic point of view the geographers of ancient India were justified in including the mountains on the north-west, Sulaiman and Kirthar, and the mountains on the north-east—the Naga, etc., under the Himalayan system, as it has now been definitely proved that these mountains, which are known by different names today, were integral parts of the same sediments which got uplifted during the Himalayan Orogenies, and subsequently separated from each other by erosion'. Such historical studies, moreover, indicate that the christening of the great mountains like the Himalaya, Mekhala, etc. are linked up with one of their most significant features.

The works are not so much essays on the problems of rivers and mountains but rather historical sketches of them. Thus they are limited in their objectivity. A nation must learn about its past in order to mould its future. To re-discover its past tantamounts to a realization of its soul. Historical geographers will certainly find these two works as valuable guides.

S. P. CHATTERJEE.

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS by U. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta, 1944). Pages xvi+320. Price Rs.8 or 16 shillings.

Professor U. N. Ghoshal's eminence in the region of indological studies has been well recognized for many years now by all students of Indian history and culture. They would welcome the present publication in which Dr. Ghoshal collects his interesting and scholarly discussions of various difficult problems contributed to learned periodicals from time to time, and adds to the collection a few essays published here for the first time—particularly bearing on Vedic historical tradition, Vedic assemblies, and the constitutional significance of coronation ceremonies. Much of the contents of the volume is necessarily polemical, but Dr. Ghoshal's wide scholarship, scrupulous fairness in controversy and sound critical judgement are apparent on almost every page of this collection which will take a secure place by the side of his other works. The choice of the topics for discussion which range from revenue terms to Śākta art, and the suggestive lines of enquiry opened up in these essays, are highly commendable; there is also a remarkable freedom from dogmatism, and nowhere does Dr. Ghoshal appear to claim that his is the last word on a matter. Readers may differ from Dr. Ghoshal's views on particular subjects; for instance, the present writer has some difficulty in following the interpretations offered by some texts relating to royal ownership of the soil in Essay VI; but these differences in no way detract from the merit of Dr. Ghoshal's stimulating essays and they will be read with profit by all serious students of Indian history.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

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ANIMALS IN EARLY JAIN AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By B. C. Law

Manmohan Chakravarti's monograph on '*Animals in the Inscriptions of Piyadasi*' published in the *Memoirs* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is a pioneer work. B. M. Barua's notes on animals in Asoka's Pillar Edict V and those in Barhut reliefs are informative and interesting. My own article entitled '*Studies in the Apadana*' published in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 13 of 1937, was intended just to give an incentive to competent scholars for a systematic treatment of the subject. In the present article I have put together some more interesting information unnoticed by previous writers, which may be culled from the Pali Canon and its commentaries, as to the habitats, instincts and habits of the beasts, birds, insects and aquatic animals.

On the purely scientific side we have, first of all, the broad distinction of the fauna from the flora as *jangamas* (those capable of locomotion) from *sthāvaras* (those wanting in it). Secondly, we find them classified, according to modes of generation, into four kinds, viz. *jarāyuja* (womb-born, viviparous), *aṇḍaja* (egg-born, oviparous), *svedaja* (moisture-sprung), and *opapātika* (*aupapāduka, sui generis*). They are classified, according to the number of feet, into *dipada* (bipeds), *catuppada* (quadrupeds), *chappada* (sexapedes), *satapadī* (centipedes), and the like. They are distinguished also, according to the number of senses possessed by them, into *ekindriya* (those endowed with one sense), *dvi-indriya* (those with two senses), and so on, the maximum number traditionally recognized going up to six.[1] They are distinguished as terrestrial (*thalagocarā*) and aquatic (*jalagocarā*).[2] The snakes are distinguished as *bhujaṅgas* (those moving or crawling on the belly). They are further differentiated as those which are domestic (*ghara, gāma*) and those which are wild (*āraññaka*). The ferocious animals are broadly classed as *vāḷas*. The reptiles are classed as *sariṃsapā*. The beasts pass as *pasavo*, while the insects are denoted by the word *kīṭa-paṭaṅgā*. A distinction is also drawn between vertebrates (*aṭṭhikā*) and invertebrates (*anaṭṭhikā*). The harmless beasts and birds are called *apravṛttavadhas* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (II. 26) while the ferocious ones are given the name of '*pravṛttahiṃsas*'. The beasts and birds associated with hermitages (*āśramavāsikas*) were regarded as *sacrosancts* (*maṅgalyas*). The animals that were granted by kings the boon of 'no fear' were known as abhayaladdhakā migā.[3] Just as in English the word *deer* denotes either all animals or only antelopes, so does the word *miga* in Pali or *mṛga* in Sanskrit. Beasts and birds (*miga-pakkhi*, Skt. *pakṣi-mṛgā*) is the convenient phrase employed to denote all animals. The Jaina *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* mentions the following kinds of animals: (1) those who are produced from eggs such as birds, (2) from a fetus such as elephants, etc., (3) from a fetus with an enveloping membrane such as cows, buffaloes, etc., (4) from fluids such as worms, etc., (5) from sweat such as bugs, lice, etc., (6) by coagulation such as locusts, ants, etc., (7) from sprouts such as butterflies, wagtails, etc. (Book I. 6. 2).

Among the quadrupeds that are broadly classed as beasts, the lion is recognized as their king, precisely as the golden mallard (*suvaṇṇa haṃsa*) is the king of the birds and as the ānanda (leviathan) is the king of the fishes. Just as Sakka is often represented as *Sakko devānaṃ indo*, Sakka, the king of the gods, so the lion is introduced as *sīho migarājā*, lion, the king of deer. In the *Apaṇṇaka Jātaka* (No. 1), the lion and other wild beasts of prey (*sīhādi*) find mention as *vāḷas* (*vyāḷas*). In the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 2), they are mentioned as *vyāḷamṛgāyukāh*. The beast of prey next to the lion in strength is the tiger as we find in the phrase—*sīhavyagghā*. The bear and the hyena are similarly grouped together (*accha-taracchā*). Likewise, due

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[1] *Dīgha*, i, p. 70; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i, p. 182.

[2] *Jātaka*, II, 159.

[3] *Jātaka*, I, 152.

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to their physical likeness, the wolves and jackals (*vaka-bheraṇḍakā*) go together. Like the English vermin, the Pali word *ukkapiṇḍaka*[1] means such troublesome quadrupeds as 'cats, mice, lizards and mungooses'. The harmless quadrupeds are described as *dāntamṛgas* in the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 2). Though the crocodiles belong to the group of lizards, they are classed from their main habitat as aquatic. Though the tortoises are quadrupeds, they are generally grouped with fishes (*maccha-kacchapā*).

According to the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (Lec. XXXVI), the quadrupeds and reptiles are the two kinds of terrestrial animals. The quadrupeds are of four kinds (179):—

(1) Solidungular animals such as horses, etc.,
(2) Biungular animals such as cows, etc.,
(3) Multiungular animals such as elephants, etc., and
(4) Animals having toes with nails such as lions, etc. (180; cf. *Sūtra-kritāṅga*, 2, 3, 23).

The same *Sūtra* further points out that the reptiles are of two kinds: (1) those which walk on their arms such as lizards, etc., and (2) those which move on their breasts such as snakes, etc. Both are again of many kinds (181). The animals which possess five organs of senses are of two kinds: those which originate by *generatio aequivoca* and those which are born from the wombs (171). According to the *Sūtrakritāṅga* (2, 3, 26), the winged animals are of four kinds: (1) those with membranous wings, e.g. bats, (2) those with feathered wings, (3) those with wings in the shape of a box—these interesting birds are said to live outside the world inhabited by men, and (4) those which sit on outspread wings (cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Lec. XXXVI, 187).

The *Sūtrakritāṅga* (2, 3, 25) refers to terrestrial animals with five organs of senses, walking on their arms, e.g. iguanas, ichneumons, porcupines, frogs, chameleons, rats, cats, mungooses, scorpions, lizards and other small quadrupeds.

Birds are made to converse pleasantly with men in human language[2] and their cry was understood with ease.[3] There are some birds which cry during the day, e.g. crow, etc., and there are some which cry during the night, e.g. owls, etc.[4] Kakutthakā and Pokkharasātakā are the birds of woods and lakes. Noisy parrots, sweet songs of cuckoos and gentle songs of Myna birds are mentioned in early Buddhist texts.[5] The Himalayan forests are said to have abounded in elephants living in herds or as rogues distinguished as dwarfish (*vāmanikā*), *uccākaḷārakā*, *uccākaṇerukā* and *chaddantā* (six-tusked). They contained horses of diverse breeds. They abounded in reptiles, pythons, snakes, etc. There were watery snakes feeding on green frogs and iguanas. The rivers were full of porpoises, crocodiles and alligators. The rivers and lakes contained fish such as *maggurā* (Indian *Māgura* found in ponds, *bhills* and *khals*), *muñjarohitā*, *pāṭhinā*, and crabs (*kulirakā*). There were many birds such as ruddy-geese[6] (*cascara nutila*, some call it a brāhmaṇī duck), ducks, golden swans, sweet-voiced cuckoos, cranes, herons, owls, birds of ill omen, crows, doves, pigeons, eagles, vultures, partridges, peacocks, etc. The *supannā* or *garuḍas* dwell in silk cotton trees in the Himalayan region.[7] They possess great strength. They strike snakes with their beaks and split open their bellies. After having eaten the fat, they drop the body.[8] It is a mythical bird. The cry of jackals was understood with ease.[9] There was in Benares a priest who used to understand the language and lamentation of animals.[10] While learning arts at Takkhasilā, a young man acquired a spell for the understanding of all animals' cries.[11]

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[1] *Vinaya*, I, pp. 211, 239, Aśoka's *Okapiṃde*, P.E.V.
[2] *Jātaka*, No. 534.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 482.
[4] *Papañcasūdanī*, I, 121-122.
[5] *Dīgha*, III, pp. 201-202.
[6] The eating of its flesh is specially forbidden (*Gautama*, XVII, 28; *Vaśiṣṭha*, XIV, 48).
[7] *Jātaka*, No. 543.
[8] *Ibid.*, Nos. 543 and 154.
[9] *Jātaka*, No. 482.
[10] *Ibid.*, 34.
[11] *Ibid.*, 416.

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A. *Beasts*

Lion[1]—dwells in caves on hills (*Jāt.*, Nos. 17, 157). It scans the valleys from the mountain top to see whether there is any elephant, horse or buffalo about or any other animal; it nimbly comes down and slays the beast even if it were a rutting elephant and devours the prime of the carcass (*Jātaka*, Nos. 143, 157, 335). It eats boar (*Ibid.*, No. 153) and is very fond of doe (*Ibid.*, No. 93). It feeds upon raw flesh and blood (*Ibid.*, No. 536). There are four kinds of lions: (1) lion living on grass, (2) black lion, (3) light yellow lion, and (4) lion having a big mane. The lion living on grass is like a cow having the colour of a pigeon. The black lion is like the black cow living on grass. The light yellow lion is like the cow having the colour of a *palāsa* tree living on flesh and the last kind of lion has a very big mane on the shoulder and its face is of the colour of lac and its tail extends up to its feet. The mane is divided into three rows resting on the right side and going along the back.[2] The *Sīhakoṭṭhuka Jātaka* (No. 188) furnishes us with an instance of a cross-breed. A lion had a cub by a she-jackal which mated with it. The cub was just like its sire in toes, claws, mane, colour and figure but in voice it was like its dam. The lion is of a clear, stainless and pure light yellow colour. It has four paws and is rapid in its gait. It has a beautiful coat of hair. It does not bow down before a man. It eats regularly. Wherever its prey falls, it eats whatever it requires and does not want the best morsels of flesh. It is not a storer of what it eats. When it has once eaten its prey, it does not return to it again. If a lion does not get any food, it is not alarmed. If it does, it eats it without craving.[3]

Tiger[4]—lives in mountain caves (*Jāt.*, Nos. 17, 492) and eats meat (*Ibid.*, No. 492) and devours men also (*Ibid.*, No. 80). Speckled panther (Dipī) is mentioned in the *Jātaka* (No. 510). A female panther conceives only once and does not resort again and again to the male.[5] A male panther lying in ambush in wild places behind a thicket of long grass or brushwood or among the rocks catches the deer. It will never eat the beast it has killed, if it has fallen on the left side.[6]

Bear (Bhalluka or Accha)—makes a meal of ants upon the ant-heap (*Jātaka* No. 490).

Elephant (Mātaṅga).[7]—The elephant is of two colours: (1) black rock colour (*Jātaka*, No. 463), and (2) white all over (*Ibid.*, No. 455). The *Sīlavanāga Jātaka* (No. 72) records that the white elephant looks like a mighty mass of silver; its eyes are bright like diamond balls; its mouth is red like scarlet cloth; its trunk is like silver flecked with red gold and its four feet are as if polished with lac. Such an elephant is to be found in the Himalayas (cf. *Jātaka*, Nos. 122, 455). Some elephants have six tusks which are like chariot-poles (*Jātaka*, No. 514). With its bulky body, it can climb the mountain, stand on three legs, two fore-legs, two hind legs and one leg also (*Jātaka*, No. 122). It eats grass and leaves (*Jātaka*, No. 409). It frequents cool and limpid pools (*Jātaka*, No. 455). It is fascinated by a favourite lute (*Jātaka*, No. 545). It is faithful, obedient and grateful. It is eager to make itself useful to those who do good to it (*Jātaka*, No. 156). The news of the death of its master is heart-breaking to it and it moans and laments greatly (*Jātaka*, No. 156). But the *Indasamānagotta Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, No. 161) says that when elephants grow up they kill even those who foster them, seize them in their trunks, dash them to the ground and kill them with blows on their heads (*Jātaka*, No. 161). When infuriated the elephant raises its right foot and crushes the enemy, trampling the bones into powder. Then pounding the carcass into a mass, and dunging upon it, the elephant dashes trumpeting into the forest (*Jātaka*, No. 143). The elephant is naturally endowed with the gift of learning well about which it is trained (*Jātaka*, No. 122). It pulls up trees, rolls up with its trunk the logs when chopped by cutters (*Jātaka*, No. 156). It is yoked to carts as a substitute for oxen (*Jātaka*, No. 409). It is

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1 Barua, *Barhut*, III, figs. 4, 13A, 13B and 54; cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XX, 14.
2 *Sāratthapakāsinī*, II, p. 283.
3 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 400-401.
4 Barua, *Barhut*, III, figs. 55 and 70.
5 *Milindapañho*, p. 368.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 369.
7 *Barhut*, III, figs. 32, 50; cf. *Uvāsagadasāo* (Lec. I, sec. 51. Ed. Hoernle).

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employed as a king's messenger (*Jātaka*, No. 409) and is used for military purposes (*Jātaka*, No. 547). It is trained to stand firm under attack (*Jātaka*, No. 531). In battle it fights with weapons bound on its breast and crushes the enemy (*Jātaka*, No. 409). It is invincible in might and as swift as the wind to guard or strike (*Jātaka*, No. 514). It is employed by king's orders to trample offenders to death (*Jātaka*, No. 31). The *Mahilāmukha Jātaka* (No. 26) says that State-elephants never hurt anybody. According to the *Dummedha Jātaka* (No. 122), the elephant has the power to journey through the air. A well-trained State-elephant flew through the air from Rājagṛha to Benares. Such an elephant is said to bring luck to its possessor (cf. *Jātaka*, No. 547). The *Jātaka* (No. 163) refers to elephant lore (*hastisūtra* or *hastisikkhā*) and elephant festival. Many elephants were set in array, well decorated with golden trappings, golden flags and network of fine gold and the place where this festival was held was decked out (*Jātaka*, No. 163). There is a mention of ten species of elephants without any detail.[1] The Chaddantā is a superior class of elephant noted for ivory.[2] An elephant as it walks about crushes the earth. It turns its whole body when it looks, it looks straight and it does not glance round this way and that way. It has no fixed place of abode. It does not frequent the same spot while seeking its food. It revels in water, plunging into lotus ponds full of clear pure cool water (*Milinda*, p. 398). An elephant lifts up its foot with care and puts it down with care (*Ibid.*, p. 399).

According to the *Sūtrakritāṅga* (2, 7, 52) and the *Aupapātika Sūtra* (Ed. Leumann, sec. 74) Hastitāpasas are named from the fact that every year a big elephant is killed and they live on its flesh for a year or for six months. The *Kalpasūtra* (44) mentions fighting elephants (*Saṃsaktas*).

Deer.—Two kinds of deer, red and dappled, are mentioned in the *Jātakas* (No. 547, cf. No. 20). The deer is a beautiful and graceful creature of the colour of gold.[3] It is known as the Dapple deer.[4] Its fore and hind feet are covered with a preparation of lac. Its horns are like a silver wreath, its eyes resemble round jewels, and its mouth is like a ball of crimson wools (*Jātaka*, No. 359; cf. *Jātaka*, Nos. 12 and 482). Its tail is like that of a yak (*Jātaka*, No. 12). It has twice four-hoofs to run (*Jātaka*, No. 15). There is a spotted deer (*pasadā*) in the *Apadāna*.

The deer usually lives near rivers in a clump of sāla trees mixed with fair-flowering mangoes (*Jātaka*, No. 482; cf. *Jātaka*, No. 206). The deer usually eats soft green grass (*Ibid.*, No. 157) from a surfeit of which it is attacked with indigestion and dies (*Ibid.*, No. 372). It devours crops also (*Ibid.*, No. 482).

The deer is clever to clear of arrows. When the shafts come straight at it, it stands still and lets them fly, when they come from behind, it outflies them faster; if they fall from above, it bends the back; if from the side, it swerves a little; if the shafts are aimed at the belly, it rolls right over and when they have gone by, off go the deer swift as a cloud which the wind scatters (*Ibid.*, No. 483).

When a deer gets wounded, it does not fall at once. It spurs on by the force of the arrow, it flees with the blood flowing down and then drops down (*Ibid.*, No. 543; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 12).

The deer employs six tricks to cheat the foes. It takes three postures—on its back or sides. It uses eight hoofs and never slakes its thirst save at midnight. It seems lifeless when it lies couched on earth and breathes only with its under-nostril (*Ibid.*, No. 16; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 15). The deer adopts rouses to escape. On being caught in a snare, the young stag does not struggle but lies down at full length on its side, with its legs stretched out taut and rigid. It paws up the ground round its hoofs so as to shower the grass and the earth about, relieves nature, lets its head fall, lolls out its tongue, beslavers its body all over, swells itself out by drawing in the wind, turns up its eyes, breathes only with the lower nostril holding its breath with the upper one and makes itself generally so rigid and stiff as to look like a corpse. Even the blue-bottles swarm round it and here and there crows settle. Thinking the stag to be dead, the hunter looses it from its bonds (cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 2, 2,

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[1] *Papañcasudanī*, II, p. 6.
[2] *Barhut*, III, fig. 128; cf. *Uvāsagadasāo*, I, 51.
[3] *Jātaka*, No. 501.
[4] *Barhut*, III, figs. 88, 89, etc., *Cittamiga*.

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36). While he is thus engaged in making arrangements for cutting the stag, the latter rises to its feet, shakes itself, stretches out its neck and like a little cloud scudding before a mighty wind, runs away (*Ibid.*, No. 16).

In the forest in Magadha there were innumerable deer. Villagers used to shoot and kill them (*Ibid.*, No. 11). Magadha folk used to post themselves in ambush by the road and shoot deer (*Ibid.*, No. 13).

The deer is devoted to its hind (*Ibid.*, No. 418).

The doe is a handsome creature and lives happily and harmoniously with its mate (*Ibid.*, No. 359).

Eṇi is a kind of antelope. The wind-antelope is very timid. It will never revisit a spot where it has seen a man even for a whole week. If it has once been frightened anywhere, it never goes there again all its life long. It is fond of honey.[1]

A deer frequents the forest by day and spends the night in the open air (*Milinda*, p. 395). When a javelin or an arrow is falling upon a deer, it dodges it and escapes and does not allow its body to remain there. A deer as soon as it sees men escapes this way or that way (*Ibid.*, p. 396).

Mṛga or deer is found in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 173, 2; VIII, 1, 20, etc.) and later (*Atharvaveda*, IV, 3. 6; X, 1. 26; *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 7. 10; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 31. 2; VIII, 23. 3, etc.). It is mentioned in the *Carakasaṃhitā*.[2] Hariṇa, Eṇa, Kālaka, Saṃvara, Ruru, Kadalī, Kuraṅga, Citrapṛṣṭa and Kākuli—all these mean mṛga, deer. In the *Jātakas* (Nos. 535, 545 and 547) various kinds of deer are mentioned: Eṇeyya, Pasāda, Rohita, Sarabha, Camarī, Calanī, Laṅghī, Dīpi, Kālakā, Pacālakā, Citrakā, Kadalī, Ruru, etc. Kṛṣṇasāramṛga or the black antelope is the best of the deer.[3]

Boar.—The boar lives with sows and young pigs in a pit (*Jātaka*, No. 388). Boars usually live in herds. They are not so dull as they appear to be. Young boars grub away the earth from the roots of a tree and the sows bring as much water as their mouths would hold till the tree stands upright bare down to the roots. The strongest of them going down on its knees strikes at the roots with its tusk, cleans through the root it cuts as if with an axe and the tree comes down (*Ibid.*, No. 492).

The boar if reared when young, gets tamed and does the work of a servant. A carpenter's tame boar used to turn over trees with its snout and to bring them to him, used to hitch the measuring line around its tusk, pull it along, fetch and carry adze, chisel and mallet in its teeth (*Ibid.*, No. 492; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 283).

The sow is cowardly. It leaves its children in fear of death (*Ibid.*, No. 388). Big boars have curved tusks (*Ibid.*, No. 283).

Pigs are reared to be eaten by men specially drunkards (*Ibid.*, No. 388). Wild boars are cooked and eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 186).

A boar resorts to the water in the sultry and scorching weather of the hot season. It resorting to muddy water digs into the swamp with its nose and making a trough for itself lies down therein (*Milinda*, p. 397).

Jackal.—There are he-jackals and she-jackals.[4] There was a cross-breed between a lion and a she-jackal with the result that the cub was just like its father in toes, claws, manes, colour and figure but in voice it was just like its dam.[5] The jackal enjoys the reputation of being the most cunning of all beasts (*Jātaka*, Nos. 113, 128, 129 and 152) but its notorious vileness has made it the meanest of all animals.[6] It dwells in a charnel-grove [7] and eats corpses,[8] dead elephants,[9] shoes,[10] lizards,[11] rats,[12] meat[13] and fish.[14] It likes to eat goat's flesh[15] and to drink liquor[16] and milk-curd.[17] It succumbs when the cat springs at its throat and bites its windpipe

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1 *Jātaka*, No. 14.
2 *Sūtra*, XXVII, 37.
3 *Athar. Saṃhitā*, IV, 4. 7.
4 *Jāt.*, No. 77.
5 Cf. *Jāt.*, No. 188.
6 *Jāt.*, Nos. 152 and 172.
7 *Jātaka*, No. 142; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 490.
8 *Ibid.*, Nos. 142 and 416.
9 *Ibid.*, No. 148.
10 *Ibid.*, No. 416.
11 *Ibid.*, No. 316.
12 *Ibid.*, No. 128.
13 *Ibid.*, No. 113.
14 *Ibid.*, No. 400.
15 *Ibid.*, No. 437.
16 *Ibid.*, No. 113.
17 *Ibid.*, No. 316.

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asunder just under the jaw.[1] Its natural timidity is sometimes the cause of its death. Once a lion roared thrice and a jackal was frightened and astounded so much so that its heart burst and it died.[2]

An old male jackal, whatever kind of food it finds, feels no disgust but eats it as much as it requires. It after getting any food does not stop to examine it.[3]

Monkey.—Kapi, vānara and *makkaṭa* are the three Pali words for apes or monkeys. They are described as semi-human beings in the *Kuṭidūsaka Jātaka :*

Manussass' eva te sīsaṃ hatthapādā ca vānara,

'Thy head, O monkey, hands and feet are like those of man.'

The monkeys usually live in troops in forests.[4] They take their abode in big trees having branches.[5] They also live on or near mountains, e.g. Himalayas.[6] Some of the monkeys are red-faced and some are black-faced.[7] They are very fond of sweet fruits specially mangoes.[8] They eat bread fruits,[9] ripe figs,[10] fruits of the banyan trees,[11] and sweet fruits of the *tiṇḍuka* [12] and *labuja* trees.[13] They also eat young shoots.[14] They are adept in jumping high or low from one tree to another.[15] They are mischievous by nature. If they enter into houses, they turn everything upside down, spill water out of the jars, smash the jugs, etc.[16] They are ungrateful to their benefactors and make grimace at them.[17] A monkey by lighting the village with a firebrand caused its chasers to leave it and thus escaped capture and death. This story indicates that monkeys are intelligent but harmful. The monkeys are very dutiful. They look after their parents and provide them with fruits when they get blind and weak for age. They do not hesitate to sacrifice their lives in order to save their parents.[18]

They are fond of the society of female monkeys (*Jātaka*, No. 418). Female monkeys are fond of ornaments and appear to be intelligent for they dexterously outwit the owners by snatching away their possessions when the latter become inattentive (*Ibid.*, No. 92).

The monkeys are trained by snake-charmers to play with snakes (*Ibid.*, No. 365). When tamed they can learn a good deal about the manners of the world of men. They serve their masters faithfully (*Ibid.*, No. 219). The monkey's flesh is eaten by men.[19] A monkey takes its abode in a mighty tree, in a lonely place, covered all over with branches, a sure place of refuge. It wanders about, stands and sits always on trees and if it goes to sleep, spends the night on them (*Milinda*, p. 373).

Horses.—Sindh horses are milk-white and thorough-bred (*Jātaka*, Nos. 22, 23, 160, 211, 529, 547 and 538). They are white as lilies, swift as the wind and well-trained (*Ibid.*, Nos. 544, 266 and 547). Horses like to eat pears (*Ibid.*, 176). Thorough-bred horses are fed on parched rice drippings, broken meats and grass and red rice-powder (*Ibid.*, No. 254). There are big chestnut horses.[20] Horses are fierce (*Ibid.*, No. 115). When they become rogue they bite quiet horses but when two rogues meet, they lick each other's body (*Ibid.*, No. 158). The horse can also imitate men. A horse watching its lame trainer as he tramped on and on in front, imitated him and limped too.[21] A thorough-bred war-horse will not bathe in the same place where an ordinary horse took its bath (*Ibid.*, No. 25). Horses were employed for drawing State-chariots (*Ibid.*, No. 22) and cars (*Ibid.*, No. 211). Thorough-bred Sindh horses sheathed in mail were used for war purposes (*Ibid.*, No. 23; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 547). The Valāha and Sindhu are the horses of superior breed.[22]

There was a trade in horses (*Jātaka*, Nos. 4 and 5). There were valuers employed by kings to fix the proper price of horses, elephants and the like (*Ibid.*, No. 5).

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[1] *Jātaka*, No. 128. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 152. [3] *Milinda*, p. 395.
[4] *Jātaka*, No. 20. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 92. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 58.
[7] *Ibid.*, No. 298. [8] *Ibid.*, No. 407; cf. *Jāt.*, Nos. 316, 57 and 208.
[9] *Ibid.*, No. 57. [10] *Ibid.*, Nos. 208 and 298. [11] *Ibid.*, No. 298.
[12] *Ibid.*, No. 177. [13] *Ibid.*, No. 208. [14] *Ibid.*, No. 46.
[15] *Ibid.*, No. 92. [16] *Ibid.*, No. 175. [17] *Ibid.*, No. 174.
[18] *Puta-Bhatta Jātaka*, No. 222.
[19] *Mahābodhi Jātaka*, No. 528—the Veddas of Ceylon are inordinately fond of monkey's flesh.
[20] *Suhanu Jātaka*, No. 158. [21] *Giridanta Jātaka*, No. 184.
[22] *Barhut*, III, Pl. XXVI, fig. 136.

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Good horses used to fetch high prices. A high-bred foal was sold at Benares at a high price, separate price was paid for the foal's four feet, for its tail, for its head—six purses of a thousand pieces of money, one for each (*Ibid.*, No. 254). This horse could run at such a speed that nobody could see it at all. It could run over a pond without getting its hoofs wet, and gallop over lotus leaves without even pushing one of them under water (*Ibid.*, No. 254).

There was a flying horse, white all over and beaked like a crow, with hair like *muñja* grass, possessed of supernatural power, able to fly through the air. From Himalaya it flew through the air until it came to Ceylon. It carried 250 men at a time.[1]

Ass.—An ass wherever it lies down, whether on a dust-heap or in the open space where four roads meet or three or at the entrance to a village or on a heap of straw, nowhere it is given to resting long.[2] Donkeys are employed by merchants to carry merchandise (*Jātaka*, No. 189).

Dog.—The dog eats meat and fish, bones, skin and refuse of kitchen (*Jātaka*, No. 546). It is fierce by nature (*Ibid.*, No. 115). There are thorough-bred dogs. Packs of clever pedigree hounds were employed by kings in their hunting expedition to kill deer and pigs. These thorough-bred dogs were so well trained and knew their work so well that they could understand the purport of signs, a glance to them and a snap of fingers, and they would creep into the underwood and crouch down on their bellies.[3] A well-bred tawny hound overhearing the conversation between the king and the queen at night thought of saving the life of a mendicant. When the mendicant came, as usual, the next morning to the palace door, the hound seeing him opened its mouth and showed its four big teeth and thought, 'Why, holy Sir, do you not seek your alms elsewhere in India? Our king has posted five councillors armed with swords inside the door to slay you. Do not come accepting death as your fate, but be off with all speed,' and it gave a loud bark. From his knowledge of the meaning of all sounds, the mendicant understood the matter and left the place (*Jātaka*, No. 528).

Ram.—A ram has eight half-feet on its four feet and eight hooves (*Ibid.*, No. 546). It has twisted horns also (*Ibid.*, No. 546). When gets fierce, it can butt a person with such violence as to break his leg (*Ibid.*, No. 115).

Goat.—The goat eats grass (*Ibid.*, No. 546) and rice (*Ibid.*, No. 404). A she-goat conceiving an affection for an abandoned baby and after giving it milk to suck, wandered off for a bit and then came back twice, thrice, or even four times and gave it such. Goats are eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 41) and slaughtered in honour of gods during festivals (*Ibid.*, No. 50).

Ox.—The ox eats straw and grass (*Ibid.*, Nos. 30 and 546) and takes rice and rice-gruel (*Ibid.*, Nos. 28 and 29). It is fed on sesame flour and kidney beans (*Ibid.*, No. 546). Oxen are yoked to carts used by caravan merchants in their journey from one country to another even through deserts (*Ibid.*, No. 1). Thorough-bred bulls were hired at 2 coins per cart or thousand coins in all for pulling a large number of wagons across the river.[4] The bull[5] tosses the earth with its horns in sport (*Ibid.*, No. 490). When gets frightened, the cow gives but little milk (*Ibid.*, No. 93). A bull never forsakes its own shelter. When it has once taken its yoke upon it, it bears that yoke through all conditions of ease or pain.[6] It drinks water with never satiated desire. It equally bears the yoke whoever puts it.[7]

Rabbit.—The rabbit eats soft green grass.[8]

Cat.—The cat is very crafty and eats cocks.[9] In frequenting caves and holes and the inner portions of dwelling houses, it is in search after rats. It always crouches down in pursuing its prey.[10]

Otter.—The otter eats fish.[11] It has a long body, webbed feet and brown short fur, chiefly living on fish.[12]

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1 *Valāhassa Jātaka*, No. 196.
2 *Milinda*, p. 366.
3 *Kukkura Jātaka*, Nos. 22 and 504.
4 *Kaṇha Jātaka*, No. 29.
5 Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Lec. XXVII, 3.
6 *Milinda*, p. 396.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 397.
8 *Jātaka*, No. 157.
9 *Ibid.*, No. 383.
10 *Milinda*, p. 393.
11 *Jātaka*, Nos. 316 and 400.
12 *Ibid.*, No. 316—an aquatic carnivore.

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Rat.—The rat eats rice[1] and the mouse gnaws clothes.[2] A rat wandering about backwards and forwards is always after food.[3]

Squirrel.—A squirrel when attacked by its enemy beats its tail on the ground till it swells and then with its own tail as a cudgel drives off the enemy.[4]

Iguana.—It dwells in burrows and eats ants.[5]

Lizard.—The lizard lives in ant-hills, eats ants, and is eaten by village folks with vinegar and sugar.[6] Roasted lizard is eaten by men,[7] as lizard flesh is savoury.[8] Chameleon is a small lizard which never grows bigger. It is famous for changing its colour.[9]

Mungoose.—It lives in an ant-heap.[10] A mungoose when attacking a snake only does so when it has covered its body with an antidote.[11]

Frog.—Mention is made of green frogs at Benares.[12]

B. *Birds.*

Partridge—is easily trained and employed to decoy others of its kind.[13] It is killed, roasted and eaten by men.[14] The Jaina *Uvāsagadasāo* refers to black and grey partridges (7th Aṅga, VII, 219—*Kaṇha and gaura tittyīar*).

Dindibha.—It is most probably a partridge. A fowler caught a decoy partridge and trained it. When it was brought to a wood, its cry decoyed all the other partridges that came near it. It is the same as Tiṭṭibha or Titira.[15] Jīva-Jīva is a kind of bird which cries thus 'You live, You live' (Jīvaṃ Jīvaka)[16]—an onomatopoetic cry.

Pigeon (Pārevata)[17]—pecks up grass seeds (*Jātaka*, No. 42). It is content with little (*Ibid.*, No. 490). There is a kind of pigeon known as the wood-pigeon which lives in a clump made of bamboos. It loves its mate very much and cannot tolerate its separation from the mate. Once a hawk pounced on the mate and carried it off, killed it in the midst of its cries and devoured it. At this the wood-pigeon was sorely cut up with grief and felt a pang in everything it saw.[18] A house pigeon while dwelling in the abode of men does not become enamoured of anything that belongs to them but remains neutral taking notice only of things pertaining to birds (*Milinda*, p. 403).

Parrot (Sukha-sārī)—is fond of choice rice (*Jataka*, No. 73; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 512), sweet parched corn (*Ibid.*, Nos. 73 and 329), likes honey and drinks sugar-water (*Ibid.*, No. 329). It prefers to eat figs (*Ibid.*, No. 429). It is handsome and strong (*Ibid.*, No. 484). It flies with great swiftness (*Ibid.*, No. 255). But it cannot fly in heavy rains (*Ibid.*, No. 73). When it grows old, it is the eye that weakens first (*Ibid*, No. 255). Its former habitat was on the seaward side of the Himalayas.[19]

The parrots are instinctively dutiful to their parents, children and other disabled birds. They fly to the Himalayas and after eating their fill of the clumps of rice that grow wild there, they return with food sufficient for their parents and feed them with it. They feed young ones whose wings are still ungrown, and birds of helpless wings, and weak.[20] Many of them live in the Himalaya country on the banks of the Ganges.[21] They are easily tamed. They can easily imitate the human voice. The two parrots born of the same mother and reared together in the same tree but being separated under vicissitudes of circumstances, fed in different pastures, imbibed the spirit and contracted the habit of those with whom they used to keep

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[1] *Jātaka*, No. 73. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 87. [3] *Milinda*, p. 393.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 368. [5] *Jātaka*, No. 141. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 138.
[7] *Ibid.*, No. 333. [8] *Ibid.*, No. 325. [9] *Ibid.*, No. 141.
[10] *Ibid.*, No. 165. [11] *Milinda*, p. 394.
[12] *Jātaka*, No. 239; *Barhut*, III, fig. 117. [13] *Jātaka*, No. 319.
[14] *Ibid.*, No. 512; cf. No. 438. [15] *Ibid.*, No. 319.
[16] *Dīgha*, III, pp. 201-202—*Aṭānāṭiya Suttanta*. According to some it is a kind of pheasant or partridge. Cf. *Jain Bhagavatī* (Weber), pp. 289 and 290.
[17] *Barhut*, III, fig. 94; cf. *Uvāsagadasāo* (7th Aṅga, VII, 219)—*Kavaya, Parevā*.
[18] *Pañca-Ūposatha Jātaka*, No. 490. [19] *Jātaka*, No. 255; cf. *Ibid.*, No. 429.
[20] *Sālikedāra Jātaka*, No. 484. [21] *Mahāsuka Jātaka*, No. 429.

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company. The parrot which lived in the company of 500 robbers used to exhibit its evil propensities and the other enjoying the company of 500 sages grew wise and spoke courteously (*Jataka*, No. 503). The parrots are clever and serve as messengers (*Ibid.*, No. 546). They are so trained as to bring news from far off countries (*Ibid.*, No. 127).

Maynah—takes honey-corn and honey-water. It is sweet-voiced. It is a very wise bird which can understand and repeat verbatim what it hears (*Ibid.*, No. 546). It is useful.

Kālakaṇṇikā—is a bird of evil omen. It is the same as Sakuni.[1]

Cuckoo—is in the habit of laying eggs in the crow's nest. The eggs of the cuckoo and crow being similar, they are hatched by the latter. When a young cuckoo comes forth from the egg, the female crow thinking it to be her own offspring takes care of it and brings food for it in its beak (*Ibid.*, No. 331). The cuckoo has a very sweet voice (*Ibid.*, No. 536). It eats ripe mango by striking it with its beaks and tastes the sweet juice. It then flaps its wings and begins to roll and sing songs.[2] Kokilā or Karavikā are sweet-voiced birds (*Madhurassarā*). Indian cuckoo is of two kinds: black (*Kāla*) and black spotted (*Phussa*).[3] Parābhūta, Celāvaka and Bhiṃkāra are the three kinds of Indian cuckoos.

Kuṇāla is a kind of cuckoo which has variegated wings (*cittapattacchadano*). It is always surrounded by several mates (*Jātaka*, V, pp. 406 and 417).

Owl—has the misfortune of being pecked by the crow with its beaks (*Ibid.*, No. 226). It always takes shelter in a thicket of bamboos and frequently hides itself in it. The owl being at enmity with the crows goes at night to the flocks of crows and kills many of them. It is a solitary bird (*Milinda*, p. 403).

Crow—is greedy (*Jātaka*, No. 42). It drinks milk, takes strong drink, eats rice, fish and meat (*Ibid.*, Nos. 146, 42, 434). It eats birds (*Ibid.*, No. 384), dead fish, carcasses of elephants and other animals, wild fruits, salt and oil (*Ibid.*, Nos. 394, 434). It eats things in the village soused with salt and oil, clean rice and meat in fear and fright (*Ibid.*, No. 451). The crow feels faint in each of the three night-watches, but if it eats a lamp-wick, its hunger is appeased for the moment (*Ibid.*, No. 42). When one crow dies, all others begin with one voice to lament (*Ibid.*, No. 146). The crow is in the habit of pecking the owl with its beaks (*Ibid.*, No. 226). It cannot distinguish the egg of the cuckoo from its own and hatches it. When a young cuckoo comes forth from the egg, it takes care of it and feeds it. But if the young bird, while still unfledged, utters a cuckoo cry prematurely, it is pecked to death by the crow with its beak and thrown out of the nest (*Ibid.*, No. 331).

Disākāka crow kept on boat ship in order to search for land.[4] The Marsh crow belongs to a group of such crows as are born to go into water and catch fish. It lives by the pools and eats plenty of fish (*Ibid.*, No. 204). A crow goes about full of apprehension and suspicion, always on watch and guard (*Milinda*, pp. 372-3). A crow whatever food it catches sight of eats it sharing with its relatives (*Ibid.*, p. 373).

Cock (Tambacūḷaka)—has spurs and the crest. It crows thrice, i.e., when it grows it gives forth clearly three notes, one short, one middling and one long (*Jātaka*, No. 546). Cocks living in human habitation acquire knowledge of times and seasons and usually crow at dawn; but those in fields and cemetery far away from human association, crow casually at midnight as well as daybreak and have no knowledge of times and seasons. They are kept in coops (*Ibid.*, No. 119). They are killed, roasted and eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 512). Hens after stretching their wings take their seats on their eggs and keep them warm. The eggs are then properly hatched and they then transmit their own character into them. At first the head comes into existence and then grow the feet, nails, wings, face, etc. Thus the eggs become mature. On account of the thinness of the shells, light penetrates into them. Then the chickens try to come out of the shells by giving out their necks and striking

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1 *Jātaka*, No. 206.
2 *Papañcasudanī*, III, 382-383.
3 *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 57.
4 *Jātaka*, III, 126, 267.

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their heads with the legs and thus they come out.[1] Wild hens live in groves of bamboo trees. They are eaten by falcons (*Ibid.*, No. 448).

A cock goes early and betimes to roost. It is unremitting in scratching the earth to pick up what it can find to eat (*Milinda*, p. 366). Though it has eyes, it is blind by night (*Ibid.*, p. 367). Even though persecuted with clods, sticks, clubs, and cudgels it will not desert its home (*Ibid.*, p. 367).

Peacock (Mora).[2]—The egg laid by the peahen is of golden colour. When it is ripe, it cracks of its own force, and issues forth a peachick of the colour of gold, with two eyes like the *guñja* fruit, and a coral beak, and three red streaks round its throat and down the middle of its back. When it grows up, its body is very fine to behold. Its neck is of purple colour (*Ibid.*, No. 547) and jewelled sheen like *lapis lazuli* (*Ibid.*, No. 32). Its tail is of varied hue and its outstretched feathers reach a fathom's length (*Ibid.*, No. 32). Peacocks get sick with lust, when they hear peahen's cry (*Ibid.*, No. 491). So peahens are used as baits to ensnare peacocks. Peahens are trained to scream at the snapping of fingers and to dance at the clapping of hands (*Ibid.*, Nos. 491, 339, 159). Egg-born peacocks dance, spring, and spread their gorgeous wings before peahens (*Ibid.*, No. 547). There are peacocks with rare plumage,[3] and with blue-coloured neck.[4] The word '*mayura*' or peacock occurs in the *Ṛgveda*.[5] According to Śuśruta peacock's flesh should always be taken. It strengthens voice, mental vigour, appetite, and organs of eye and ear. It is oily and hot. It removes winds and produces sexual vigour and increases perspiration, voice and strength.[6]

Kurara—is the sea-eagle.

Kukutthā—is the *Phasianus gallus*.

Goose—is of different kinds: (1) grass-goose, (2) yellow-goose, (3) scarlet-goose, (4) white-goose, (5) Pāka-goose, and (6) golden-goose. The Pāka-geese are very beautiful birds (*Jātaka*, No. 534). The goose has its neck encircled with three stripes of red. Three lines running down the throat pass along the middle of the belly, while other three stripes run down and mark off the back, and its body shines like a mass of gold poised on a string made of the thread of red wool (*Ibid.*, No. 534). It does not stir out for four months in the rainy season. If it does so, its wings being full of water, it would be unable to take a long flight and would fall into the sea. When the rainy season is drawing near, it gathers wild paddy from a natural lake.[7] A son born to goose paired with a crow is not like its father or mother, in appearance, all dingy blue-black (*Ibid.*, No. 160). Ruddy-geese (Cakkavāka—*Anas casarca*—*Barhut*, Pl. XXXIX) do not eat aquatic animals, nor anything lying in the wood. They eat all kinds of weed. They are of fine red colour, fair of form and plump in body. They have no trouble and fear nothing from enemies (*Ibid.*, No. 451). Young geese flew about inhabiting in large numbers on the top of the Citrakūṭa mountain in search of their habitat.[8] Haṃsa is the ordinary swan.[9] There are golden swans[10] and sun swans (*ravi-haṃsā*). This bird never forsakes its mate even to the close of its life. It feeds on water plants called *sevāla* and *panaka*. It does not do any harm to any living thing.[11]

Penāhikā bird through jealousy of its mate refuses to nourish its young (*chāpake*). This bird spends the day in the forest in search of food but at night time resorts for protection to the flock of birds to which it belongs.[12]

Mallard—is the common duck in its wild state. It is of magnificent size and golden plumage. If the feathers are plucked against its wish, they cease to be golden and become like the crane's feathers (*Jātaka*, No. 136).

Quail—lives on rude grass and seeds (*Ibid.*, No. 394). The natural instinct of saving its life displayed by it is wonderful. When caught and caged, it refuses to take food and thereby reduces itself to skeleton, and when fowlers convinced of its

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1 *Papañcasudanī*, pt. II, p. 70.
2 *Barhut*, III, fig. 91.
3 *Jātaka*, No. 535.
4 *Jātaka* (Fausböll), VI, p. 497.
5 III, 45. 1; VIII, 1. 25.
6 *Śuśruta Sūtra*, XLVI.
7 *Jātaka*, Nos. 534, 537.
8 Cf. *Jātakas*, Nos. 187, 370 and 429.
9 *Barhut*, III, fig. 107.
10 *Vimānavatthu Commy.*, p. 57.
11 *Milinda*, p. 401.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

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physical incapability to fly away, are off their guard, they are invariably outwitted by the alertness of the bird escaping from their hands (*Ibid.*, No. 118). It is purchased from fowlers who succeed in ensnaring it, and is eaten by men (*Ibid.*, No. 33). There is a mention of grey quail (vattaya) in the Jain *Uvāsagadasāo* (7th Aṅga, VII, 219) which also refers to bush quail (*lāvaya*).

Heron (Koñca) [1]—may be trained to carry messages from one person to another. It would never put up with the wrong done to its offspring and would wreak vengeance on its enemy (*Ibid.*, No. 343).

Crane—lives on fish and crab (*Ibid.*, No. 38). When it desires to eat fish, it droops its head, spreads out its wings, looks vacantly at the fish waiting till they are off their guard (*Ibid.*, No. 236). *Sārasa* or crane is a synonym of *koñca* (*Vimānavatthu Commy.*, p. 57). There is a kind of crane called tufted crane. Cranes are conceived at the sound of thunder, hence thunder is called their father and the thunder-cloud their grandfather (*Jātaka*, No. 274). *Pokkharasātakā* is a species of crane, *Ardea siberica*. The Indian crane (*satapatta*) by its cry makes known to the people the good fortune or disaster that is about to happen to them (*Milinda*, p. 404).

The Jaina *Kalpasūtra* (42) refers to cranes among other birds such as swans, ducks, cakravākas.

Osprey—can dive into water (*Ibid.*, No. 486).

Falcon—eats hen (*Ibid.*, No. 448) and quail (*Ibid.*, No. 168).

Wood-pecker (Satapatta) [2]—lives in a wood of acacia trees. It pecks at the tree-trunks until insects come out and eat them (*Jātaka*, No. 210). It perches at the top of trees (*Ibid.*, No. 206).

Hawk—lives with family in a nest on a Kadamba tree (*Ibid.*, No. 486). It is fierce in its nature.[3] It frequents the slaughter house.[4]

Vultures—may be black or brown (*Ibid.*, No. 530). They eat flesh of cows and the like in cemeteries (*Ibid.*, No. 399). They can fly very high (*Ibid.*, No. 381). They repay with gratitude the services rendered to them by their saviours (*Ibid.*, No. 164).

Bat.—A bat when it enters into the dwelling places of men soon goes out of them and does not make any delay. It does no harm to men (*Milinda*, p. 404).

Mayhaka bird lives in a mountain cave and it rests on peepul trees.[5] Mine! mine! it cries thus.

Ciriṭikā—is a little bird.[6]

C. *Insects.*

White Ant.—A white ant goes on with its work only when it has made a roof over itself and has covered itself up.[7]

Scorpion.—A scorpion, whose tail is its weapon, keeps its tail erect as it wanders about.[8]

Leech (Jalūka).—A leech wherever it is put on, there it adheres firmly, sucking the blood.[9]

Roadspider.—A roadspider weaves the curtain of its net on the road and whatsoever is caught therein whether worm or fly or beetle, that it catches and eats.[10]

The *Kalpasūtra* (37) mentions different kinds of bees: Shaṭpada, Madhukarī and Bhramara. The Shaṭpadas are six-footed bees.

D. *Aquatic animals.*

According to the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (XXXVI, 173) fishes, tortoises, crocodiles and Gangetic tortoises are the aquatic animals.

Crabs (Kulirakā).—Crabs live in pools. They have projecting eyes, pincerlike claws, hairless, clad in bony shell. They do not eat the flesh of crows or snakes

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1 *Jātaka*, No. 506.
2 *Barhut*, III, fig. 103.
3 Cf. *Jātaka*, No. 168.
4 *Ibid.*, No. 546.
5 *Ibid.*, No. 390.
6 *Charak Saṃhitā*, I, 27, 26; *Jātaka*, No. 526.
7 *Milinda*, p. 392.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 394.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 405.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 407.

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which they can kill with their claws.[1] Golden crab is mentioned in the Jātaka (No. 267) especially living in the place called the crab-tarn.[2]

Fish.—Fish is of various kinds, e.g., *pike* (a large fresh-water fish), *bream* (a small yellowish fresh-water fish), *moach* (a common fresh-water fish), *carp*, etc. The fish named are *pāvusa*, *vālaja*, *muñjarohita* (*Cyprinus Rohita*, Ruhi fish in Bengal) and *pāṭhina* (Silurus Boalis).[3] Fish lives in ponds, tanks and lakes. When these dry up, it buries itself in mud but it is devoured by crows and hawks.[4] Fish knows by instinct when the year will be rainy and when there will be drought.[5] Fish is used in festivals and sacrifices to ogres.[6] It is caught with nets, basket-traps, tackles, etc. It dodges round the net, splashes in the water in front of it and then doubling back splashes about behind it. This causes fishermen to think that the fishes have broken the net and all have escaped, so they pull the net in by one corner and thus the fishes escape from the net into the open water again.[7] Timi fish is mentioned in the Barhut inscriptions as *timiṅgila*[8] which lives in the great ocean as mentioned in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*.[9] *Vohāra* or monster fish is mentioned in a Jātaka (No. 529).

Tortoise.—The tortoise lives in ponds, tanks and lakes. When these are dried up, it buries itself in the mud, but it is picked up by hawks with their lance-like beaks and is devoured.[10] It has got sharp teeth with which it can gnaw a snare made of leather.[11] It is so lazy that though it is in motion all day, it only moves just an inch or two.[12] It seems to be physically strong. A tortoise was tied with strings and creepers but it could not be rolled over. It lugged men along with it and plunged in deep water.[13] The tortoise like the fish knows by instinct when the year will be rainy and when there will be drought.[14] Tortoise is eaten by men.[15] A tortoise which is a water animal keeps to the water. While swimming on the water it raises its head and when it catches sight of anyone it at once sinks and dives into the depths lest it should be seen again.[16] A tortoise gets up out of the water and suns itself. It digging a hole in the ground dwells alone. While on its rounds it sees anyone or hears a sound, it draws in at once all its head and limbs into its shell, and hiding them there keeps in silence to save itself.[17] *Land Tortoise* (*Cittakadharakumma*) is afraid of water and frequents places far from it. Its length of life is kept undiminished by its habit of avoiding water.[18] *Duḍi* means a small female tortoise.

Crocodile.[19]—The crocodile dwells in the Ganges[20] and eats fish.[21] When it opens its mouth, its eyes shut.[22] It prefers to eat monkey's heart.[23] The *suṃsumāra* (Ghariwal) and *Kumbhīla* (alligator) are mentioned as two varieties of crocodiles.

Snakes.—There are four royal races of snakes, viz., *Virūpakkha*, *Erāpatha*, *Chabbyaputta* and *Kaṇhāgotama*.[24] These snakes have not been identified. *Ajagarā* is also known as Ajāgara (Boa constrictor). According to the *Sūtrakritāṅga* (2, 3, 24) this serpent devours goats. Different snakes have diverse shapes, e.g., body as white as a coil of pure silver, head like a ball of red wool, body as thick as a plough-head, body as thick as a thigh, body as big round as a trough-canoe with

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[1] *Jātaka*, No. 389. [2] Cf. *Jātaka*, No. 389. [3] *Ibid.*, No. 451.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 75. [5] *Ibid.*, No. 178. [6] *Ibid.*, No. 113.
[7] *Ibid.*, No. 114. [8] *Barhut*, III, fig. 85.
[9] Pt. II, 487; cf. *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 61 (Barua and Sinha).
[10] *Jātaka*, No. 75. [11] *Ibid.*, No. 206. [12] *Ibid.*, No. 345.
[13] *Mahā-ukkusa Jātaka*, No. 486.
[14] *Jātaka*, No. 178. The cowherds could make a forecast of the rainfall. If the birds were seen building their nests on tree-tops and the crabs closing the door of their hole near the water and using the door near the land, they took it to be the sign for a good rainfall, and if the birds were seen building their nests in a low place and the crabs closing the door of their hole near the land and using the door near the water, they took it to be a sign for drought. *Paramatthajotikā* on the *Suttanipāta*, II, p. 27.
[15] *Jātaka*, No. 178. [16] *Milinda*, p. 370. [17] *Ibid.*, p. 371.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 408. [19] *Sumsumāra-Kumbhilā*, *Barhut*, III, fig. 77.
[20] *Jātaka*, No. 206. [21] *Ibid.*, No. 233. [22] *Ibid.*, No. 57.
[23] *Ibid.*, No. 57.
[24] *Khandha-vatta Jātaka*, No. 203; cf. *Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta*, *Dīgha*.

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an outrigger.[1] The tail of the male snake is thick, that of the female is thin, the male snake's head is thick, and that of the female long; the eyes of the male are big, of the female small; the head of the male is rounded, that of the female cut short. By those signs the male snakes are distinguished from females.[2] The snake is armed with strong fangs and poison quick and sure.[3]

The snake dwells in a hollow tree[4] coiling, belly-crawling.[5] It is also seen issuing forth from an ant-hill.[6] The viper usually lives in forest.[7]

The snake likes honey, sweet parched corn and takes frogs.[8]

The snakes are trained by snake-charmers to play with monkeys.[9] The cobra when tamed by snake-charmers behaves well;[10] when a snake gets angry and sends forth the breath of its nostrils, the body of a man whom the breath touches gets shattered and scattered like a fistful of chaff. The poison is powerful.[11] Once a snake was terrified at the noise of the bull's hooves, and darted forward to hide in the ant-hill. The bull happened to tread on it, whereupon the snake was angry, and bit the bull, and the bull died then and there.[12] Snakes sometimes take back their poison. A black snake living in an ant-hill bit a Brahmin in the flesh of the calf and the Brahmin fell on the ground, and when it took away the poison the Brahmin stood up well being free from poison. The viper is venomous and is not tamed. It can never be trusted.[13] A scotched snake is fierce and cruel.[14] Mahoraga is a very big snake one thousand yojanas in length (*Sūtrakritāṅga*, 2, 3, 24).

To defend themselves against Garuḍas, snakes make themselves heavy by swallowing very big stones and lie down, and when the Garuḍas come, they open their mouths wide and show their teeth and fall upon them. They come on and seize the snakes by the head and while they try to lift up the snakes (heavy as the snakes are) from the ground, the water streams from them and they drop down dead in the midst of it. In this way a number of Garuḍas perish.[15]

The snake's flesh is eaten by men.[16] A serpent moves about by means of its belly. It moves about avoiding drugs. It is pained and seeks a way of escape as soon as it sees men.[17] Ajagara (rocksnake) has an immense body. It lives with empty belly for a long time. It can manage to keep itself alive if it does not get any food to fill its stomach.[18]

MISCELLANEA

NṚPATI-PARIVRĀJAKA AND RĀVAL

In his learned note on the term *Nṛpati-parivrājaka* contributed to the *Indian Culture*, IX, pp. 226f., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar draws our attention to the following story about the originator of the rulers of Jaisalmer found in Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*:—

'The *jogi* was well aware of the thief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chela* and disciple and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the *jogi*. Deoraj assented and was invested with the *jogi* robe of ochre. He placed the *moodra* in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd exclaiming, *Aluc! Aluc!* The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*;

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1 *Jātaka*, No. 506.
2 *Ibid.*, No. 546.
3 *Ibid.*, No. 490.
4 *Ibid.*, No. 165.
5 *Ibid.*, No. 490.
6 *Ibid.*, Nos. 389 and 481.
7 *Ibid.*, No. 43.
8 *Ibid.*, Nos. 73, 506 and 543.
9 *Ibid.*, No. 249.
10 *Ibid.*, No. 86.
11 *Ibid.*, No. 506; cf. No. 55.
12 *Ibid.*, No. 490.
13 *Ibid.*, No. 43.
14 *Ibid.*, No. 73.
15 *Ibid.*, No. 518.
16 *Ibid.*, No. 524.
17 *Milinda*, pp. 405-406.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 406.

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the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Ritta (for such was the *jogi's* name) disappeared' (Lahiri & Co. Edition, II, pp. 228-29).

According to Dr. Bhandarkar, the above quotation explains how Suśarman could be a *parivrājaka* and a *nṛpati*, even though his descendants were not styled *parivrājakas* as was the case with the rulers of Jaisalmer who are still called Rāvals.

I have not much to say regarding Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of *Nṛpati-parivrājaka* which I, personally, regard as a rather inexact synonym of the more usual term *rājarṣi*. Janaka was a *rājarṣi*, even though he was a ruler. The late Mahārājā of Alwar too had this title; the college at Alwar is still known as Rāj-rishi College. My special disagreement with him is, however, about the interpretation of the word *Rāval* which he, following the lead of Tod, seems to regard as almost synonymous with *parivrājaka*. Actually, *Rāval* is merely a Prakrit form of the word *Rājakula* which Dr. Bhandarkar would find used for the Chauhān rulers of Jālor in their inscriptions as well as the Jain chronicles of Gujarat,[1] even though these rulers never claimed to be the descendants of a *jogī*. The *Kānhaḍadeprabandha*, an old Rājasthanī work composed in V. 1512 (1455 A.D.), actually uses the word Rāval for Kanhadade:—

Rāula bhaṇaī'vīra aphaṇaī āpaṇapū ma vakhāṇī
ju purukhāratha kari dākhavai, tu sahūko ima jāṇi (I, 128).

In modern Marwari too *Rāvalā* means *Rājakula*. We often use the phrase 'rāvale rī chākrī' in the sense of 'the service of the royal household'. His Highness of Dungarpur is a Maharaval. In the Bikaner State, we have *Mahārāos* and *Mahārāvals* among the hereditary servants of the State without any tradition whatsoever about the latter being the descendants of *jogīs*.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

ON THE VALIDITY OF SMṚTI CANONS

The orthodox view regards the Vedas as the ultimate source of religion and time-honoured customs and practices. This is not merely a fancy and expression of blind faith. Prof. Kane has already collected Vedic passages to which can be traced the origin of later customs. Jaimini who has established the self-authoritativeness of the Śrutis seeks to uphold the authority of the Smṛtis on the basis of their being grounded on Vedic injunctions. It would be interesting as well as instructive to study and to critically follow the illuminating discourse of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa on this problem raised by Śabara. It is an intellectual treat which Kumārila provides by his discussion of the relevant problems in this connection, which has in its turn exercised a far-reaching influence on the development of the subtle speculations of the later writers on Smṛti. He has dwelt upon the relative position of Smṛti and the codes of other heterodox systems with reference to the Śruti and propounds the criterion of true religion as distinguished from the heterodox faiths and practices.

The traditional law codes of Manu, etc. are not self-authoritative like the Śruti since they derive their authority from the latter. The codes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc. are termed Smṛtis or recollections, being recollections of the truths embedded in the Śruti. The term Smṛti was advisedly applied to the law codes by the earliest Shāstrakāras. For the law codes stand in the same relation to the Vedic literature as our ordinary recollections do to the direct and perceptual cognitions. According to the Mīmānsists of both Prābhākara and Bhāṭṭa schools, the perceptual knowledge alone can be true and valid in its own right and the

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[1] See Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 602, 605, 609, 621, 622, 629, 640. The word *Rājakula* in Samarasiṁha's Jālor inscription of V. 1239, though rendered as 'the royal family' by the Editor, actually means 'Rāval'. Kīrtipāla's father Ālhaṇa is called 'Rājakula' in his plates of V. 1218 (*EI.*, IX, p. 69). Samarasiṁha's son Udayasiṁha is called 'Rājakula' in the *Prabandhakośa*, p. 125 (Singhi Jain Series). The *Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga* uses the word *Mahārājakula* for the ruler of Jālor.

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recollection is merely a reproduction of the original intuition. Viewed in this context the codes of law can have no independent validity. The Vedas as the fountain-head of true knowledge were revealed to the seers who by virtue of their spiritual elevation and superhuman powers, which the later authors lacked, had an immediate perceptual knowledge of the texts and the truths embodied therein. As Yāska observes—the Ṛṣis were directly cognizant of the laws and they handed over the sacred texts by word of mouth to the subsequent generation of teachers, who had not the prerogative of the direct intuition of the truths.[1] The later law-givers like Manu, etc., however, had to depend on the revealed texts in order to propound the laws, which derived their validity from the latter.

Now a difficulty arises. There are injunctions in Smṛti texts which cannot be traced to Vedic scriptures—namely, Aṣṭakāḥ kartavyāḥ, etc.[2] The Mīmānsists were called upon to defend their validity—otherwise the sceptics would flout those injunctions with impunity. It cannot be held that the Smṛti-writers themselves were the authors of such injunctions, for *ex hypothesi* the Vedas alone are our sole guide in the domain of religious practices, as it is beyond human powers to grasp the relation of causality that subsists between the different sacrificial rites and the fruits accruing from the performance thereof.[3] Nor can it be argued that the Mantras, which are to be recited on the occasion of such rites as Aṣṭakā, etc., are themselves indicatory of such injunctions, even though explicit injunctions be wanting.[4] For as Kumārila states, the Mantras too which do not contain *liṅ*-forms cannot have any injunctive force,[5] the accepted view of the Mīmānsists being that only those Vedic texts are to be regarded as the source of *dharma* that relate to some definite injunction.[6] Medhātithi in his commentary on Manu Smṛti says that the Brāhmaṇa passages are almost invariably the source of all our rituals and practices, though there are solitary cases where Mantra passages, too, can be shown to have injunctive force in the absence of relevant Brāhmaṇa texts.[7]

A counter-argument may be raised on this point. How is it that the very sources of Dharma prescribed in the Smṛtis should have been forgotten? Had the codes of Manu, etc. been based on Vedic injunctions, it is imperative that they should have been recorded by the authors. It is not worthy of commendation that an author forgets the very source on which the validity of his statements rests.[8] If to save their positions it is asserted that the sources, from which the authors of Smṛtis derived their maxims pertaining to individual as well as social life, are now lost irretrievably, a fresh difficulty would arise which would take away all the validity of their assertions. For, the followers of heterodox orders—like the Bauddhas,

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1 Sākṣāt-kṛta-dharmāṇa ṛṣayo babhūvuḥ/te'avarebhyo'sākṣāt-kṛta-dharmabhya upadeśena mantrant-samprāduḥ—*Nirukta*, i.

2 Śabara on JS. i, 3. 1.

3 Comp. pratyakṣeṇānumityā vā yastūpāyo na budhyate/enaṃ vidanti vedena tasmād vedasya vedatā.

4 Cf. śruti-linga-vākya-prakaraṇa-sthāna-samākhyānāṃ pūradaurbalyam arthaviprakarṣāt —JS.

5 na ca mantralingāni svayaṃ mūlatvaṃ pratipadyante, vidhi-śūnyatvāt—Kumārila's Tantravārttika, p. 160 (ASS. edn.).

6 Cf. codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ—JS. i, 1. 2. codaneti kriyāyāḥ pravartakaṃ vacanam āhuḥ—Śabara.

7 *Op. cit.*—ayaṃ dharmo brāhmaṇa-vākyebhyo'vagamyate liṅ-ādi-yuktebhyaḥ, kvacicca mantrebhyo'pi 'vasantāya kapiñjatanālabheta'i tyevamādibhyaḥ/. . . nanu ca vidhyarthavāda-mantra-nāmadheyātmako vedaḥ, dharmaśca tasya svabhāva ityuktam, tatra yuktaṃ yad vidhivākyāni dharme pramāṇaṃ syuḥ/tebhyo hi yāgādi-viṣayā kartavyatā pratīyate/. . . . mantrā api—'na mṛtyur-āsīdamṛtaṃ na tarhi', 'sudevo'dya prapated anāvṛt'—ityādayobhāva-vṛtta-paridevanādirūpārthābhidhāyinaḥ kaṃ dharmaṃ pramimate/. . . mantrāstu kvacid vidhāyakā eva, yathā 'vasantāya kapiñjatan ālabheta'-iti, ādhāre devatāvidhir māntra-varṇika eva/na hi tatra devatā Karmotpattivākye śrutā nāpi vākyāntareṇa vihitā mantrastu vihito niyukta—'ita indra' ityādiḥ/ato'smāṅ-mantravarṇād devatāpratipattiḥ, sahasraśaś-ca māntra-varṇikā devatāvidhayaḥ santi/ye'py-anye kriyamāṇānuvādinaḥ te'pi smṛti-lakṣaṇaṃ dharmam-eva buddhaṃ Kurvantī-ti bhavati dharmamūlam anuṣṭheyārthaprakāśena.

8 syād-etat/arthasmaraṇena kṛtārthānāṃ niṣprayojanaṃ mūlasmaraṇam anādarād-bhraṣṭam iti/tad-ayuktam nahi yatkṛtaṃ prāmāṇyaṃ tadeva vismartuṃ yujyate/arthasmṛteḥ svataḥ-prāmāṇyābhāvāt/sarve puruṣās-tavat etad jānanti yathā vedamūlajñānād vinā prāmāṇ-yaṃ na niścīyata-iti, te katham iva tatrānādaraṃ kuryuḥ—*Tantravārttika*, p. 162.

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Jainas, Pāśupatas—would fall back upon this convenient argument to justify the validity of their respective codes. The result is fatal as we would be compromising the very cause for which we were fighting.[1]

But Jaimini in his Sūtra i. 1. 3—*'api vā kartṛsāmānyāt pramāṇam anumānam syāt'*—brushes away all such inimical criticisms against the validity of Smṛti canons. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Smṛtis are valid, for otherwise it would be unaccountable why even the most orthodox of the followers of Vedic religion be blindly obeying the dictates of Smṛtis from generation to generation.[2] And thus, their validity being an accepted fact, the only rational way to account for it would be to infer the existence of Vedic texts which are now lost but were some day extant.[3] That there were numerous Vedic recensions which are now lost to us can be proved from various evidences. We have the express statement of Patañjali to the effect that the Ṛgveda had 21 recensions, the Yajurveda 101, the Śāmaveda 1000, and the Atharvaveda 9 recensions in all.[4] Or, to avoid the aforesaid challenge of the heterodox faiths, Kumārila proposes an alternative solution. He would suggest that the Dharmaśāstras are based on the extant recensions of the Vedas.[5] The task of the Smṛtikāras was to compile and arrange those injunctions scattered pell-mell according to a definite scheme and into an ordered whole, so that it may be in the nature of a practical guide to the followers of Vedic religion and performers of rituals prescribed therein.[6] It is no wonder that we, who are averse to take the pains of studying the whole Vedic literature in all its numerous recensions and investigating the relevant Mantra and Brāhmaṇa texts bearing upon the corresponding injunctions of the Dharmaśāstras, should be at a loss to find out the sources.[7] Kumārila, at this point, anticipates a hostile argument to the above proposition. Why is it that the authors of Dharmaśāstras should be troubling themselves with the thought of composing new treatises based on the Vedic texts and not rest satisfied with the lighter and less pretentious endeavour of merely collecting them together *totidem verbis*? This argument has some force on the face of it. But Kumārila silences it by stating that the writers of Dharmaśāstras avoided such a procedure for fear of helping in the extinction of Vedic recensions.[8] The Vedas have to be recited as they are traditionally handed down. To separate the *vidhis, arthavādas, mantras,* etc. from their respective settings and to group them together would be to create a chaos in the fixed order of things which would only accelerate the process that has already set on in the direction of a total loss and confusion of the Śrutis.

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[1] yadi tu pralīna-śākhā-mūlatā kalpyeta tataḥ sarvāsāṃ Buddhādi-smṛtīnāmapi tad-dvāraṃ prāmāṇyaṃ prasajyate/yasyaiva ca yad-abhipretaṁ sa eva tat pralīna-śākhā-mastake nikṣipya pramāṇīkuryāt—*loc. cit.*

[2] śeṣāstu mahājana-parigrahādayaḥ sarve' nuvidhīyante—*ibid.*; also—prāmāṇyakāraṇaṃ mukhyaṃ vedavidbhiḥ parigrahaḥ—Medhātithi, *op. cit.*

[3] bhrānteranubhavād vā'pi puṃvākyād vipralambhakāt/dṛṣṭānuguṇa-sādhyatvat codanaiva laghīyasī/.

[4] ekaṃ śatam adhvaryu-śākhāḥ, ekaviṃśatidhā bāhvṛcyaṃ, navadhā ātharvaṇaḥ, sahasra-vartmā sāmavedaḥ—Paśpaśā, *Mahābhāṣya.* Also, Medhātithi on Manu ii, 6—sa ca vedo bahudhā bhinnaḥ/sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ sātyamugri-rāṇāyanādibhedena/ekaśatam adhvar-yūṇāṃ kāṭhaka-vājasaneyakādi-bhedena/navadhā ātharvaṇaḥ maudaka-paippalādakādibhedena/ ekaviṃśatidhā bahvṛcyaṃ-āśvalāyana-itareyādi-bhedena.

[5] yadvā vidyamāna-śākhāgataśrutimūlatvam evāstu.

[6] Cf. athādyatve pathyanta-eva tāḥ śākhāḥ, kintu viprakīrṇāḥ te dharmāḥ/kasyāñcit śākhāyām aṣṭakādīnāṃ karmaṇām utpattiḥ, kasyāñcit dravyam, kvacid devatā, kvacin mantra-ityevaṃ viprakīrṇānāṃ Manvādayo'ngopasaṃhāraṃ sukhāvabodhārthaṃ cakruḥ—Medhātithi, *op. cit.*

[7] Katham anupalabdhir iti ced ucyate—śākhānāṃ viprakīrṇatvāt puruṣāṇāṃ pramādataḥ/ nānāprakaraṇasthatvāt smṛter mūlaṃ na dṛśyate/—TV.; also—Manur bahubhir bahuśākh-ādhyāyibhiḥ śiṣyair anyaiś ca śrotriyaiḥ saṃgataḥ tebhyaḥ śākhāḥ śrutvā granthaṃ cakāra, tāś ca mūlatvena pradarśya pramāṇīkṛtavān/evam anye tat-pratyayād anuṣṭhānam ādṛtavanto na mūlopalambhe yatnaṃ kurvanti—Medhātithi, *op. cit.*

[8] yattu kimarthaṃ vedavākyānyeva nopasaṃgṛhītānīti/sampradāyavināśabhīteḥ/viśiṣṭānu-pūrvyā vyavasthito hi svādhyāyo'dhyetavyaḥ śrūyate smārtāścācārāḥ kecit kasyāñcit śākhāyām/tatrāpi tu kecit puruṣamevādhikṛtyāmnāyate/. . . tatra yadi tāvat tānyeva vākyāni uddhṛtya adhyāpayeyuḥ tataḥ kramānyatvāt svādhyāyavidhivirodhaḥ syāt/anena ca nirdeśena anye'pi arthvādoddhāreṇa vidhimātram adhīyīran karmaupayikamātraṃ vā/tatra veda-pralayaḥ prasajyeta/na cāvaśyaṃ Manvādayaḥ sarvaśākhādhyāyinaḥ—TV.

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Kumārila's dissertation on the nature of the various heterodox teachings that have bearing on individual customs and practices is worth perusal. Kumārila offers an alternative interpretation of Jaimini's Sūtra '*hetudarśanācca*'—i, 3. 4, as meant to meet the claim of the codes of the Śākyas, etc. to authority. The most striking feature that marks the Vedic religion is that it never holds out to its followers prospects of material comfort or any vain hope with a view to veering them round to its own fold. In this respect it differs diametrically from the other religious systems. The followers of Vedic religion may be tempted to be converted to other heterodox faiths, being seduced by the various alluring prospects and material comforts that the latter might promise.[1] While the followers of Brahmanic religion and culture have no hopes of gain and happiness in this world and afflict themselves by performing the intricate rituals and observing with unswerving faith the rules of conduct prescribed in the Dharmaśāstras that demand the highest measure of sacrifice and self-control, the Śākyas, Jainas, etc., on the contrary, revel in all kinds of enormities, are given to epicureanism considering material comfort as the highest goal of life.[2] Nor can it be argued that the injunctions contained in the heterodox codes of conduct can be held to be authoritative on the ground of their being based on lost recensions of Vedas. Such a possibility is ruled out *ipso facto* since the Buddhists themselves are deadly opposed to the orthodox view upholding the infallibility and self-authoritativeness of the Śrutis.[3] Kumārila is vehement in his criticism of the sectarian teachings of the Śākyas. He states that the followers of the Buddhistic creed are all outcasts who have been excommunicated from the fold of Brahmanic polity and have thus been compelled to profess a heterodox faith as the last course open to them.[4] That the staunchest advocates of the Buddhistic creed, like Aśwaghoṣa, Diññāga, Dharmakīrti, etc., to name only a few, were converts from Brahminism in consequence of some social misdemeanour seeking refuge in the enemy's camp, is borne out by tradition as well as external evidences.[5] The Lord Buddha himself belonged to the Kṣattriya or warrior-caste and, later on, appeared in the rôle of a preacher, violating the teachings of the Dharmaśāstras which unanimously deny any member who is not a Brahmin even the least pretension to such exalted rank. Kumārila turns this historical fact to good account by using it as a weapon to silence the uproar of his opponents.[6] Moreover, Jayantabhaṭṭa,

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[1] Compare: na hyatra ālasyādir nimittam, duḥkhamaya-karmapradhānatvāt/nāpyanyatra siddhaprāmāṇye'bhyupāye'nadhikāreṇa asmin ananyagatikatayā'nupraveśaḥ/paraiḥ pūjyānāmapy-atrāpraveśāt/. . . sambhavanti caite hetavo Bauddhādyāgamaparigraheṣu/tathāhi bhūyastatra karmalāghavam ityalasāḥ/itaḥ patitānām apyanupraveśa-ityananyagatikāḥ/bhakṣyādyaniyama-iti rāgiṇaḥ—Udayana: *Nyayakusumāñjali*, Chap. ii. Also—śakyādayaśca sarvatra kurvāṇā dharmadeśanām/hetujāla-vinirmuktāṃ na kathaṁcana kurvate/—TV.

[2] Note in this connection the very humorous and decisive reference to the Buddhist cult in Kṛṣṇa Miśra's *Probodhacandrodaya*: aho sādhurayaṃ saugatadharmo yatra saukhyaṃ mokṣaś ca/tathā hi—āvāso layanaṃ manoharam abhiprāyānurupā baṇiṅ—/nāryo bañchita-kālam iṣṭam aśanaṃ śayyā mṛduprastarā/śraddhā-pūrvam upāsitā yuvatibhiḥ kḷptānga-rāgotsava-krīdānandabharair brajanti vilasaj-jyotsnojjvalā rātrayaḥ/—Act iii, 9.

[3] nahi śākyabhojaka-kṣapaṇakādīnaṃ veda-saṃyoga-sambhavo yena tanmūlatayā svaviṣaye pramāṇaṃ syuḥ,—svavacanābhyupagamāt, taiśca vedasya aprāmāṇyābhidhānāt, pratyakṣa-veda-viruddhārthopadeśācca/tatrāsambhavaḥ—tāsu smṛtiṣu vedādhyayananiṣedhāt/sati hi vedādhyetṛtve Buddhādīnāṃ tanmūlatā syānnave'ti jāyate vicāraṇā/yatra tu tatsambandho dūrāpetas-tatra kā tanmūlatāśaṅkā svayaṁ ca mūlāntaraṃ smṛtiparamparāyātam abhyupagacchanti—'paśyāmy-ahaṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ diveyna cakṣuṣā sugatiṃ durgatiṃ ca'—iti—Medhātithi, *op. cit.* We may cite in this connection Dharmakīrti's vehement attack on Brahmanic religion in his *Pramāṇavārttika*: vedaprāmāṇyaṃ kasyacit kartṛvādaḥ snāne dharmecchā jātivādāvalepaḥ/santāpārambhaḥ pāpahānāya ceti dhvastaprajñāñāṃ pañca liṅgāni jāḍye/

[4] śākyādi-vacanāni tu . . . trayī-bāhyebhyaś caturtha-varṇa-niravasitaprāyebhyo vyāmūḍhebhyaḥ samarpitānīti na veda-mūlatvena sambhāvyante—TV.

[5] Compare: traivarṇika-bahiṣkṛtair anadhikāribhir ananyagatikatvāt *Kīrti-Prajñākaravat.* We may note in this connection the oft-quoted maxim—viz. *Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇaka-nyāya* which also bears out the truth of the tradition that the Buddhist monks were in their earlier life followers of Brahmanic faith.

[6] svadharmātikrameṇa ca yena kṣattriyeṇa satā pravaktṛtva-pratigrahau pratipannau sa dharmam aviplutam upadekṣyatīti kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ/uktaṁca—paralokaviruddhāni kurvāṇaṃ dūratas-tyajet/ātmānaṃ yo'tisaṃdhatte so'nyasmai syāt katham hita iti/Buddhādeḥ punarayameva vyatikramo'laṃkārabuddhau sthitaḥ/yenaivam āha—'Kalikaluṣa-kṛtāni yāni loke mayi nipatantu vimucyatām tu lokaḥ' iti—*op. cit.*

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the author of Nyāya-Mañjari, exposes the hypocrisy and insincerity of the Buddhists even to their own faith. For though they outwardly preach the equality of mankind, abhor untouchability and condemn the division into castes, still the influence of Brahmanic culture proves too strong for them to be shaken off by a mere tonsuring of the scalp or by putting on the monk's attire.[1] The Buddhists, to impart to their texts an appearance of authority, are not even ashamed of borrowing the enigmatic incantations from the śāstras of their sworn enemies, and modelling their teachings along lines adopted by the Brahmanic religious codes.[2]

Before we conclude our study, we should advert to one minor problem which might be raised by the Buddhists as a protest against the Mīmānsist view that the Brahmanic religious texts based on the Vedas are never concerned with secular topics, never hold out prospects of material gain to their adherents. This contention cannot be universally valid. For we have in the Smṛtis as well as in the Vedas injunctions, which professedly relate to rituals that have worldly gains as their rewards. For such injunctions as—*'grāmakāmaḥ sāṃgrahaṇyā yajeta'*, etc. promise material prosperity to the performers of the respective rituals. Kumārila answers this objection by arguing that though the fruits accruing from the performance of these rituals might be in the form of material gain, yet that does not annul the validity of such injunctions which are restrictive in character. For, in the case of restrictive injunctions (*niyamavidhis*), the result is twofold—one secular (or *dṛṣṭa-phala*) and the other transcendental (*adṛṣṭa-phala*). Thus the Mīmānsists' standpoint remains quite safe and unshaken.[3] As a general rule, Kumārila observes —everything pertaining to religion and salvation falls within the purview of Śruti, whereas that which has reference to our material comfort and pleasure is derivable through the ordinary instruments of knowledge, as it is in the case of agriculture, industry or medical science, where no Vedic injunctions are required to stir us to activity.[4]

Thus, it is evident that while the orthodox Smṛtis vouchsafe the self-authoritativeness of the Śrutis and base their canons on the injunctions contained therein, the sceptics would by no means admit the omniscience and validity of the Vedas and this sacrilegious attitude was responsible for bringing upon them the denunciation of the authors of Dharmaśāstras.[5] But it is very curious to note that Kumārila at the close of his long dissertation has, with commendable diplomacy, shown that the Buddhists too, *willy-nilly*, derive their instructions from the Vedic *arthavādas*, and that the true purport of their teachings is to prove the ephemerality of the phenomenal universe which when truly grasped would lead to salvation or *nirvāṇa*.[6]

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[1] cāturvarṇya-cāturāśramya-rūpaś caiṣa mahājano vedaprathamapravṛtta āgamāntaravādibhir-apratyākhyeya eva tathā caite buddhādayo'pi durātmāno vedaprāmāṇya—niyamitā eva caṇḍālādisparśaṃ pariharanti/niraste hi jātivādāvalepe vā kva caṇḍālādisparśa/eṣaḥ ye'pi anye kecit aśuci-bhakṣaṇāgamyāgamanādinirvikalpadīkṣāprakāram akāryam anutiṣṭhanti, te'pi cāturvarṇyādi-mahājana bhītās taṃ taṃ rahasi kurvanti na prakāśam, nirviśaṅke hi tacchāstrapratyaye kimiti cauryavat tasathānuṣṭhānam—*op. cit.*

[2] te hi svāgamaprāmāṇyam abhivadanto vedarītyā' bhidadhati, vede yathā tathā praveṣṭum īhante, vaidikān arthān antarā'ntarā svāgameṣu nibadhnanti, veda-sparśa-pūtam iva ātmānaṃ manyante/teṣām apy-antarhṛdaye jvalatīva prāmāṇyam—*op. cit.*, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.

[3] na cāvaghātayāgādīnāṃ vṛṣṭikāmayāgādīnāṃ ca dṛṣṭārthānām avaidikatvam/tasmāt satyapi dṛṣṭārthatve sambhāvyate vedamūlatvaṃ niyamādṛṣṭasidher ananyapramāṇakatvāt/ataśca gurvanugamanāder naimittikatvāt akriyāyāṃ pratyavāyaḥ, karaṇe ca na bhavati/dṛṣṭaṃ ca prīto gurur-adhyāpayiṣyatītyevamādi niṣpadyate/niyamācca avighnasamāptyarthā apūrvasiddhiḥ/—*op. cit.*

[4] tatra yāvad dharmamokṣasambandhi tat vedaprabhavam/yat tu arthasukhaviṣayaṃ tallokavyavahārapūrvakam iti vivektavyam—*op. cit.*

[5] Cf. vedadharmānuvarttī ca prāyeṇa sakalo janaḥ/vedabāhyastu yaḥ kaścid āgamo vañcanaiva sā/—*Nyāyamañjarī*. Also—nāstiko vedanindakaḥ—Manu, II, 11.

[6] sarvatra hi tadbalena pravartate taduparame coparamatīti vijñāna-mātra-Kṣaṇabhaṅganairātmyādi-vādānām api upaniṣadarthavādaprabhavatvam viṣayeṣu ātyantikaṃ rāgaṃ nivarttayitum ityupapannaṃ sarveṣāṃ prāmāṇyam/—*Tantravārttika*. The same idea is also expressed in a verse of the *Ślokavārttika*—

yuktyā'nupetām asatīṃ prakalpya
yadvāsanāṃ arthanirākriyeyam/
āsthānivṛttyartham avādi Bauddhair
grāhaṃ gatās tatra kathaṁcid anye//—*Nirālambanavāda*, v. 201.

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The true implications of the teachings of Lord Buddha were, however, lost to his disciples, and this confusion resulted in a permanent breach being opened up between their schools on the one hand and the Brahmanic religious sects on the other—a subject which would constitute a most interesting theme for a separate study altogether.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA.

CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH INDIA

(A Newly Discovered Chronogram)

I. 317 A.D., FOREIGN CHRISTIANS IN COCHIN

With reference to the article 'Christianity in South India' appearing in *Indian Culture*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (April–June, 1943, pp. 197–204), it may be interesting to mention that a chronogram 'rauravam dēvarājyam', expressly giving the *Kali* day on which some Christians from Baghdad came to Cranganore in Cochin and preached Christianity to the Chera King there, was discovered some years ago by Mr. V. K. Raman Menon, late Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Cochin. Till January 1941 it was found by him in three Hindu MSS., two belonging to two reputed Nambudiri Brahmin families, and one to the Government of Cochin. Details about the chronogram and extracts from the documents were published by me first in Vol. X (pages 56–64) of the Malayalam Journal of the Pan-Kerala Literary Academy for 1117 M.E. (1941-2), and subsequently in some other publications. This is the only chronogram for an ancient Christian event, found in any Hindu document in Kerala. The day corresponds to—

$$\text{Thursday, } \frac{\text{14th February, 317 A.D.}}{\text{30th Kumbham, Kali 3418}}$$

The ancient Malabar (= Kerala) Syrian Nazranis (= Christians) themselves have the traditionary date 345 A.D. for the granting of the famous copper-plate (lost since 1544 A.D.) to the foreign merchant prince Thomas Cana by a Chera King. This Thomas brought with him to Cranganore a bishop and many other foreign Christians and founded a colony there in the town 'Makotaiyar-Paṭṭaṇam' (Tamil Makotai) built by him. It seems that Thomas Cana and his associates came in 317, and received the copper-plate in 345 A.D.

II. 293 AND 315 A.D., INDIGENOUS CHRISTIANS IN COROMANDEL AND TRAVANCORE

It may be mentioned also that the dates 293 A.D. and 315 A.D. are given in a 19th century Malayalam document: (1) for the acceptance by the Nazranis of Quilon and Niraṇam (both in Travancore) of some Tamil customs introduced by a colony of Tamil Nazranis from Pukar near the mouth of the Canvery on the Coromandel Coast, and (2) for the coming of 'the sorcerer called Māṇikkavāchakar' (who cannot be the same as the author of the Tamil poem Tiruvāchakam). It is not known from where the Christian author of the document got the two dates.

III. CIRCA 535, CHRISTIANS IN MALABAR

The above four dates (293, 315, 317 and 345) are anterior to Cosmas's *Topographia Christiana* (*circa* 535), which contains the earliest reference to Christians in 'Male', i.e. Malabar. They are also prior to *circa* 354 A.D., when, according to the Eccelesiastical History (now lost) of the Arian Philostorgius (as used by Patriarch Photins in his epitome *Bibliotheca*, 9th century), the Emperor Constantinus equipped and sent to South Arabia, Abyssinia, Ceylon and India a mission under the leadership of 'Theophilus the Indian', a native of 'Dibous', which may be Diu south of Kathiawar or some other place.

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IV. St. Thomas Tradition

Cosmas does not speak of any tradition in Malabar or elsewhere about the coming of St. Thomas to South India, the earliest reference to that tradition being found in Bar-Hebreus, and Marco Polo, both of the 13th century A.D. It has yet to be discovered whether any document of the first twelve centuries mentions the existence of the tradition connecting St. Thomas with South India.

V. Betumah

It has also to be investigated whether the spelling 'Betumah' gives the correct rendering of the vowels and consonants of the Arabic name originally recorded by the Arab geographers and travellers of the 9th-10th centuries, and whether it really stood for Patana found in the name Mayilai-Patanam for Mylapore. Arabic, like Syriac and some other languages, does not generally mark the vowels of words, and is lacking in certain consonants found in Indian languages.

T. K. Joseph.

UBHAYASĀMYADIM

In an inscription dated A.D. 1107, the Hangal Kadamba ruler Tailapa, a subordinate of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, is said to have been ruling the division of Pānugal Five Hundred—*Ubhayasāmyadim*. This Kannada phrase has been rendered by L. D. Barnett who edits the inscription (E.I., xiii, p. 15) into 'with impartiality'. All rule worth the name is presumably impartial, and no great merit attaches to this common characteristic. Further, *sāmya* by itself would give the meaning of impartiality, and *Ubhayasāmya* is rather an unnecessary and unusual combination for indicating this simple meaning. We have to recognize in fact a term of some technical import in this phrase, and this is what Rice did long ago when he translated the phrase 'with both rights' (E.C., viii, SK. 125). The Kannada phrase should, I think, really be traced back through Prākrit variants to an original Sanskrit phrase 'Ubhayasvāmya', i.e. proprietorship over both the internal and external source of revenue—ābhyantarasvāmya and bāhyasvāmya, so to say.

That *sāmya* does not mean impartiality, but is really a *tadbhava* of *svāmya*, becomes clear from an expression like manneya sāmyada tereyellamam biṭṭu (U 18-19 of No. 100 in S.I.I., XXI) which occurs in an inscription of A.D. 1045, and means: giving up all the taxes due on account of the ownership of the manne (headship); and the person who gave up the claim was the *ūrodeya* (headman) of the village of Dondavatti, and hence there can be no manner of doubt about the meaning of the phrase cited above.

K. A. Nilakanta Shastri.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES [1]

It is encouraging to find that many societies and scholars are now engaged in spite of manifold difficulties in indological researches with the result that many thoughtful books and articles are being published from time to time. The *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by Macdonell and Keith is an invaluable work but it should be revised and improved. Like the Vedic Index we are in great need of the Buddhist and Jain Indexes. Dr. Malalasekera has published a *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. Sorensen's *Index to the Mahābhārata* is likewise useful but what we really want nowadays is the type of work done by Macdonell and Keith in the Vedic Index. For the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, the summaries by Jacobi with their useful indexes are noteworthy. If we can publish a systematic and

[1] Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the Prācya Vāṇī Mandira—February, 1945.

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scientific study of the great epics in all their aspects, social, political, economic, and religious, it will help a good deal in the progress of Indian culture. Similarly about the studies in the Purāṇas, I know that some scholars are engaged in this field but we must admit that Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* is the most critical and scientific treatment of the subject although we may not accept some of his views. It is always good to read the original books as far as possible and not their translations in order to do well in researches. Sometimes we are misled by wrong translations. It should be our chief aim to print and publish good editions of important books which still remain unpublished. In Jain literature especially there are many important works which are still buried in manuscripts. Like the Pali Text Society we feel the absence of a good Jain Society which can publish several important Jain texts and commentaries. In archaeology, numismatics and epigraphy much progress has been made through the efforts of scholars like Marshall, Allan, Rapson, Fleet, Bühler, Kielhorn, R. D. Banerjee, D. R. Bhandarkar, Majumdar and others. In ancient Indian geography some important work has been done recently which may be taken as an improvement on the previous work done by Cunningham, Stein, Buchanan Hamilton and others. In this field we must mention Kirfel's valuable work, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*. In the domain of fine arts and architecture many important publications have come to light, such as '*Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*' by Burgess, '*Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*' by Coomaraswamy, '*Barhut Sculptures*' by Barua, '*Viṣṇudharmottaraṃ*' by Kramrisch, besides the famous works by Vincent Smith, Bachofer, Vogel, Codrington, Ganguly and others. In all branches of indological studies much progress has been made and even in Baṅgabhāṣā and sāhitya. Some progress is being made in Chinese and Tibetan studies in India and abroad. For the Chinese studies, the Cheena Bhavana of the Viśvabhāratī at Śāntiniketan has got to perform some work of importance. In this temple of learning, I mean the Prācya Vāṇī Mandira, I am delighted to find that Islamic culture has found a place and some competent Muslim scholars have been delivering lectures on many topics of Islamic culture. It is now time for us to deal as fully as possible, in a scientific manner, without any *parti pris*, with many important topics relating to all branches of indology. In the social history of India, for instance, the subject of caste is still an all-important one. According to some the Ṛgvedic Society knew nothing of the caste system while others think that its germs were already there. The four castes, *Brāhmaṇa* (priest), *Rājanya* (warrior), *Vaiśya* (commoner) and *Śūdra* are no doubt mentioned in the *Puruṣasūkta*, but this hymn is thought to be a later interpolation. The Ṛgveda often speaks of priests, princes and nobles, warriors, artisans and so on, but there is hardly any mention of an exclusive warrior caste. We do not find mention of a hereditary caste system including in it the lower order of farmers, cattle-traders, labourers, artisans and merchants. The warriors were also the agriculturists and industrial workers during the early stage when priesthood was not settled by birth. The house priest or the *purohita* in the royal family performed the sacrifices for the king, but in Ṛgvedic and even in later Vedic ages we find that the *pater familias* performed sacrifices and ceremonies for himself with his wife without any priestly aid. The growth of complication in society naturally tends to the division of labour and from this we may get the real explanation of the origin of the caste system in India which naturally evolved from the distinction between the Aryan colour (*varṇa*) and that of the aborigines (characterized as *dāsas* and *dasyus*). The line of demarcation was as yet vague and society was roughly divided into (1) the holy power (*Brahman*), (2) the kingly power (*Kṣatra*), and (3) the commonality (*viś*).

The closing period of the Ṛgveda and that of the later Saṃhitās and the older Brāhmaṇas seem to have coincided. The growth of the caste system with its philosophic justification in the *Puruṣasūkta* and the *Puruṣavidha Brāhmaṇa* may be regarded as the distinctive feature of the transitional period. With the progress of time priesthood was bound to be determined by birth. The example of king Devāpi, who combined in himself the function of a priest, shows merely that with the introduction of the caste system a king was not suddenly deprived of his original

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priestly rites and privileges. During the period of the later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, the growth in the complication of rituals led to the hierarchy of priest who began to assume great importance in the estimation of the people, for they were the guides through the wilderness of sacrificial art. So the Brahmanical priests were raised to the position of gods. The idea of edifying the Brahmanical class does not stop with putting its members on a par of sanctity with heavenly gods. It goes a step further when a Brāhmaṇa is regarded as the very embodiment of all deities. A Brahmin is placed above the level of ordinary laws and customs. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* asserts that nothing injures the stomach of a Brāhmaṇa, which indicates that objects and food, remains of a sacrifice, etc. which could not be taken by any other individual, might with impunity be given to a Brāhmaṇa. Mere birth in a Brahmanical family does not seem to have as yet become the only title for the enjoyment of all such rights. Mastery in the sacred lore, Brahmanic descent, and corresponding spiritual conduct and, above all, the exercise of priestly function for the community—all these could reasonably be demanded from the members of the priestly caste. In return for his spiritual service a Brahmin is endowed with extra-ordinary rights and privileges. In no circumstances could a Brahmin be deprived of his property. The law is twisted, as we find in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, in favour of the Brahmanical class, for the orthodox theory makes Soma the king of the Brāhmaṇas, whom the earthly ruler cannot control. The idea of priestly ascendancy was carried to a pitch during the subsequent age of the Sūtras and the Epics.

Side by side with the ascendancy of the priestly class we find the tendency of other classes to harden themselves slowly into caste. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* the chariot-makers appear as a special class along with the Vaiśyas. The importance assumed by the priestly class during the Brāhmaṇa period could not eclipse the power and prestige of the princely class, for the Kṣatriya is regarded as the *dharma* incarnate. Some of the Kṣatriya princes could by virtue of their wisdom become Brahmanical sages. These Rājarṣīs or royal seers are said to have been the composers of some of the hymns of the Ṛgveda. Such savants among the Kṣatriyas are not rare. Some of the kings like Janaka, Aśvapati of Kekaya, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, Ajātaśatru of Kāśī are said to have defeated the Brāhmaṇas in philosophical contests and inculcated to them the loftiest truths. The case of Satyakāma Jābāla who was allowed by the Brahmanical sage Gautama to become his pupil shows even then caste barriers could be surmounted. Thus we see that the priestly class and the princely class were in a better position in the Vedic and immediately succeeding period than that of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Śūdras were placed in the rank of menials at the mercy of the three upper classes. They had no right to repeat the sacred texts or offer religious sacrifices, for they were branded as impure. The progeny of a Śūdra girl was despised as low-born. The Śūdras, though forming a part of the society, seem to have no social status during the Sūtra period. They are nowhere classed as Vrātyas or outcastes, that is, persons placed outside the pale of Aryandom. A member of the highest caste might, if need be, marry a Śūdra girl. The offspring of such union could not claim to be treated as twice-born. In times of distress a Brahmin might even take food from a Śūdra. In the matter of marriage the most important question was that of the clan or family to which the girl belonged. According to Śāṅkhāyana a girl should recite, i.e. declare her clan name at the time of her marriage. In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* of Āśvalāyana the heroic rape of a girl after killing her relations or protectors is mentioned as a form of marriage. This shows that in the matter of marriage the question of caste could not prevail. A member of any of the three upper castes was banned as a Vrātya, if he was not duly initiated at the proper time. Such a person would be excluded from the society. No teacher would teach him, no priest would make him initiated or perform his sacrifices. With him all kinds of social intercourse were forbidden. A person would ordinarily marry a member of his own caste but marriage with a member outside one's own caste was not unknown. Thus a Brahmin enjoyed the right of having a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or even a Śūdra girl as his wife. Similarly a Kṣatriya could take a Vaiśya or Śūdra wife. Marriage with a Śūdra woman was open to a Vaiśya. The marriage of a Śūdra or a Vaiśya with a Brahmin or Kṣatriya

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girl was thought to be unusual. Women were gradually being deprived of their former independence as we find in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Their fate was thus similar to that of the Śūdras who had no legal status of their own.

The Indo-Aryan social order as revealed in the early Buddhist and Jain texts is practically the same. The usual order of the two upper castes is as follows: the Kṣatriyas being placed first and the Brāhmaṇas next in rank. This was due to the fact that the Jains and Buddhists gave the Kṣatriyas superiority over the Brāhmaṇas on the Brahmanical ground, namely, the purity of birth through seven generations on paternal and maternal sides. A sharp distinction is sought to be made between the Brāhmaṇas as they ought to have been and the Brāhmaṇas as they actually were. Ten classes of Brahmins are mentioned in the Jātakas (cf. *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka*): (1) those who went about like physicians, (2) those who like servants worked as messengers or wagon-drivers, (3) those who in the garb of monks behaved like tax-collectors, (4) those who begged in the garb of monks looking like diggers of stumps, (5) those who like traders used to sell fruits, timbers, scents, honey, etc., (6) those who like the Ambaṣṭhas and the Vaiśyas carried on agriculture and farming, etc., (7) those who acted as butchers, (8) those who acted like *gopas* and *niṣādas* guarding the business quarters, (9) those who in the garb of ascetics behaved like hunters, etc., and (10) those yājñikas who acted as bathers. They are said to have followed even such low pursuits as those of apothecaries, druggists, fortune-tellers, palmists, story-tellers, ballad-reciters, and soothsayers. Although they stood for the highest religious ideal, in practice they appeared as hoarders of wealth, etc. The Brahmins who were proud of their caste were known according to the countries and families to which they belonged, e.g. *Udiccadeśa* (north or north-western countries), Kāśī, Rājagriha, Magadha, etc. They had their five-fold code for achieving the highest ideal.

As known to Megasthenes, the body-politic of India was so divided that no one was allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own. As for example, a soldier could not become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher. But after all, the Brāhmaṇas as a class never ceased to be the real power. The Brāhmaṇa always stood for the highest culture of human mind and the highest example of human character.

If in Jainism and Buddhism the Brāhmaṇa by mere birth was underrated as an ethical being, it was just for the reason of raising the importance of the religious ideal for which he stood.

I mention these facts just to make us cautious against drawing hasty conclusions from any single set of facts.

B. C. Law.

EARLY BUDDHIST 'WAYFARERS' (MALE AND FEMALE)[1]

Buddhist monks and nuns (*bhikkhus* and *bhikkhuṇīs*), male and female saints (*theras* and *therīs*), novices (*sāmaṇeras* and *sāmaṇerīs*), male and female wanderers (*paribbājakas* and *paribbājikās*), and other recluses and ascetics may be rightly called as male and female 'wayfarers'. I strongly support Mrs. Rhys Davids' view in this connection.

Monks and nuns played an important part in early Buddhism. They renounced the world after having fully realized its worthlessness and embraced Buddhism. They had to pass through the three stages of sanctification[2] in order to obtain the

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[1] Read at the Monthly Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal held on 5-3-45. It is a brief résumé of some of the important points fully discussed in my paper entitled 'Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters' to be published in the *Journal of R.A.S. of Bengal*.

[2] (*a*) *Sotāpanna*—Advancing stream and not the stream of lust. It is progressive sanctification, (*b*) *Sakadāgāmī*—once returner, born twice, once in the world of gods and once in the world of men, (*c*) *Anāgāmī*—never returner, and (*d*) *Arahā*—final and absolute emancipation not restricted by age or sex or calling—the highest state of sanctification in which there is the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion. Chief features of a *thera* are high character, knowing the essential doctrines by heart, practising the four stages of meditation. He must be conscious of having acquired freedom through the destruction of mental intoxications.

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final stage which enabled them to become arhats or saints. The saints are entitled to attain *nirvāṇa* which is undoubtedly the blissful state of sanctification. With the realization of *nirvāṇa* the sinful nature vanishes for ever. It is freedom from all sins and final release from lower nature. In its negative aspect it means the going out of greed, ill-will, dullness, etc. and in its positive aspect, it means mental enlightenment conceived as light, insight, state of feeling happiness, cool, calm and content, peace, safety and self-mastery. In brief, the attributes of nirvāṇa consist of absence of passion, destruction of pride, getting rid of thirst, freedom from attachment and destruction of sensual pleasures and all sufferings. It is the stage in which there is neither birth nor old age nor death nor disease nor contact with what is unpleasant, neither failure of wishes nor separation from the pleasant, one which is peaceful, final and imperishable.[1] In one word, it is *mokṣa* or liberation.

Buddha Gautama had a large number of lay worshippers and supporters (*upāsakas* and *upāsikās*), many of whom became prominent in the public eye, although their relationship with the Master, so far as their habits or modes of life were concerned, was not so intimate as that of those men and women who had renounced the world and were admitted into the religious order. The early Buddhist monks and nuns belonged to a distinct religious order and school of thought in which the position of the Buddha was that of a founder of an order, leader of a following, and teacher of a band of followers. All such orders and schools contained Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, who were ascetics or recluses leading the life of wanderers. The Brāhmaṇas admitted into their orders none but those who belonged to Brahmin families; while the Samaṇas (Śramaṇas) kept the door of admission open to recruits from all social grades. The early Buddhist brothers became known as *Sākyaputtiya samaṇas*, i.e. recluses belonging to the order founded by a scion of Śākya race of Kapilavastu situated in the Nepalese Terai. They were also known as *Buddhaputtā* or sons of the Buddha. At the Deer Park of Sarnath near Benares, the Buddha converted five disciples. This was rapidly followed by the conversion of a banker's son, Yasa and his 54 comrades. Just as Jesus of Nazareth addressed his first disciples five centuries later, so also did Gautama the Buddha who addressed his first sixty disciples thus: 'Come ye, the law is well expounded, lead the holy life to make an end of all pain.' There were sixty saints when the Buddha addressed his worthy followers in these inspiring words: 'Freed am I, O mendicants! from all nooses whether divine or human and you too are thus freed. Go ye forth, O mendicants! and wander about for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the good and happiness of gods and men. Go not two by the same road. Address, O mendicants! the doctrine which is beneficial in the beginning, beneficial in the middle, beneficial in the end, pregnant with meaning, well-worded, complete in form and reveals the pure life of holiness. There are individuals who in spite of their little proneness to sin, fall away from the truth and norm for want of preaching, but may be the future expounders of the law.' The Buddha and his first disciples enthusiastically started the work of preaching the message under the fervour of a new-born faith. The mendicants brought to the Master ardent applications for initiation and ordination from various quarters and various localities (*nānādisā nānā janapadā*) which proved to be a tedious task for them. This led the Master to send for his followers and he addressed them thus: 'I enjoin, O bhikkhus! henceforth do you yourselves initiate and ordain persons as you find yourselves in this or that quarter, in this or that locality. They are to be initiated and ordained thus: causing them at first to be shaven clean of hair and beard, clad in yellow garments, with the upper robe donned on one shoulder, making them bow down at the feet of the bhikkhus and sit on their

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[1] Compare the well-known stanzas of Aśvaghoṣa:—

Duḥkṣakṣayo hetuparikṣayācca śāntaṃ śivaṃ sākṣikuruṣva dharmaṃ |
Tṛṣṇāvirāgaṃ layanaṃ nirodhaṃ sanātanaṃ trāṇamahāryamāryaṃ ||
(*Saundarananda-Kāvya*, Canto XVI, v. 26.)

Yasminna jātirna jarā na mṛtyurna vyādhayo nāpriyasaṃprayogaḥ |
Necchāvipanna priyaviprayogaḥ kṣemaṃ padaṃ naiṣṭikamacyutaṃ tat ||
(*Ibid.*, v. 27.)

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heels with joined hands, say unto them, "Thus do thou declare the faith: I recourse to the Enlightened One as my refuge, I recourse to the Doctrine as my refuge, I recourse to the Order as my refuge.[1] For the second and the third time do I declare the same".' The rule thus introduced and enforced was the same for initiation and ordination.

Buddha wandered from place to place and succeeded in converting many persons to his faith. Twelve millions of citizens of Magadha assembled in the capital and the Master preached to them a discourse, embracing the topics suited to their temperament and holding before them the stern realities of life and the means of escape therefrom. Their hearts were so ripe for the reception of the truth that almost all of them headed by king Bimbisāra of Magadha (Patna and Gaya Districts) acquired at that very sitting the eye of clear insight into the Law. The next triumph was achieved when Sāriputta and Moggallāna were converted to Buddhism. They formerly belonged to the School of Sañjaya, a wandering teacher of a different school, and these two monks later became the chief disciples of Gautama Buddha. He converted his own son Rāhula, half-brother Nanda and many gifted Śākya youths such as Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, Devadatta, and Upāli.

Many Śākya ladies headed by Siddhārtha's aunt, step and foster-mother Mahāpajāpati Gautamī and including his wife Yaśodharā left the city of Kapilavastu (Nepal Terai) in a body in right earnest and travelled on foot as far as Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District) to seek admission into the *Saṅgha* (congregation).[2] Ānanda pleaded their cause and the Master afterwards granted their prayer. Buddha at first showed his unwillingness because he feared lest the duration of the good Faith be shortened if women were admitted into the *Saṅgha*. The Sisters were made juniors to the Brothers. With their admission into the *Saṅgha*, there grew up a Sisterhood, the *Saṅgha* of the bhikkhuṇīs side by side with that of the bhikkhus (monks) and both existed through centuries that followed. Thereafter the Buddhist community came to be composed of monks, nuns and lay worshippers, male and female. It is interesting to note that the sisters were found to be the pupils (*antevāsinīs*) of the elderly brothers or sisters, but no brother was known to have been the pupil of any sister, however spiritually advanced she might be.

There grew up in course of time the rank of the sāmaṇeras and sāmaṇerīs. Gradually the number of followers and lay worshippers increased year after year during the forty-five years of the Master's ministration and preaching career. Many vihāras were built and dedicated to the Fraternity. The rules for the guidance of the *Saṅgha* were enforced and amended from time to time. Many forms of speech and conventions were introduced. In short, the Master was the source of the law and the person to set the seal of supreme power.

The Pātimokkha Code which is a code of Buddhist monastic laws and which contains a fairly large body of rules, conventions and forms of procedure for the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha was made with penal sections laid down in it. The *Saṅgha* was an independent body guided by the principles and ideals and the rules and conventions, in short, by the traditions of the elect.

The total number of bhikkhus in Buddha's lifetime is not known. The Pali Chronicles give the number of the bhikkhus present at a conference shortly after the Buddha's demise as 7,00,000 which cannot be regarded as the total number of bhikkhus. There was a large number of bhikkhuṇīs. The Buddha was generally accompanied by 500 bhikkhus in his wanderings and only in a solitary case he is said to have the company of 1250 bhikkhus. Really speaking, no census was taken and the number mentioned in texts does not seem to be accurate.

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[1] *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi,* and *Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*. Each of these refuges is a supreme object of devotion and worship.

[2] It is *samūha* or group. It is a corporate body which is characterized by the uniformity of creed and conduct. Internal cohesion constitutes the real life of a *Saṅgha*. The unity of action (concerted action) and commonness of goal characterize its external life. *Saṅgha* stands essentially as a symbol of Fraternity.

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The *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, a book of the early Buddhist Canon, supplies us with two lists—one of only 38 theras or saints and the other of only 13 therīs or female saints who were declared foremost by the Master himself in the rank of those noted for some special attainments. Among the early Buddhist brothers and sisters, the first-place-holders may be classed under the following types: those historically important as pioneers, as personalities, as men of intelligence and understanding, as mystics, contemplatives and miracle-workers, as preachers and instructors, as chanters, as learners and probationers, as inspirers and missionaries, as ascetics, as believers, as intuitionists, as self-controlled ones, as exponents, as popularizers, as versifiers, as messengers, as rationers and as household managers. The theras and therīs may be shown to have played the following parts in the history of the formulation of Buddha's words, the development of Buddhist literary tradition and the textual settings in the Canon: (1) that of the most interested listeners, memorizers and transmitters; (2) that of the most interested interrogators, or interlocutors; (3) that of the capable elaborators, elucidators, expositors, expounders, analyzers, crystallizers and upholders; (4) that of the formulators, codifiers, instructors, disseminators, propounders, propagators and popularizers; (5) that of the versifiers, composers, compilers, chanters and inspirers; (6) that of the standard bearers and testifiers. A detailed account of the important theras and therīs has been given in my paper to be published shortly in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

The main interest of the study of the Psalms of the early Buddhists lies in ascertaining how the theras and the therīs made the Buddha's teachings as their own. It is true that many of their words are impersonal and may therefore be left out of account. But those which are full of personal note are of paramount interest.

The *Psalms of the Sisters* which appear in the form of ballads or animated dialogues in verse or in the form of legendary narrations cannot be supposed to have been the actual compositions of the therīs to whom these are attributed. It must be admitted that their ways of expression are peculiarly womanly and their interest and environments befit the lives of women. No doubt a true picture of the life of the female saints can be drawn from the *Therīgāthā* or the *Psalms of the Sisters*. Likewise we get a detailed account of the male saints from the *Psalms of the Brothers*.

B. C. LAW.

ISITĀLA TAḌĀGA IN KHĀRAVELA'S INSCRIPTION

Dr. Moti Chandra, Curator of the Art Section of the Bombay Museum, has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that in the Jaina *Bṛhat Kalpasūtra* we have mention of a famous tank in Tosali known by the name of Ṛṣi Taḍāga, 'the Ṛṣi Tank'. This has led me to reconsider the position of my reading *Kali(ṃ)ganagari-Khibīra(ṃ) sitala-taḍāga* [1]—as compared with Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji's *Khibīra-Isitāla-taḍāga* [1] (*E.I.*, XX, pp. 72f.) as the name of the famous tank in Khāravela's capital.

I cannot but accept the second reading *Isitāla-taḍāga* apart from *Khibīra* in preference to my reading *sitala-taḍāga* (*I.H.Q.*, XIV, pp. 261ff.), and that for the following three reasons:—

1. That if the word before *taḍāga* were written *sītala* (meaning 'cool') instead of *sitala*, the case would have certainly gone in favour of my reading and interpretation.
2. That the word preceding *taḍāga* may indeed be read as *(i)sit(ā)la* meaning 'the Ṛṣi abounded' or 'the Ṛṣi palmyra'.
3. That the name *Isitāla-taḍāga* is completely in accord with the Jaina tradition of the *Ṛṣi-taḍāga* in Tosali.

As for the reading of *Kaliṃganagari-Khibīr(aṃ)*, it stands as adopted in *I.H.Q.*

B. M. BARUA.

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[1] Dr. D. C. Sircar has upheld this reading in his *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 2.

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REVIEWS

STUDIES IN THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF TONDAMAṆḌALAM (University of Madras: The Saṅkara-Pārvatī Lectures, 1943-44), by R. Sathianathaier, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, the Annamalai University, Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., Francis Joseph Street, Madras, 1944, pp. 1–54, with a short preface, an index and four appendices.

This short treatise contains two lectures delivered by the author. In the first lecture he deals with the geography of the region, its political boundaries and varying fortunes under different rulers. Incidentally he deals with the religious history of Tondamaṇḍalam which is distinguished from Côlamaṇḍalam and in the second, the importance of this region as the meeting ground of three different cultures, Buddhist-Jain, Tamil and Brahmanical Hindu has been shown. The intellectual activity and the general contribution of this region to the later development of an excellent system of village administration under the Pallava and Cola rule in South India have been discussed. The treatment on the whole is generally categorical and its interest has been enhanced by the introduction of philosophic analyses or repercussions on modern lines. The work is a welcome publication and we commend it to readers.

T. N. C.

KATHĀKOŚA. Edited by Pt. Jagdish Lal Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., together with a *Viṣayānukramaṇikā*, an *Upodghāta*, a *Padyānāmakārādikrameṇānukramaṇikā*, and a *Saṃjñāśabdānāmakārādikrameṇānukramaṇikā*. Published by the Editor and printed in Devanāgarī at the Bombay Sanskrit Press, Lahore, 1942, pp. vii+180.

At the very outset, we should take the opportunity of congratulating the learned Editor for being able to place at our disposal for the first time an edition of the *Kathākośa*. Although the work was known to us for a long time through the translation of Mr. C. H. Tawney (Royal Asiatic Society, Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., London, 1895), which has been largely utilized in history, nevertheless, the absence of a critical edition of the text was strongly felt by all indologists. The present edition of the *Kathākośa*, which is just out about fifty years after the publication of its translation, is most welcome.

Kathākośa, or 'the Treasure of Stories', is an interesting collection of didactic tales, most of which are distinctly Jaina in character. In fact, it holds the same place in Jaina literature as the *Pañcatantra* in Brahmanical and the *Rasavāhinī* in Buddhistic. There are altogether twenty-seven stories (*kathānakas*) in this collection, all of which convey some moral lesson or other. Of these, only two are important and are worth noticing in history, viz. the Kūlavālaka-Kathānaka, in the political history of Magadha (B.C. 543 to 443), and the Nala-Kathānaka, in the history of Sanskrit literature. The occurrence of the story of Nala and Davadantī (Damayantī) in this collection is really interesting. It shows that the Jainas were at pains to incorporate in their literature the popular or favourite epic themes after fashioning them in their own way, with a view to giving them the stamp of originality and placing a substitute for them in the hands of their co-religionists. But, whether it is the *Dasaratha-Jātaka* or the *Paüma-Cariya*, whether it is the *Naḷinikā-Jātaka* or the *Valkalacīrin-Kathā*, whether it is the *Ghaṭa-Jātaka* or the *Nala-Kathānaka*, the literary effort of the imitators is not only distressing but also ridiculous.

The language of the *Kathākośa* is Sanskrit, which, in respect of quality, is neither chaste nor elegant (cf. p. 58, ll. 6-7, *ḍhaukitāni nagaradvārāṇi*; p. 111, l. 3, *gavākṣe caṭito*; p. 129, l. 6, *kope caṭitaḥ*, see also p. 94, l. 21; p. 7, ll. 7-8, *mutkalitaḥ*; p. 6, l. 10 and p. 9, l. 5, *mutkalāyya*; p. 84, l. 20, *mutkalāpya*; p. 6, l. 7, *sthālīḥ tharatharati*; p. 114, l. 21, *Bhillānāṁ dhāṭī patitā*; p. 84, l. 7, *kutyamānāṁ*; p. 67, l. 22, *nijārāmasatkaṁ*; etc., etc.). It is written in prose interspersed with 175 verses, of which seventy-five are in the so-called Western Prakrit (Mahārāṣṭrī type) and the rest in Sanskrit. The author does not seem to have possessed a sound knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only he has committed a number of serious grammatical mistakes but has also failed to distinguish between a Sanskrit word and its Prakrit equivalent, with the result that a large number of *Deśī* words have inadvertently crept in and have, thus, got mixed up with the language of the text (p. 4, ll. 5, 6 and 11, *kabāḍikaḥ*, etc.; p. 22, l. 1, *cīṭhī*; p. 22, l. 3, *chibitaḥ*; p. 40, l. 8, and p. 41, l. 10, *dugaṁcchāṁ*, also p. 40, l. 13, *dugaṁchitaḥ*; p. 58, ll. 20ff., *miṁḍakaḥ, miṁḍaḥ*, etc.; p. 67, l. 22, *-satkaṁ*; p. 94, ll. 22-23, *dabbaḍakau*, etc.; p. 115, ll. 3, 5 and 6, *talārakāḥ, talārakāya*, etc.). There being no colophon in this work, the name of the author is not known; nor we have been able so far to ascertain it from any other source. It is equally difficult to determine the date of the *Kathākośa*, but judging by the nature and variety of the *Deśī* words introduced, we are in no way justified to place it earlier than the eleventh century A.D. Although the work, as we have it, is comparatively modern, its author has certainly made use of much older material, whatever might have been his sources.

So much for the work itself. A few words need be said about the edition also. The learned Editor has made use of only two MSS. locally available, which are rather inadequate for a literary work of such a nature. But in spite of his limited resources, he has spared no pains to make the work as much useful as possible by noticing all the variant readings and has given sufficient evidence of his scholarship, literary acumen, and sound judgment by accepting only the correct ones. We only wish that he had been able to utilize a few more MSS. for the purpose or, preferably, the oldest one that is yet available in this country. We trust, however, that this deficiency will be made up in the future edition of the text.

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Errare est humanum! There is no book in this world, which does not contain some mistake or other, and the present edition of the *Kathākośa* is also no exception. Though bound by convention, it is certainly not a pleasant task for a reviewer to point out the slips and omissions occurring in a work under review; and if we point out some of them here, it is not in the spirit of minimizing the literary worth of the *editio princeps*, but in the hope that the learned Editor will be a little more careful, when he will bring out the second edition of the work. To begin with the *grammatical mistakes*, the following may be noticed: *diśodiśi* for *diśidiśi* (p. 7, ll. 24-25), *nijakīyāmṛddhiṁ* for *naijīmṛddhiṁ* (p. 7, l. 24), *kimupāyaṁ* for *kamupāyaṁ* (p. 9, l. 11), *muktāḥ* for *muktaḥ* (p. 22, l. 26), *nijamātṛpitrormilito* for *nijamātāpitrormilito* (p. 23, l. 1), *trivelāṁ* for *trivelaṁ* (p. 23, l. 3), *dināṇyatikrāmayati* for *dināṇyatikrāmati* (p. 24, l. 21), *karuṇāsvaraṁ* for *karuṇasvaraṁ* (p. 25, ll. 16-17, also p. 57, l. 18), and *dāridrayavān* for *dāridryavān* (p. 90, l. 9). The following *spelling mistakes* may be noted: *Śaṁkhapura* for *Śaṅkhapura* (throughout; the spelling *Saṁkha* is, however, allowed in Prakrit and Pali), *sasya* for *śasya* (p. 2, l. 10), *kāṣṭa* for *kāṣṭha* (p. 4, l. 5; p. 113, ll. 5-6), *madya* for *majja* (Pkt.) (p. 116, l. 18), *viṣaya* for *visaya* (Pkt.), *kaṣāya* for *kasāya* (Pkt.) (p. 116, l. 18), *deśaṁ* for *desaṁ* (Pkt.) (p. 139, l. 13), and *baḍaruṣadāṁhiṇa* for *baḍarusadāṁhiṇa* (Pkt.) (p. 150, l. 10). As for *irregularity*, the following instances may be cited: *Samṛddhadatta* (p. 5, l. 13; p. 8, ll. 3, 5 and 7) and *Samṛddhidatta* (p. 5, ll. 15 and 17; p. 7, l. 21), also *Samṛddhigṛhe* (p. 5, l. 17); *Koṇika* (p. 129, ll. 19, 22, 28 and 29; p. 130, ll. 1, 7; etc.) and *Koṇaka* (p. 131, l. 23), etc.

It must be said to the credit of the Editor that he has been able to eradicate ordinary printing mistakes much beyond our expectation; and a few of them that are yet left uncorrected relate mostly to the verses, some of which are either incorrectly numbered or not numbered at all (pp. 8, 13, 43, 85, 97–106 and 116). But in spite of these errors, textual or otherwise, the present edition of the *Kathākośa* is dependable and useful. The learned Editor has executed his task in a scholarly manner and has done a distinct service to the cause of Sanskrit literature in general and the Jaina studies in particular.

The edition of the *Kathākośa* under review is a war-time production and, hence, a victim of strict paper economy. We deeply sympathize with the Editor at his disappointment for not being able to set apart a page for the dedication of his learned contribution to his teacher, the veteran Orientalist, Dr. Lakshman Swarup, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon).

C. D. CHATTERJEE.

GLEANINGS ON SOCIAL LIFE FROM THE AVADĀNAS. By Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *Dr. B. C. Law Research Series*, No. 1, pp. 50. Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri is well known to students of Indology for his numerous and scholarly contributions to the history of ancient Indian culture and civilization. The present work, which seeks to bring together the varied aspects of social life (in the widest sense of the term) presented in two representative Avadāna works, viz. the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Avadānaśataka* of the early centuries of the Christian era, will add to his reputation for clear thinking and lucid exposition besides wide reading. After a short Introduction describing the nature of *Avadāna* works in general and the two *Avadānas* in particular, he deals with his subject-matter under five heads, viz. (i) birth, rearing and training of children, (ii) trade, transport, etc. (Q. why the tautologous 'means of communication' over and above the title 'transport'?), (iii) polity, (iv) religious sects and practices, and (v) some [additional] social data. On the topics selected the author's observations are marked with his usual acuteness of understanding as well as sanity and sobriety of judgment, and the result is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the period of ancient Indian history with which he is concerned. We would only make a few remarks for the author's consideration in the event of publication of a new edition. The picture of rulers stretching their legal right to the property of persons dying without heirs (p. 5) is reflected also in *Sam. Nikāya*, i, 89; *Vin.*, iii, 19; *Jāt.*, iii, 299; and *Dhp. Comm.*, iv, 77, not to speak of *Divy.*, 439-440. The curious physiological beliefs relating to the conception of women (pp. 6-7) should be compared with the teachings of Caraka and other medical authors. The vivid description of a criminal being led to execution (p. 47) has its parallel not only in the late Sanskrit drama called the *Mṛcchakatikā*, but also in *Jāt.*, i, 500; ii, 123; iii, 59, 436; iv, 191, etc. The addition of an index will be very welcome.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

A HISTORY OF HINDU PUBLIC LIFE, PART I (Period of the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the older Upanishads) by U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Ramesh Ghoshal, 35 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. Pages xii+176. Price Rs.6.

This book forms the first part of a history of Hindu public life from the earliest times to the close of the Gupta period. It comprises three well-documented chapters on the Rgvedic State, the State in the Atharvaveda, the State in the Yajus Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and older Upaniṣads, and concludes with a final chapter which draws together and sums up the conclusions reached in the earlier discussions. Vedic literature is a well-cultivated field, and there is often difficulty of choosing from a multitude of interpretations all equally plausible, but none decisively more convincing than the rest; and Dr. Ghoshal does not hesitate to add on occasions fresh suggestions of his own. To seek to review a book of this nature adequately would be to

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run the risk of prolonging the review beyond all reasonable limits. We must content ourselves with stating that the book is replete with evidences of wide-reading, careful thought and sound judgment; and that even where the reader may find it necessary to form estimates different from that of the author, he will derive no small aid in the process from the data collected and set forth in a cogent manner in this book.

Dr. Ghoshal's study does not lead to any revolutionary results and is not meant to do so. It is calculated to give a systematic and up-to-date survey of an interesting subject which has so far been studied by fits and starts, and has often been viewed out of focus since the sensational discovery of the Arthaśāstra nearly forty years ago. The Vedic literature shows the transition from the tribal to the territorial State, and this is one of the major topics of study in the work; the territorial States began to make war and peace among themselves, and even establish more or less lasting hegemonies over neighbours. Monarchy was the standard form of government, and though election was known in some places and for some time, and the State was held in commission by the entire royal family elsewhere, still hereditary monarchy and primogeniture came to be recognized soon as the norm. A celebrated passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa appears to adumbrate different types of monarchical constitutions in the central zone of Vedic culture and the surrounding tracts in different directions, but it is not easy to follow this up with parallels or elucidations from other texts. The monarch enjoyed great dignity, prosperity and authority; he did not claim divine descent; he did not own the land in the State; he combined executive, judicial and military functions, but had little or no legislative power; monarchy was a trust. The relation between Imperium and Sacerdotium, Kṣatra and Brahma as they were called in India, is studied in detail. Brahma was held in general to be dominant over Kṣatra though there are other texts stressing their interdependence or even the superiority of Kṣatra to Brahma. In the office of the Purohita, the Brahma had a stronghold in the constitution, but even the Purohita was sometimes disregarded by a capricious or tryannical monarch.

The beginnings of financial, judicial and military administration are found in the days of the Ṛgveda, but of the officers in charge of the various branches of administration no exact details are forthcoming. The names of officers that occur in the texts are discussed by the author in detail. But the terms are tantalizing and we cannot be quite sure of firm ground anywhere. Even the exact place of the Grāmaṇī is not free from doubts. Two popular assemblies are named, the Sabhā and the Samiti. But their constitutions and functions and mutual relations are also matters for discussion.

Society was organized on the basis of *varṇas* with unequal rights and privileges. This remained a characteristic of Hindu polity for all time.

Dr. Ghoshal sums up the significance of his study in the following words: 'The Brāhmaṇas, the nobles, the officials and the people were centres of political power although in ways unfortunately incapable of precise definition. The real significance of the Vedic polity, it seems to us, lies in its making the formative stage in the development of Hindu political institutions. To it we owe those ideas and institutions which were destined to shape the public life of the Hindu people down to much later times.'

The publication of further instalments of this study will doubtless be awaited with great interest.

K. A. NILAKANTA SHASTRI.

SANSKRIT-TIBETAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY being an edition and translation of the *Mahāvyutpatti* by Alexander Csoma De Körös, edited by Durga Charan Chatterjee for *Memoirs* of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV, No. 3, Part III, 1944. Price Rs.8-8-0.

In October 1910 the late Sir Denison Ross with the assistance of the late MM. Dr. Satish Chunder Vidyābhūṣaṇa presented the first fascicule (pp. ix+127) of the *Mahāvyutpatti*. In January 1916 the second fascicule was prepared. In 1944 the third and the last fascicule was completed by Mr. Durga Charan Chatterjee, M.A., and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Thus an important work has been made accessible to scholars and students of Buddhism.

A scholar to be entrusted with this work should have the following qualifications:—

Sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali, familiarity with Buddhist terminology, phrases and idioms, a first-hand information of what is going on in the field of modern scholarship, a workable knowledge of Tibetan, and a good command over English.

We regret to point out that the editor has failed to accomplish his task satisfactorily, although he was guided by 'the valuable criticisms and suggestions' of two scholars mentioned by Dr. Kalidas Nag in his Preface. Having the Sanskrit text of the *Mahāvyutpatti* before him, the supply of the Tibetan equivalents from the Tibetan translation was the easiest part of the work. The Tibetan equivalents were of the least use except as means of determining variants, if any, to any portion of the original now available in a printed edition. He should have taken his guidance at every step from the Pali-English Dictionary in the first instance, next from the Buddhist texts where the terms and words occur in stock passages, and lastly, from their commentaries and the writings of modern critical scholars. The failure to do so on the part of the editor has led to disastrous results as the following glaring instances of error (to cite only a few out of the numerous) will amply testify it.

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Vigata-rāgāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ, p. 254, translated by 'all things are exempt from passion (or fondness for anything).'

The explanation within the brackets is redundant and does not bring forth the psychological connotation of the term passion. 'Exempt from' is not the correct representation of the meaning of '*vigata*'. It simply means without. All things are without passion (as their inherent property) Cf. *Samyutta*, V, 8; *Saṃyutta*, IV, 251; *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā*, 268, 269.

Anāgatikāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ—'all things are *sui generis*'.

Agatikāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ—'all things are without termination'.

The meaning is sadly missed in both. Corresponding to the two words *anāgatikāḥ* and *agatikāḥ* are Nāgārjuna's expressions *anāgamam* and *anirgamam*. The word *gati* stands for destiny, and not for termination. The idea conveyed by both is that neither advent nor egress can be predicated of anything.

apraṇihitāḥ sarva-dharmāḥ—'all things are without wish, desire or affection'. The correct rendering would have been—nothing is determined by will. Some have translated the word *apraṇihita* (Pali *appaṇihito*) as free from longing or desire. Cf. *Dhammapada* (Fausböll) 281, 282. It also means aimlessness. Cf. *Vinaya*, III, 92-93; *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, 351, 508, 556.

atṛptā batême sattvā lābha-sat-kāra ślokopacaritās tṛptāḥ sma iti pratijānate, p. 255—'unsatisfied (or not contented) are these animate beings (though) they say when they have obtained their profit, reverence and praise in verse, they are satisfied'.

Here the sentence is misconstrued and the rendering is in school-boy's English. The adjective 'animate' is redundant. The better and correct rendering would have been—unsatiated indeed are these beings, (though) served with gain, honour and eulogy, they do not say, 'we are satisfied'. Cf. *Vin.*, II, 196; *Itivuttaka*, 73; *Jāt.*, I, 185, 186, etc. See also P.T.S. Pali Dictionary.

kāraṇopagāḥ punaḥ sarva-dharmāḥ—'again everything is produced by efficient causes'. Where does he get the idea of efficient causes? Buddhism eschews the idea of all such causes. The correct idea is 'all things proceed from a cause'. Cf. *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, 109; P.T.S. Dictionary.

agram asaṅga-jñānam utsṛjya viśiṣṭaparinirvāṇārtham sattvā hīna-yānam prā(r)thayante, p. 256—'they the animate beings having renounced this impartial, holy, excellent and emancipated wisdom, follow the low-principled doctrines of the Śrāvakas'. Where does he get the idea of holy and emancipated wisdom? The intended idea is—Leaving aside the excellent knowledge directed to unattachment, the beings (i.e. men) seek to follow the Lesser Vehicle for personal *summum bonum*. *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā*, 259—*anāsatta citta*. Cf. *Milinda*, 343—*santacittā*.

kāya-samudācāras, p. 257—'bodily doings (or practices)', 'performances (or works)'. The word stands for bodily act, action, way of behaving. Cf. *Saṃ.*, V, 354—*Kāyasamācāra*, *Digha*, II, 279; *Majjhima*, I, 272 foll., II, 113; III, 45; *Aṅg.*, III, 186 foll.

vāk-samudācāras—'commandments'. This is far-fetched. The word stands for vocal act, utterance, way of speaking.

dharma-pratisaṃvit, p. 258—'clear perception of the different doctrines (or religious articles)'.

artha-pratisaṃvit—'clear understanding of the different meanings'.

nirukta-pratisaṃvit—'clear understanding of the truly different words (*nirukta* = etymological analysis; interpretation of the original language of the holy scriptures)'.

pratibhāṇa-pratisaṃvit—'clear understanding of the (different) import or force'.

The terms as loosely defined and explained in the texts and commentaries are difficult of translation. So the English equivalents suggested must be of a non-committal character and at the same time sensible. But 'different doctrines (or religious articles)', 'different meanings', 'truly different words' and 'different import or force' are not correct translations of *dharma*, *artha*, *nirukti* and *pratibhāna*. The first word stands for the doctrine, the text (worded doctrine of the Buddha, scriptures—*Dhammapada Commy.* I, p. 22), the principle, the proposition; the second for the meaning, the import, the underlying idea, the connotation; the third for the language, the phraseology or terminology; and the fourth for the implication, the elaboration, the disquisition. (Cf. *Milinda*, 21, *Vibhaṅga*, 293 foll.)

yathāpi mahā-pṛthivyām, p. 260—'as one walks on the (vast) continent or dry land'. Here 'vast continent' is inappropriate; great earth would have been literal and idiomatic.

kāyena vaśe vartayati—'rules (or has power) over the body of animate existences'. The author has sadly missed the meaning and force of '*kāyena*' which is a third case. This is usually paraphrased by *nāmakāyena* meaning 'by psychic powers, mentally'. Cf. *Nettipakaraṇam*, 41, 69, 77.

jātismaraḥ, p. 261—'he recollects his several generations'. Here 'generations' is not the proper word for *jāti*. The proper rendering would be 'having the power to recollect previous births'.

vaśitā, p. 263—'faculty or power for (or over)'. It stands simply for mastery or perfect control over something.

riddhi—'transformation'.

The word signifies supernormal faculties, miraculous powers. See P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 121.

yānāniryāna, p. 264—'seduced by other principles'. Literally the word means 'walking out of the vehicle, going out of the way, deviating from the path'.

saṃgrahavastu-sarvasattva-saṃgrāhakāḥ, p. 265—'they that comprehend all animate existences under comprehensible (or material) properties'. Evidently the editor is not familiar with the four *sangahavatthus* (e.g. charity, kindly speech, a life of usefulness and state of equality) of

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the Buddhists and the expression *loka-sangāhakā*. The sense to be conveyed is 'they that gather the beings together by the four means thereof'.

karmāntāḥ, p. 266—'the limits of actions or works'. But in Buddhist terminology the word *karmānta* (Pali *kammanta*) simply stands for action, and not for the limit of action. Cf. *Sutta-nipāta*, V, 127, page 22, and *Vibhaṅga*, 235.

catvāri saṃgrahavastuni, p. 267—'names of four properties (or qualities) to be acquired'. The expression stands for the four means of gathering the people together (winning their hearts). Some have translated as objects (characteristics) of sympathy. Cf. P.T.S. Dictionary.

artha-caryā—'explication of meaning'. The word stands for meaning good, doing good.

samānārthatā—'similarity of meaning'. The word stands for the sameness of purpose, sympathy, fellow-feeling. Cf. *Lalitavistara*, 30; *Divyāvadāna*, 95, 124, 264, etc.—'*Caturshu Saṃgrahavastushu*'.

adhiśīlam—'increase in good morals (training in the higher morality)'. Here there is no question of training. The word stands for the practice of a greater degree of virtue.

chanda-samādhi-prahāṇa-saṃskāra-samanvāgato ṛddhipādaḥ, p. 268—'the wonderful art of relinquishing from his representation or consciousness the covetous deep meditation'. What is the meaning of this jargon? The editor ought to have consulted the P.T.S. Dictionary (p. 121) to arrive at a correct rendering.

vinīlakam, p. 270—'becoming blue (dark blue)'. The idea is 'becoming discoloured' (Pali *viparītabhinnābham*).

dīrgham āśvasan dīrgham āśvasāmīti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti, p. 271—'he knows very well the measure (of) how it came that a long breathing was followed by another long breathing'. Here not only the simple thing is rendered difficult but a gross mistake is committed in the construction of the sentence which stands for: while drawing in a long breath I am drawing in a long breath—thus he is perfectly aware of the matter as it is.

sarvakāyapratisaṃvedyāśvasan sarvakāyapratisaṃvedy āśvasāmīti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti, p. 272—'it being the body that feels (perceives, enjoys) all, he knows well that when he has received a breath (or breathed in) it is the body which enjoys (or feels) everything that has drawn in breath.'

What is this—English or Pali or Sanskrit? The sentence stands for: 'While drawing in a breath felt through the whole system, I am drawing in such a breath—thus he becomes perfectly aware of the matter as it is.'

prīti-pratisaṃvedī praśvasan, p. 273—'if he utters a breath when enjoying pleasure'. Do we ever utter a breath?' He has failed to translate correctly even this simple thing which means while drawing out a joy-producing breath.

citta-saṃskāra (= cittavritti of Patañjali)—'an emotion of the mind'. Where did he get the idea of 'an emotion of the mind' from? The word *citta-saṁskāra* signifies 'mental function', 'mental process'. Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, 530 foll.; *Sam*, IV, 293.

indriya-vaimātratā, p. 279—'names of the different degrees of the mental organs'. In Buddhism the word *indriya* stands for 'faculties', and not for 'organs'. See P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 122.

The three words, *mṛdvindriyaḥ*, *madhyendriyaḥ* and *tikṣṇendriyaḥ*, which are all *Bahuvrīhi* compounds, are construed differently when they are translated respectively by 'a blunt organ, a middle organ, and a sharp or acute organ'. These should have been better translated by a man whose mental faculty is blunt, a man whose mental faculty is of middle kind, a man whose mental faculty is sharp.

Dvādaśāṅga-dharmapravacanam; *dharma-paryāyāḥ*—'On the names or nomenclature (of the several parts) of the Holy Religion'. Here 'holy religion' is not at all the proper rendering of *dharmapravacanam* or *dharmaparyāyāḥ*. Why should he speak of several parts, when the number 'twelve' is given? The correct translation would be: The twelve types (or classes) of the doctrinal sayings, the doctrinal (sacred) texts.

Vyākaraṇam—'the class of narrative (or historical) works and prophetical stories'. This is far from being correct. The *vyākaraṇa* represents the exegetical treatises in prose, e.g. the books of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

Gāthā—'the class of narrative works in verse'. But the name *Gāthā* is applicable only to metrical compositions, narrative or didactic.

ādau kalyāṇam, madhye kalyāṇam, paryavasāne kalyāṇam, p. 280—'in the first place, in the middle or second place, lastly virtue (or good work) (is to be practised)'. Here one reaches the climax of the editor's utter incompetence. The literal and idiomatic rendering would be: 'good in the beginning', 'good in the middle', and 'good at the end'. Cf. *Dīgha*, I, p. 62—*Ādi, majjhe, pariyosāne*.

ehipaśyika, p. 281—'this is visible (this must be regarded)'. How faulty and misleading is this? The doctrine of the Buddha is characterized as 'having *come and see* for its motto'.

sambodhi-gāmī—'that (which) makes (one) become perfect, wise'. It may be easily translated as 'leading to enlightenment'. Cf. *Saṃ.*, V, p. 234.

hrīdhanam (p. 296)—'the wealth of shame or bashfulness', *apatrāpyadhanam*, 'ditto of modesty, pudency, or chastity'. This is not correct. Hri means the consideration of one's own position, honour or prestige in doing or not doing a thing, judiciousness, and *apatrāpya* means consideration of what others may say or think, fear of public opinion.

Besides I must draw the editor's attention to *Dīgha*, III, 262, *Aṅg.*, IV, 306, *Vibhaṅga*, 342, etc., regarding the eight stages of emancipation (vide page 288 of the *Mahāvyutpatti*), to my paper on *sukha-dukkha in Buddhism* (*Mahābodhi Journal*, 1944) and to the *Aṅguttara*, Vol. I,

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p. 176, regarding eight sorts of pain (vide p. 307—*Mahāvyutpatti*). Aśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarananda Kāvya* (Canto V) refers to *Nāpriyasaṃprayogaḥ* and *Priyaviprayogaḥ* in connection with his exposition of *Nirvāṇa* (vide *Mahāvyutpatti*, p. 307—the same terms occur). The editor ought to have noticed it. He ought to have consulted Shwe Zan Aung's *Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy* where the logical signification of the terms *hetu-pratyaya, samanantara-pratyaya* and *adhipatipratyaya* (p. 308) has been fully discussed. The word *pratyaya* is translated by 'relation' or 'causal factor'. It is very strange indeed that the editor should miss the meaning of so well-known a term as *ālambana* which stands for an object of sense or thought. The meaning of *āsevitaṁ* in page 312 is cultivated, *bhāvitaṁ* means developed (*vaḍḍhita*) and *bahulikṛtaṁ* literally means multiplied. The editor's interpretations of these terms are wrong. The reader of the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* is well aware of the fact that the three words *Karmasvakaḥ, Karmadāyādaḥ* and *Karmayoniḥ* (p. 312) are *bahuvrīhi* compounds and must therefore be construed as such. The first word stands for having karma as one's own, the second for being the inheritor of one's karma, and the third for having origination in one's own karma. The editor's meaning of *Saikṣa* in p. 313 is incorrect. This term is technically applicable to persons of advanced spiritual ranks below full-fledged arhatship.

The editor should have consulted the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 600), and the *Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā* (pp. 166 foll.) in dealing with *catvāraḥ pratyayāḥ* or Pali *catubbidhopaccayo* (p. 308). Regarding *navasattvāvāsāḥ* (p. 310), the editor should have referred to the *Dīgha*, III, pp. 263 foll. and the Dialogues of the Buddha, Pt. III, pp. 243 foll. to get a clear idea. Among the *navasattvāvāsā* (Pali navasattāvāsā) we have *ākāsānañcāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *ākāśānantyāyatanaṃ*) meaning moral consciousness in the infinity of space, *viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *vijñānānantyāyatanam*) meaning moral consciousness in the infinity of consciousness, *ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *ākiñcanyāyatanaṃ*), i.e. moral consciousness of nothingness and *nevasaññānāsaññāyatanaṃ* (Sk. *naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatanaṃ*), that is, moral consciousness in which perception neither exists nor does not exist.

Thus we see that the editor has committed many serious errors. The execution of the work is so bad that it needs complete overhauling. In many instances the editor's representation of the Buddhist vocabulary is incorrect. This work should have been revised by a more competent scholar before it is presented as a publication of such a learned body as the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Society has no doubt spoiled its good name by publishing this unreliable edition of an important dictionary, which requires re-editing by a scholar who has sufficiently qualified himself for the task.

B. C. Law.

OBITUARY

In Memory of Professor Jean Philippe Vogel

(*From the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 8, No. 2, August* 1944, *pp.* 227–234)

I

The number of scholars whose services to Indian archaeology will never be forgotten, is small; but the stronger proves their influence on the progress of our knowledge of the history of Asiatic civilization. Every gap in their ranks is badly felt, and the death of Professor J. Ph. Vogel some months ago, therefore, means a heavy loss for Indian archaeology. For with him one of the greatest authorities in this field has passed away.

Born on the 9th January, 1871, Dr. Vogel received his academic training at the University of Amsterdam with which he was connected for more than a decade, first as a student, then after having obtained his doctor's degree (translation into the Dutch language of the ancient Indian drama *Mṛcchakaṭikā*) as a young lecturer. In 1901 he accepted an appointment in Lahore as Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle; in 1914 he returned to the Netherlands in order to assume charge of the chair for Sanskrit and Indian archaeology at the University of Leyden. It was a legacy involving a great responsibility; for here J. Hendrik Kern (1833–1917) had created a tradition of grand style for this important field of oriental researches. Dr. Vogel has maintained it with honour and carried its fame far and wide.

Indeed, the task assigned to him in the Punjab by the British authorities might hardly have found a more efficient and industrious worker. Year for year he produced the most valuable results; in the first nine volumes (since 1902-3) of the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* not less than 18 articles from

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Dr. Vogel's pen were published; and in my opinion none of them has now become antiquated although 30–40 years have since passed. The 'Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures', 'Buddhist Sculptures from Benares', the treatise on the history of the sacrificial post, in connection with the Īsāpur find, the analysis of the architecture and iconography of the *Seven Pagodas* [1]—to mention only a few examples—prove the careful selection of Dr. Vogel's themes. He never wasted his time on accidental unessentialities, though he could concentrate his research on individual questions whenever he realized their key position within a greater complex of problems. Thus his interest was attracted to the centuries round the beginning of the Christian era which had been pregnant with far-reaching problems of Indian religious and art history, closely connected with the rule of the Indo-Scythians.[2] To this period he devoted his book on *La Sculpture de Mathurā* (1910), the masterly conclusion of investigations going back as far as 1905 (cp., besides the *Annual Reports*, his still indispensable *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, 1910). Many, not yet fully disentangled, threads connect this old religious city which was to become the export centre for the multitude of icons of the mightiest heterodoxy of India, with the workshops of the Greco-Buddhist masons. Already in 1905 (*Epigraphia Indica*) Dr. Vogel has drawn the attention of scholars to the Mathurā type of the Buddha approaching illumination (Bodhisattva), with the following words: 'At Mathurā a school of sculpture flourished, which was strongly influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bodhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism. All evidence now available points to the fact that these were the first images of the kind set up at those places (Sārnāth and Śrāvastī)' (p. 174). '. . . . . We noticed, however, in describing the Sārnāth Bodhisattva certain features which seem to be borrowed from the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra. This fact not only confirms the theory that the practice of making Buddha images originated from the north-west, but also indicates that the flourishing period of the Gandhāra school must be anterior to Kaniṣka's reign . . . .' (p. 178; cp. Foucher, Gandhāra, I, 1905, p. 42).

The vexing problem could, however, not be avoided; also Dr. Vogel could not still the uneasy doubts. They are nourished by the arguments brought into the field by Foucher and Coomaraswamy, the champions for and against Hellenism as the teacher of India. As long as the chronology of Gandhāra is so much in the dark, writes Dr. Vogel in 1930, it is 'assez inutile de se perdre en conjectures'. He believes that the initiative came from the North-West, 'mais a quoi bon s'aventurer dans les ténèbres incertaines des origines'. On the other hand, doubts beset him whether the two Bala-Bodhisattva (certified as such by inscriptions) might nevertheless be the earliest personifications of the saviour in the Buddhist cult (*Mathurā*, pp. 34f.). And in 1936 he repeated that Coomaraswamy's thesis of a simultaneous introduction of the Buddha image by Gandhāra and Mathurā seemed improbable to him ('one cannot escape the conclusion that one must have evolved from the other'), but thought also that 'the Yakṣa images of that earlier period are marked by an archaic clumsiness and rigidity such as we also find in the earliest Buddha images' (*Buddhist Art*, pp. 35–37).

At this point iconographic research has made a step forward, though not unanimously. As is well known, the Indian uses the term Yakṣa in a very broad though well-defined sense. It may best be interpreted as a *vox media* of the ancient

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[1] Continued by A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, *Memoirs ASI*, 17, 1924, and 33, 1928. In 1931, Dr. Vogel published, in *BSOS*, 6, 539–43, the important article 'Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture'; here on pp. 542f., the motif is discussed which was in 1941 taken up in Thomas Mann's novel 'The Transposed Heads'; cp. *Time* (Chicago), 1941, June 9, where also a retrospect on Goethe's Paria legend might have been desirable; cp. the sources enumerated by Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, 3, 1922, p. 335. Cp. also A. K. Coomaraswamy, in *Speculum*, 19, 1944, p. 10.

[2] The famous headless stone statue and the bronze reliquiary of Kaniṣka are treated by Dr. Vogel in detail in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, 4 de Reeks, deel 12, Amsterdam, 1913, pp. 272–307, 4 plates. As to the date of Kaniṣka he has finally acknowledged Konow's chronology (*ca.* 128 A.D.).

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Greek and of Goethe's conception of the 'daemon'; in a similar set of ideas E. W. Hopkins has spoken of it as a 'neutral stage'. Coomaraswamy had been the first to yoke together the Yakṣas and Bodhisattvas and to construct from them a co-ordinated sequence of stylistic types; A. Foucher has not followed him, his aversion is but too well known from *Gandhāra*, II, 46f., etc., and *JBORS*, V, 1919, p. 519, footnote 1. Coomaraswamy's series (*Origin of the Buddha Image*, Art Bulletin, IX, No. 4, 1927, and especially *Yakṣas*, I, 1928, pp. 29f.) starts with the Parkham Bodhisattva of the second century B.C. and extends to the Mathurā Buddha of the Gupta period. His verdict that 'there is no room for the insertion of any Hellenistic type' (*Origin*, p. 32; *Yakṣas*, I, p. 30) goes indubitably too far [1]; but his arguments (cp. *Geschichte der Indischen Kunst*, 1927, pp. 51, 324; O. C. Ganguly, O.Z. 1938, p. 43 above) for a derivation of the prototype of the Bodhisattva from the Yakṣa images deserve support. Thus also the conflict of opinions which of the earliest Indian statues so far known to us should be classified as Yakṣas or as Bodhisattvas, loses its acrimony.

If we try to co-ordinate the chief data of the history of religious art and literature, much seems to me to speak in favour of the probability that the Mathurā school (cp. also E. Waldschmidt, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Buddhabildes*, O.Z. 1930, p. 265) consciously adopted, in complement to its indigenous *Bodhisattva* figures of the Yakṣa type, the—likewise newly created—Gandhāra models of the Buddha already raised to the bliss of Nirvāna. In my opinion (cp. *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, VI, 1929, pp. 151, 155, 161ff., my *Buddha im Fürstenschmuck*, 1932, pp. 14f.; *F. W. Thomas Volume*, 1939, p. 242) this anthropomorph conception is a product of the Mahāyānist cult of Gandhāra; with other words, 'Northern' Buddhism has created it when it rose to a world religion on the North-West Indian soil impregnated with Hellenistic ideas. The Gandhāra groups of the Sarvāstivādin and the Mahāsānghika, who seem to have been at least equals, may have had a hand in this religious and iconographical reform; and in this connection it deserves to be mentioned that the Chinese regarded Gandhāra as the second holy land of Buddhism, the home and chief centre of Mahāyānism.

Nobody believes that some day the Mahāyāna had come out of the egg, completely grown out, in order to attack the Hīnayāna with the famous seven sacred steps. The movement which had started in Buddhism in the days of Aśoka, grew slowly in strength in the centuries direct before and after the birth of Christ. Not that there had been any dissent with regard to the aim—salvation and again salvation—; but whether, where and how one might pray for guidance towards that aim, this kept occupied the heads and the hearts.

However, for Gandhāra the fundamental Brahmanical-Hinduistic conceptions were not a strict, immovable norm. For as the age of Alexander had shown, the Olympos of the Greeks did not imply such an exclusive censorship. At home every Buddhist had been familiar with the cult apparatus of Śaivism, from the gigantic temple down to the elegant coin with the image impressed on it. People believed that also Buddha's ancestors had venerated the great Śiva. So far art had kept empty the place of the Buddha, filling it with some conventional symbols in the midst of an exuberant relieve art. Could under these circumstances there be indeed any objection against representing him to the faithful also, in all his glory? The scene of the illumination of the Exalted Lord on the eve of his career as a preacher no more formed the centre of his biography. Now people believed to know much, much more of the ordinary and of the mystic-magical episodes of his life. The personification of the Mahāpuruṣa (superman), once conceived in a merely abstract way, went hand in hand with the projection of the Buddhi (wisdom = sophia, logos) on the figure of the Buddha and with the allotment of impressive, partly quite independent rôles to the Bodhisattvas (cp. E. J. Thomas, *The History*

[1] Rightly Ramaprasad Chanda, *The Mathurā School of Sculpture, ARASI*, 1922-23, lays emphasis on the 'gradual strangulation of the old indigenous school by the invasion of Gandhāran art . . . . the arrangement of the drapery in the Kushān period is a mixture of Indian and Gandhāra styles (p. 168) . . . . Hellenistic influence flowed into the art of the Gupta period through Mathurā, for in Mathurā alone we meet with transitional forms . . . .' (p. 170).

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of Buddhist Thought, 1933, pp. 167–211). The apogee of the system finally was reached in the Trikāya (three-body) doctrine. Though in its details differently interpreted by the above-mentioned sects, it distinguished, in its final form, the transcendent imperceptible Dharmakāya from the body of bliss (sambhoga), perceptible only to the aspirant to the state of a Buddha, and from the phantom (nirmāṇa) body of Buddha for the purpose of teaching and saving mankind.[1] Seen in this perspective, the artistic and ideological collaboration of the 'sculpteurs et ecrivains', for which Foucher, I, pp. 621–23, adduces so eloquent evidence, may be understood much better than might be expected from his well-intentioned cautioning, II, pp. 392f. The hint which already A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst*, 1900, p. 159, had given, has proved correct.

However, these considerations throw some light also on Mathurā. Can we expect that this industrious city might have kept aloof in apathy? Its school of sculptors had never been devoted to the exclusive service of Buddhism, or even of one Buddhist sect. It likewise provided votive gifts and other works of decorative religious art for its Jaina customers. In a time of a rising demand for religious images, commercial prudence alone would have been sufficient to recommend an adaptation to new fashions. For did not the much older sculptural tradition of Mathurā offer all the hopes to outrun Gandhāra? Its very geographical situation had brought Mathurā within the vortex of international political and intellectual contacts so far as Northern India had been infected by them at all.

II.

The historico-epigraphical studies of Dr. Vogel on the Panjāb extend from the oldest times within reach of our investigations to the eve of our present days. The *History of the Panjab Hill States* (1933, in collaboration with Dr. J. Hutchinson) had been preceded by the exploration of the biggest of those miniature States, Chambā, of the size of Montenegro and a population of 147,000, but with a rich heritage of Śāradā inscriptions since about A.D. 680 (*Antiquities of Chambā State, I: Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammedan Period*, 1911).

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are represented not only by the *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort* (1920), with their eighty colourplates, but also by several editions of documents on the Dutch trade with the Grand Mughals, accompanied by excellent commentaries. Quite new in this respect are the informations collected in connection with the travel of J. J. Ketelaar to Lahore in 1711–13. His original name had been Kettler, and he came from Elbing in Western Prussia. Ketelaar was also the author of the first Hindustani grammar (cp. *Mededeelingen Ak. Amsterdam*, Afd. *Letteren* 74, Ser. B, No. 4, 1932; *J. Panjab Hist. Soc.* 10, 1929, pp. 1–94; *Journal van J. J. Ketelaar's Hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore*, 1937; *BSOS*, 8, 1936 = *Studies . . . Grierson*, pp. 817–22).

An excellent example of Dr. Vogel's historico-philological method is *Indian Serpent Lore or the Nāgas in Hindu Legend and Art* (1926); apart from his attractive little handbook *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java* (1936),[2] this model work has won the largest international circle of readers. The special Indian atmosphere is carefully preserved; his observations on old customs within the sphere of primitive mythology offer many vistas on general folkloristic problems, but he never overcrowds his materia with those tiresome interspersions which have ruined so many compendious studies in folklore. Here as well as elsewhere Dr. Vogel's pen proves its mastery; it succeeds in rendering the most unwieldy material tractable; his style is lucid and supple, never mannered or highly stringed. Vogel cautions us before an overestimation of the symbolic substratum in art as also Indian culture

[1] A good survey in Nalinaksha Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna* (1930), pp. 1–128; J. W. Hauer, *Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, 1931, pp. 133f., does not lay sufficient stress on the fact that a long time must have past between the first beginnings and the completion of the nirmāṇa doctrine.

[2] The Dutch edition (1932) had not yet included Ceylon and Java. In 1925 the India Society published Dr. Vogel's paper on the influence of Indian art on Java; in the same year also 'The earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java' came out, in part 1 of the *Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie'*, pp. 15–25, 9 plates.

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aims at beauty (*JRAS*, 1939, pp. 307ff.). And last but not least! In judging the achievements of others Dr. Vogel never used a poignant or malicious word, this would have been incompatible with the dignity of a gentleman aspiring at the Buddhist *maitrī*.

I may here be permitted to dilate on a characterization of Dr. Vogel's personality. The enjoyable days which I had the fortune to spend with him, as Officiating Director-General of Archaeology (1910-11), in the Chingleput District in Southern India, and later on in Old Delhi, number amongst my dearest memories of this tour; every talk with this distinguished, kindly helpful colleague was a source of disinterested information. Whenever he wrote to me later on, it always was in an untiring effort of offering practical help to younger indologists in their struggle to find a congenial position. Lately a scholar deeply indebted to Dr. Vogel wrote me: 'Two days ago we received the sad news that Professor J. Ph. Vogel in Leyden had died. But no details are available. You know how much he had done for us, and you will understand how distressed we feel. He had been a rarely good and charitable man, and we know what a benefactor he had been to many who did not even know his name.'

Evidence of a similar unselfishness in his devoted work is the 'Instituut Kern'. Opened by him in April 1925, it soon became known by courses on the living Oriental languages and by the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* which, enriched by original articles from the pen of Dr. Vogel, developed to a first-class reference publication. As President of the Institute,[1] Dr. Vogel through all these years watched over these careful reports which were kept going with the help of financial subventions from the governments of Holland, India and Ceylon as well as from Indian rajas. Let us hope that this valuable work of Dr. Vogel will not fall a victim to the horrible war catastrophe which has come over his country. Perhaps it may be permitted to approach the Congress Library in Washington with the request to aid here, if necessary. No better posthumous honour might be bestowed on this great scholar from whose industrious activities both museums and libraries are profiting since decades.

Hanson, Mass., July 1944. L. SCHERMAN.

(*Translated from the German by H. Goetz, Baroda, by kind permission of the Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*)

Prof. Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith

We are shocked to have the news of the passing away of one of the greatest European orientalists, Prof. Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith, in Edinburgh on the 6th October, 1944, at the age of sixty-five. No scholar has done so much as he did in the domain of indological studies. Since 1914 he had been Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at Edinburgh University. Before this he acted as the Secretary to the Crown Agents for Colonies and then as Private Secretary to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State.

His researches in Sanskrit literature and in Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy will long be remembered by posterity. All his writings are marked by thoroughness of treatment and soundness of critical judgment. He also dealt with international problems and he was an authority on constitutional law.

The world of oriental scholarship is getting poorer and poorer day by day in the recent deaths of many well-known scholars, whose place will not soon be filled up. May his soul rest in peace! B. C. LAW.

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[1] In 1939 he was elected Honorary President; on this occasion his bust was set up (illustrated in the *Jaarverslaag*, 1939). Cp. also Vogel, *De Arbeid van het Instituut Kern*, 1925-35 (1935).

In 1915 he was elected member of the Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, in 1932 he was Vice-Chancellor of Leyden University, in 1937 the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1939 the American Oriental Society made him Honorary Fellow. The British Government conferred on him the distinction of C.I.E.

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OPINIONS

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TRIBES IN ANCIENT INDIA

By Dr. B. C. Law

OPINIONS

Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute (February, 1944).—Dr. B. C. Law needs no introduction to the scholarly circle. His original contributions to the different branches of Indology particularly Buddhism are too well known. The work under review deals with the tribes of Ancient India. Even before this, Dr. Law had written on the history of tribes, mainly of the Kṣatriya class. In the present work, however, the author has not confined himself to any particular class, but presents to the literary world a 'comprehensive and systematic account of some tribes inhabiting different parts of India, who played an important part in the early history of India'.

In 75 chapters the author has dealt with over one hundred and fifty small and big tribes of ancient India. For the exhaustive treatment of each, the author has ransacked all possible references found scattered in the vast literature of the country. He has utilized all the available sources—Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jain and tried to present them in an interesting manner. Almost all his statements are fully documented which makes the work quite authentic as well. . . . . the book is quite interesting and informative. There is ample matter here for the ancient period of Indian history. The author deserves our congratulation for this important contribution.

Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.—This work is a valuable addition to the vast and varied literature contributed by its erudite author on different aspects of India's history and civilization. It is based upon material derived from works in different languages, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, and also from archaeological sources, inscriptions and coins. It is undeniable that an important part of the history of India is the history of its tribes. In that history is to be found a mine of material bearing upon the interesting and important subject of India's democratic tradition, practice, and procedure, which are even to this day so much doubted by superficial Western students of India's culture-history. From this point of view, the present work is possessed of a value of its own.

The Magnitude of the work will be evident from the fact that it deals with as many as 85 tribes belonging to different parts of India, and to different periods of her history, besides a number of miscellaneous tribes. Most of these Dr. Law rescues from oblivion, and thus restores several forgotten but important chapters of Indian history. The work will serve as an indispensable supplement for a study of the general history of India. Besides purely political history, it throws light upon much social history, and is a valuable study in manners and customs showing a wide range of variety. It is an important work of Ancient Indian sociology, besides being a part of political history. The get-up of the book shows a high standard and quality. The intrinsic interest of its matter is enhanced by the manner in which the matter is presented in language that is at once lucid and logical.

Amrita Bazar Patrika (dated 19-3-44).—Among Indian scholars who have distinguished themselves in the field of Indology, there is perhaps none who has greater understanding of the history of ancient Indian tribes than Dr. B. C. Law. For well over two scores of years, he has written unremittingly and prolifically on the history of these tribes, and the numerous papers and mono-

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graphs he has already published, have not only been enthusiastically received by scholars all over the world, but they rank as authoritative works on the subject. In the monograph under review the author has once again covered the whole field of his research, and though it contains much of the materials that he had already published, yet the variation in the details of content, emphasis and treatment of subject-matter infuses a new and refreshing air into it, and reflects abundantly the author's continued research on the subject and his intensive attention to improve the results of his previous study by shedding new light on many obscure points.

Besides a final chapter devoted to the history of 72 miscellaneous and minor tribes, there are in this book 74 other chapters each comprehensively and systematically dealing with the history of almost all the important tribes of north, south, east, west or central India who had some rôle to play in the early history of India. When it is remembered that the early history of India merely consisted of the story of the supremacy or hegemony of some of these tribes, the importance of this monograph as a factual basis for the writing of ancient Indian history would at once be evident. In the preparation of this monograph the author has ransacked all available sources of information—literary and epigraphic, numismatic and monumental, Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Jainic, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. Richly packed up as it is with all relevant information on the subject, it can indeed be justifiably called an Encyclopaedia of Ancient Indian Tribes, and the inclusion of a comprehensive index makes the abundance of material in the volume more readily available.

The Mahabodhi Journal (Nov.-Dec. 1944).—A book that makes the Indian history complete and which no deep student of Indian history should fail to study. Only an erudite investigator in the field of research and a master of many languages could produce so scholarly a publication. It has certainly required untiring effort to bring out so masterly a volume. There are over seventy tribes mentioned, and the history of each is entered in upon with the greatest care and erudition. The style is such as makes prose poetic and the book is a romance as well as a scholastic production. One feels as living in the past in going through the pages; there is a spirit there that touches the heart as well as the brain.

A map of India, showing the different kingdoms, adds greatly to its interest and a complete index facilitates the study.

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (Vol. V, Part II, December 1943).—To the students of Ancient Indian History, Dr. Law is well known as a student of the history of the tribes of Ancient India, and the present work, which is a continuation of his earlier studies on the subject, contains accounts of as many as seventy-five tribes, which in their own days played a part in the political and cultural history of the country. Tribes from all parts of India are included.

The book gives a systematic and critical account of the history and achievements of most of the important tribes. All relevant sources of information have been utilized by the author. If in some cases the account appears to be sketchy, the fault is generally of the material and not of the author. The work will serve as a very useful source book to the students and research workers in Ancient Indian History. It comprises of so much useful information so carefully collected.

While dealing with the history of the Yaudheyas, the Sibis, the Kulūtas, the Kuṇindas, the Arjunāyanas, the Lichchhavis and the Audumbaras, the author has utilized the numismatic evidence as well.... (Reviewed by Dr. A. S. Altekar.)

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A NOTE ON THE 'BHUM' COUNTRIES IN EASTERN INDIA

By PARAMANANDA ACHARYA

Mayurbhanj is popularly known as Bhanjabhūmi or Bhanjbhum (the country of Bhanja Princes). In the *Rasikamangaḷa*, a book written in the middle of the seventeenth century, Mayurbhanj is described as 'Bhanjabhum'. Similarly Dhalbhum, Singhbhum, Sikharbhum, Manbhum, Tungbhum, Mallbhum, etc. are known after the family surname of Dhala, Siṃha, Śikhara, Māna, Tunga and Malla families.

Evidence is not wanting that the countries were so called after the names of tribes or families or even brothers belonging to a family long after the tribe or the family had ceased to exist, as for instance, Aikṣākus, Panchālas, Kāśis, Kalingas, Utkalas, etc. In eastern India it is said in the Puranas that the queen Sudeṣṇā bore six sons who were named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra, Odra and Suhma to her husband the king Bali and the countries over which they ruled were called after them.

'Aṅgavaṅgakaḷiṅgādyāh suhmapuṇḍraudra saṃjñitah |
Jajñire dīrghatamaso vaḷeh kṣetra mahīkshitah ||
Chakru svanāmnā viṣayān ṣaḍimān prāchyakāṃscha te.' [1]

Here we find six brothers mentioned in books published in the Bengali character in Calcutta. The Oriya translation of *Bhāgavata* made by Jagannātha Dāsa in the sixteenth century A.D. also mentions six brothers. A Bombay publication includes Āndhra in place of Odra. Pargiter omits Odra (vide *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions*, pp. 158 and 272). Sudyumna had three sons named Utkaḷa, Gaya and Vinitāśva who had territories of their own, thus Utkala had the Utkala country, Vinitāśva had the western country and Gaya had the city of Gayā. These eight ancient divisions of eastern India have geographical unity to each other and so it is natural that in this area the ancient tradition of naming countries after the family surname of the rulers survived or revived in these kingdoms with 'bhum' suffix.

The country names ending in 'bhum' suffix are bounded on the north by Birbhum on the east by Mallabhum (in the district of Bankura) and Bāghbhum (in the district of Midnapore) in Bengal, and on the south by Bhanjabhum or Mayurbhanj and by Singhbhum and Nagbhum (Chotia Nagpur or Ranchi) on the west. The surname Bhanja has been found from the epigraphic records as early as fifth century A.D. from a rock inscription of Keonjhar. *Āchārānga Sutra* is an old Jaina treatise composed in the fourth century B.C. which mentions countries called 'Vajjabhūmi' and 'Subhabhūmi'. The corruptions of 'Vajjabhūmi' and 'Subhabhūmi' have been suggested as Vijayabhūmi, Vajrabhūmi or Bhanjabhūmi and Siṃhabhūmi or Suhmabhūmi respectively.[2] Whatever may be the modern form of the corruption of these places, it is certain that there existed countries in this area with 'bhūmi' suffix in the fourth century B.C. if not earlier. Mr. Nundolal Dey suggests that the countries with 'bhumi' suffix were derived from Mahāvīra and he writes: 'Manbhum is evidently a corruption of *Manyabhūmi* which means the "venerable country" and evidently derived its name from Mahāvīra who was called the "Venerable Ascetic Mahavira". * * Singhbhum is a corruption of Siṃha-bhūmi, which means "the country of the Lion". It also derived its name from Mahāvīra who was compared to a lion and whose symbol was the lion.' [3] Blochmann's note in this connection is quoted below: 'It is remarkable that among names of the jungly and hilly frontier districts, we find so many ending in *bhum*.

---

[1] *Bhāgavata*, IX, 23. 5. (Calcutta Gaudiyamatha edition.)
[2] (*a*) *J. & P.A.S.B.*, Vol. IV, pp. 285-86. (*b*) *J.B. & O.R.S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 90. (*c*) *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IV, p. 44.
[3] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IV, p. 45.

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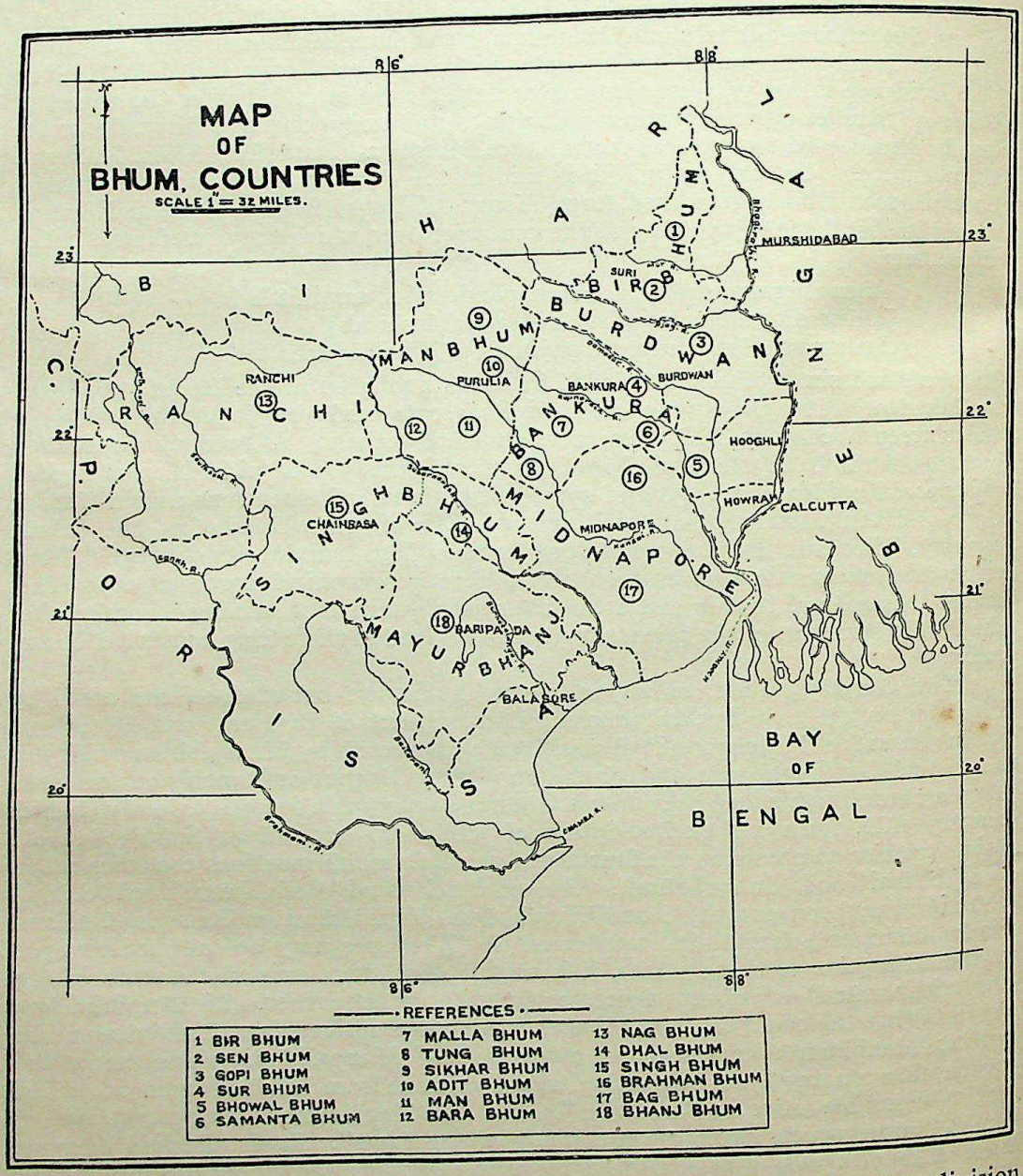
Thus we have Birbhum, Sainbhum, along with the left bank of the Ajai, in Birbhum district; Sikharbhum or Shergarh, the Mahall to which Raniganj belongs; Gopibhum, along with right bank of the Ajai; Bamanbhum or Brahmanbhum, in northern Medinipur District; Manbhum, Barabhum, Dhalbhum, Singbhum in Chutia Nagpur; Tunbhum in southern Purulia, Malbhum, the frontier of Burdwan and Medinipur Districts; Bhanjiabhum, with the town of Medinipur, etc. Similarly the frontier district between Rangpur and the Brahmaputra, comprising Mahals Bhitarbund and Bahirband, is called in Suja's rent-roll "Bangalbhum". The *Ain* also mentions a Mahala Bhowalbhum under Sirkar Mandaran.'[1]



The compiler of the *Bankura District Gazetteer* estimates the age of the division of countries with 'bhum' suffix as follows:—

'The names of some of these tracts are of considerable antiquity, being found in the *Brahmanda* section of the *Bhavishyat Purāna* which was probably compiled

1 Blochmann—Geography and History of Bengal—vide *J.A.S.B.*, 1873, p. 224.

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in the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D.'[1] The epigraphic evidence of some of these tracts with *bhum* affix of surnames of some ruling dynasties goes back to a much earlier period than the fifteenth century as stated by the compiler of the Gazetteer.

In his article on 'Geography of India, with extract from a paper by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson' Dr. J. Burgess writes the following:—

'1824 Prof. H. H. Wilson found some fragments of a geographical work, which formed the subject of a paper he contributed to the *Oriental Magazine* for that year. As this paper has not been republished in his collected works, and the *Oriental Magazine* is now practically inaccessible to most, I venture to submit his version of the fragments with as much of his prefatory remarks and footnotes as is of interest:—

'The work, he says from which they are taken, is professed by a section of the *Bhavishyat Purāṇa*[2]: it is not, however, found in the entire copies of that *Purāṇa*, and is, no doubt, a distinct composition. Much of the work is either of some antiquity, or is made up of ancient materials; but there is very large proportion that is clearly quite modern.'

'Division of Pundra Dessa, from the Brahmanda section of the *Bhavishyat Purāṇa*: That part of Bhārata or India known by the name of Pundra, consists of seven principal divisions, Gour, Varendra, Nivritti near the country of Sumbha, the forest tract called Nārikhanda, Varāhabhumi, Vardhamāna and Vindhyapāśwa or the country along the foot of the Vindya mountains. These we shall severally describe. * * * * * * * *

'Nārikhanda is a district abounding in thickets. It lies west of Bhāgirathī; north of the Dwārikeswarī river. It extends along the Panchakūta hills on its west and approaches Kikata (Magadha) on the north. * * The district is celebrated for the shrine of Vaidyanātha. * * In the division of Vīrabhūmi, the no less eminent form of the same divinity, named Bakreśwara, is present in the world. * * There is no want of water, and numerous small streams run through the forest; the principal of these is the Ajaya * * *.'

'In that part of Vīradeśa is the city of Nagara (the capital of Birbhum till the thirteenth century); also Sipulya and other towns * *. On the southern confines towards Odra country is Kindavishṇa, Suvarnamukhya is in the forest * * * .

'Varāhabhumi is the next division of Pundra. The central portion is the forest; along the skirt of it Dhavalabhumi. In one direction it is contiguous to Tungabhumi, and another to the Sekhara mountain; and it comprises Varabhumi, Samantabhumi, and Mānabhumi. This country is overspread with impenetrable forests of *Sāl* and other trees. On the borders of Varabhumi runs the Darikeśi river * * * .

'The principal towns are Pushpapaṭṭan, Kusumapaṭṭan, Chatranagar, Raghunāthpur, Dhavalapur, Sivullapal and Barāhanagar. The chief villages are Chakravesṭana, Kichandra, Suvernatapanna Nandala, Keśara, Rāyapura, two Sarangas, Virabandhana, Suvarnarikki, etc.'[3]

Account of Bhum countries

1. Aditbhum or Ādityabhūmi:—The early British records mention a country in the Jungle Mahals of Midnapore known as Aditbhum which is no doubt a corruption of Ādityabhūmi.

In Mayurbhanj there are a few Kṣatriya families possessing the surname Jit or Jita which seems to be an *apabhraṃśa* of Āditya. 'The present reigning family of Patkum claims descent from Vikramāditya.'[4] Vikramāditya, the traditional

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1 *The District Gazetteer of Bankura*, p. 22.

2 The manuscript of *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*, from which Wilson derived the material for his paper, is now preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and MM. H. P. Sastri's 'Descriptive Catalogue', Vol. IV, contains quotation from the manuscript at pages 59–62. Wilson's reading of *Nārikhanda* seems to be a mistake for *Jhārikhanda* which is popularly known as *Jharkhand* during Moghal and subsequent periods of Indian history.

3 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, 1891, pp. 418–21.

4 *The District Gazetteer of Manbhum*, p. 270.

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founder of the Patkum family, seems to be a person no other than Vikrama of the Āditya family.

The title of Āditya of the Patkum Raj family seems to have been continued from the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Śaśāṅka, the king of Karṇasuvarṇa, who had the second name Narendrāditya, has been accepted as a descendant of the Gupta dynasty or a branch of the Gupta dynasty of Magadha. Dr. Radhagovinda Basak writes as follows on this point:—

'The late Mr. Banerjee also referred to the opinion of some numismatists who held that the inscription on the alleged Sasaṅka coins reads *Narendrāditya* and he inferred, with some degree of probability, that Sasaṅka, like the former imperial Gupta rulers, enjoined a second name with an *āditya* title.' [1]

The genealogical table of the Patkum Raj family contains 68 names from Vikramāditya, the founder of the family. From 28th generation up till now the names of successive Rajas have been repeated one after another with the titles of Vikramāditya, Udayāditya and Śatrughanāditya. Such repetitions of titles or names are found in the genealogy of the Somavaṃśī kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośaḷa and Utkala whose titles Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta were alternately assumed by the rulers. The names of successive rulers of the Khurdha (now Puri) Rājās are Rāmachandra deva, Virakiśoradeva, Divyasiṃhadeva and Mukundadeva. The Raj families of Bamra, Bonai and Palahara possess titles of Sudhaḷadeva and Tribhuvanadeva, Indradeva and Chandradeva, Gaṇesvarapāḷa and Munipāḷa respectively. In the genealogical table of the Gupta dynasty this peculiarity is also met with such as the second name of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta, Skandagupta, Narasiṃhagupta and Chandragupta III was Vikramāditya, Mahendrāditya, Vikramāditya, Vaḷāditya and Dvādaśāditya respectively. Thus the second name of Narendrāditya of Śaśāṅka is very significant and suggests his connection with the Āditya family of Ādityabhumi. If this identification is accepted it will lead to the correct identification of Karṇasuvarṇa which is still a controversial question. As I propose to discuss on the identification of Karṇasuvarṇa in a separate paper, I have not purposely raised any argument here. According to tradition Devapura (modern Diapura Dalmi) was the ancient capital of the Patkum Rājās. This Devapura may be identified with Devagrāma belonging to Vikramarāja mentioned in *Rāmacharita* and Vikramarāja may be identified with one of the Vikramādityas of the Patkum Raj family.

The commentary of *Rāmacharita* explains the word Vikrama of verse 5 of chapter 2 as follows: 'Devàgrāmaprativaddha-vasudhā-chakravāḷa-vāḷavaḷabhita-rangavaḷa-vahaḷa-gaḷahasta praśastahasta-vikramo Vikramarāja.' I have shown in a separate paper[2] that there is no reading of 'Balavalabhi' in the text of *Rāmacharita*.

The above text describes the power of Vikramarāja of Devagrāma kingdom which was surrounded by hills on all sides as if serving the purpose of the elephant force (Vāḷa-vaḷa) protecting the border and terrifying the enemies containing of four categories and thus its ruler was in advantageous position and so was capable of driving out the enemies by seizing their neck. This interpretation is in conformity with the purpose of the author of *Rāmacharita*. The hills are described by poets as *Dik-vāraṇa* and Sandhyākaranandin here uses *chakravāḷa-vāḷa*.

This Devagrāma kingdom of *Rāmacharita* seems to be the same as Devagrāma kingdom of the Garudasthambha inscription (Badal stone inscription) in the verse 16 of which Surapāḷa's queen Vavvādevī has been described as the daughter of the king of Devagrāma. From this it seems that there were matrimonial relations between the two families.

The epithet Ātavika (surrounded by forests) of the Sāmantachakra clearly indicates the modern western Bengal and southern Bihar area and therefore it will be safe to identify Devagrāma in the Manbhum district.

2. Bāghbhum or Vyāghrabhūmi:—The Baghbum pergannah is situated in the south of the Midnapore district. It is not certain whether a remote ancestor of this

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[1] *History of North-Eastern India*, 1934, p. 138 and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 5.
[2] *The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, sixth session, 1943, pp. 70–77.

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Vyāghra family had any connection with Vyāghrarāja mentioned in the inscription of Samudra Gupta, but Mr. J. C. Bose suggests this identification.[1]

3. Barābhum or Varāhabhūmi:—It is now a pergannah in the Manbhum district. 'The traditional origin of the Barābhum family connects them closely with the Āditya family of the adjoining Patkum estate and its mythical founder Vikramāditya.' Colonel Dalton had recorded the following legendary account of the family in his *Ethnology of Bengal*:—

'Nath Varaha and Kesh Varaha two brothers quarrelled with their father, the Raja of Virat and settled in the court of Vikramaditya; Kesh the younger was sawn into two pieces and with his blood, Vikrama gave a Tika to the elder and a pair of umbrella and told him that all the country he would ride round in a day and night should be his. Nath mounted his steed and accomplished a circuit of eight *yojanas* within the time specified and a precious stiff line of country he took in riding round what is now Barabhum, but it must be all true as the print of horse's hoofs are still visible on the southern slope of the hills.'[2] The copperplate[3] of Udayavarāha furnishes us with an epigraphic evidence of the Varāha family.

Varāhabhūmi finds mention in the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*. The village Barabazar (or Varāhabazar, Vārhā being the Prakrita form of Varāha) contains the residence and family temples of the Zamindar of the pergannah Barābhum.

4. Bhanjabhum or Bhanjabhūmi:—It is identified with Mayurbhanj State in Orissa and with the pergannah of the same name in Midnapore. The antiquity of the name of Bhanjabhūmi or Mayurbhanj is shrouded in obscurity. In *Rasika-mangaḷa*, a book written in the middle of the seventeenth century, Mayurbhanj has been described as Bhanjabhūmi, but in the Mansingha's settlement paper of 1592 A.D. translated by Stirling in 1822, we find the mention of Morbhanj or Mayurbhanja, one killa or fort of which was 'Bhanj bhum' under the direct control of the Raja. Among the dependent chiefs 'Sinhbhum' and 'Barrabhum' find mention. Sinhbhum is perhaps the same as Singhbhum. Bhanjabhūmi is still used in poetical language in Oriya. In Madaḷāpānji late Rai Bahadur M. M. Chakravarti found '*Bhanjabhūmi Bāripadā Daṇḍapāṭa.*'[4] These names are not, however, found in the copperplate inscriptions granted by the Bhanja kings from their capital at Khijjinga Koṭṭa (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj). The copperplates of the Bhanja families of Bauda and Gumsar in southern Orissa mention that there are several Bhanja kings. 'Bhanjānarādhipayo Vahuva Vubhuvu'. At present all the Bhanja families of Orissa aver that they migrated from Mayurbhanj and so Mayurbhanj is to be taken as the original home of the Bhanjas, that is, Bhanjabhūmi of the ancient days. The epigraphic evidence on the history of the Bhanja family goes back to the fourth or fifth century A.D. The rock inscription of Keonjhar published in *Modern Review* in 1937 mentions the name of one Rāgarāja Sri Diśā Bhanja Deva. A stone seal from Khiching belonging to this period bears the inscription Ragaraja or Rāgarāja and so it can be safely said that the Bhanja dynasty was established at Khiching in the early centuries of the Christian era. The seal of the Bhanjas of the epigraphic records represents a bull and that of the Varāhas of the Mayura family a peacock. Tradition of Mayurbhanj narrates that Mayuradvaja-rājā or the king whose flag bears the insignia of the peacock, was conquered by the Bhanjas but according to the prayer of the dying king, the Bhanjas adopted the seal of the peacock as their own. It seems that the naming of Mayurbhanj is due to the amalgamation of the kingdom of the *Mayuras* into that of the *Bhanjas* which perhaps took place some time before the supremacy of the Gangas in Orissa. There is a small book on the Sanskrit lexicography called *Mugdhabodha Abhidhāna*, the author of which was a ruler of Mayurbhanj. As the name of the author is not given it is not possible to know definitely about the date, but it is certain that he wrote the book before the development of the Oriya language which may safely be fixed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.

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[1] *History of Midnapore in Bengali* by J. C. Bose, pp. 110-11 (new edition).

[2] Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), pp. 175-76, and *The District Gazetteer of Manbhum*, p. 264.

[3] *J.B. & O.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 236–45.

[4] *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XII, 1916, p. 48.

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5. Bhāwalbhum finds mention in *Ain-i-Akbari* under Sarkar Mandaran. No report in detail is available about this country. This is perhaps the same with Balbhum of Stirling's Orissa mentioned under the Bishnupur. It may be Varabhūmi of the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*.

6. Birbhum or Virabhūmi:—It is the district of the same name in western Bengal. 'Birbhum means simply the territory of the Bir Rajas, Bir being the title borne by its early Hindu rulers, just as Man, Singh and Dhal were the titles of the chiefs of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Dhalbhum.'[1] 'An interesting account of this portion of the district is given in the *Brahmānda* section of the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*, a work probably composed in the fifteenth or sixteenth century'[2] which has been given above. 'From this account the country is known as Viradeśa or Vīrabhūmi, the modern Birbhum.'[3] No epigraphic record of this Vīra family rulers has yet been found. But in Bengal there are few families of Kṣatriyas with the surname of Vīra (Bir). Blochmann took the word *Bir* to be of Mundari origin and wrote 'the word bir in Mundāri signifies a jungle, whence Birbhum (Western Bengal)', vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (2nd edition), p. 554.

7. Brāhmanbhum or Brāhmaṇabhūmi:—It is a pergannah in the north of Midnapore district and it is so called as it 'was held by an old family of Brahmans'.[4] This is recorded in the *District Gazetteer of Bankura* at page 164 that the Rajas of Chhātnā 'were originally Brahmans and lived at Bahulyānagara' one of whom was killed by Sāmantas. It is not exactly known whether the surname of Brāhmaṇa ruler of Brāhmaṇabhūmi is the family title or caste name; whatever may be the case, it seems to be an exception in the sense in which other 'bhum' ending countries are called after the family surname. According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Bubbanbhum, a mahal under Jaleswar in Orissa, was held by Brāhman.

8. Dhalbhum:—The territory known as Dhalbhum of old days is now comprised in the Singhbhum district of Bihar and Midnapore and Bankura districts in Bengal. The Rajas of Dhalbhum possess the title of Dhaḷa and such title is also found in the family of the Zamindar of Dampara in the Cuttack district. R. D. Banerji mentions in his *History of Bengal*, p. 346, that there was one Pratāpa Dhavala who was powerful near Rotas fort. Traditions as recorded in the *History of Midnapore* by Mr. J. C. Bose is not corroborated by any epigraphic evidence. The Rajas of Dhalbhum used to enjoy names of Jagannātha, Rāmachandra and Baikuṇṭha successively like many ruling families of Orissa (see *History of Midnapore*, p. 572). Dhavaḷabhūmi finds mention in *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*.

9. Gopībhum or Gopabhum finds mention in Blochmann's *Geography and History of Bengal*, p. 242 and in *History of Midnapore* by Mr. J. C. Bose, p. 112. According to *Dharmangaḷa* Karṇasena, a contemporary of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, was the ruler of Senbhum and Gopabhum which were situated on the left and right banks of the Ajaya river respectively.

10. Mallabhum or Mallabhūmi:—'The country over which the Rajas ruled is called Mallabhum, a term now used for the tract of country comprised in the Thanas of Bankura (excluding the Chhātnā outpost), Onda, Bishnupur, Kotalpur and Indas. Originally, however, the term was supplied to a more extensive tract of country. To the north it is believed to have stretched as far as the modern Danim-i-Koh in the Santal perganas; to the south it comprised part of Midnapore, and to the east part of Burdwan; and inscriptions found at Panchet in the Manbhum district show that on the west it included part of Chotā Nagpur.'[5] 'The Malla kings of Mallabhūmi established an era of their own which dates from 695 A.D.'[6] This era begins from the Suniāṃ day which is the official new year in Orissa. It is a lunar year and begins on the Bhādrapada Śukḷa Dvādaśī when the festival of hoisting the umbrella of Indra is observed. According to Varāha-Mihira[7] the festival was performed by the Chedirāja for the good of his kingdom. All the ruling dynasties of the 'bhum' ending countries even now perform this festival annually. The

[1] *The District Gazetteer of Birbhum*, pp. 1-2. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[4] *The District Gazetteer of Midnapore*, p. 119.
[5] *The District Gazetteer of Bankura*, p. 21. [6] *History of Bishnupur Raj*, p. 82.
[7] *The Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, Ch. XLIII, in *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 43-44.

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epigraphic records of the Malla dynasty do not go beyond the sixteenth century A.D. According to Man Singha's arrangement quoted by Stirling 'Under the Zamindar of Bishenpur, are twelve zamindaris and twenty-nine killahs'. Among dependent chiefs, the Zamindars of 'Manbhum', 'Singhbhum', 'Bamanbhum', 'Nalbhum or Balbhum' and 'Bagbhum or Nagbhum' find mention.[1] Balbhum of this perhaps is the same as Bhawalbhum of the *Ain*. If Sinhbhum under Mayurbhanj is the same as Singhbhum, then the Sinhbhum under Bishnupur is to be taken as a mistake either for Sikharbhum or Shurbhum. The Raja of Shurbhum was a Sāmantarāja of Bishnupur.[2]

11. Manbhum or Manabhūmi:—Manbhum is a district in the Chota Nagpur Division of Bihar and 'seems to have derived its name from the Māna family which ruled over it. I need mention here that Bhanja, the surname of the rulers of a particular family, is the appellation of that family. Similarly Māna, the surname of the rulers of another family, might have been the appellation of another family. Only two inscriptions, belonging to rulers whose names end in the Māna suffix, have so far been discovered in the Hazaribag district which is not far from Manbhum'.[3] The Pattiakilla copperplate grant of Śivarāja belonging to the Gupta era 283 (602 A.D.) mentions the rule of the Māna family (Mānavaṃśarājya kāle). A copperplate of the Sailodbhava family dated according to the Gupta era 300 discloses the overlordship of Mahārājādhirāja Śri Śaśāṅka. The proximity of date of two different inscriptions from Orissa in the first quarter of the seventh century establishes the probability of connection of Śaśāṅka with the family; but the omission of the surname of Māna in the name of Śaśāṅka goes against the suggestion.

Like Barabazar in Barabhum there is a village called Manbazar which is the seat of the Zamindars locally known as Raja of Manbhum.[4]

12. Nagbhum or Nāgabhūmi may be identified with Nāgpura or Chotanagpur the Maharaja of which belongs to the Nāga family. The tutelary deity of this family is called 'Chintāmaṇi' which is sacred to the Jainas. The Raj family of the Kalahandi State and a few other Raj families in the Chhatisgarh States Agency belong to the Nāga family. There are a number of mediaeval inscriptions of this dynasty in Central Provinces. Recently the history of the early Nāga families is attracting the attention of the scholars and further investigation will throw new light on the antiquity of the Nāga family.

13. Sāmantabhum or Sāmantabhūmi:—*The District Gazetteer of Bankura* mentions that the portion of the Chhatna outpost is still called as Sāmantabhum which finds mention in the Brahmanda section of the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa*. Chhatna may be identified with Chhatranagara of the said Purāṇa.

14. Senbhum or Senabhūmi:—According to Blochmann 'Sainbhum' is situated along the left bank of the Ajaya river in the district of Birbhum. The name of the country is perhaps due to the famous Sena family of Lakṣmaṇāvati of Bengal whose history is well known.

15. Surbhum or Śūrabhūmi:—The Raja of Surbhum was a Sāmanta or feudatory of the Malla Rajas of Mallabhum.[5] In the *Ain-i-Akbari* 'Dawar Shorbhum' finds mention under the Sarkar of Jaleswar. This 'Shorbhum', I think, is the same as Surbhum under Bishnupur or Mallabhum and its proper identification was not done before. We find in Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* that Lakṣmī Śūra[6] was the ruler of Apara Mandāra who was the lord of all the forest allies (Aparamandāra-madhusudana-samastāṭavikasāmanta-chakra-chudāmaṇi). The name of Raṇa Śūra of Dakṣiṇa Rādha is found in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Choladeva. So Apara Mandāra of *Rāmacharita* may be taken as the capital of Dakṣiṇa Rādha in the eleventh century A.D. It seems that Lakṣmī Śūra was a successor of Raṇa Śūra. Apara Mandāra was identified with Sarkar Mandaran of

1 Stirling's *Orissa*, Bengal Secretariat reprint, p. 47, and *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 233.
2 *History of Bishnupur Raj* by A. P. Mallik, 1921, p. 85.
3 *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 11.
4 *The District Gazetteer of Manbhum*, p. 275.
5 *History of Bishnupur Raj in Bengali*, p. 85.
6 *Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 14 and 36.

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Ain-i-Akbari by N. N. Vasu.[1] It was identified with Bhitagarh in Jahānābād in the north-western corner of the Hoogly district by Blochmann.[2]

On the Śūra dynasty H. P. Sastri and R. D. Banerji wrote as follows:—

'Raṇa Sura of southern Rādha seems to be belonged to the Śūra dynasty of Bengal who are said to have brought the five Brāhmans from Kanauj. That they were dispossessed of the great part of their dominions by the Pālas is also asserted by the Bengal genealogists.'[3]

'In Bengal there is a tradition that a dynasty of kings with the affix Śūra ruled in Bengal before the Pālas. We have no reliable evidence for this. But three kings of this family at least with the word Śūra affixed at their names have been mentioned in epigraphs. These are: Raṇa Śūra of the Tirumalai inscription; Lakṣmīśūra, a king of a division of Bengal named Apara-Mandāra, a contemporary of Rāmapāla, who was the headman of all feudatories of forest lands; a man named Dāmaśura, who is mentioned in a newly discovered inscription of the time of Gopala III, found at Manda in the Rajshahi district in Bengal.'[4]

It is needless to add that several traditions of the genealogical accounts of Bengal (Kuḷapanjikās of the match-makers) several names of kings of the Śūra dynasty are found.

M. M. Chakravarti wrote the following on the identification of 'Dāwar Shorbhum Urf Bārah or Tarah' of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

'Pārah, the tract of saliferous land otherwise known as Shorparah, on the sea coasts from the Subarnarekhā to the Rasūlpur river (Beames). Not identified by Blochmann, Beames' identification is not satisfactory, because the saliferous tract was included in Mahal Mallyathā (No. 25). The name Bārah is evidently the same as Barāha(-bhum), and Shorbhum is another form of Savara-bhum the land of Sabara tribe. Barāhabhum now lies in Manbhum district, drained by the upper reaches of the Kasāi river. From the rather considerable revenue assessed, Rs.33,559 this mahal seems to have been included the whole of the hilly jungly tract on the west of Midnāpur district from the Subarnarekhā northwards to the Kasāi.'[5]

J. C. Basu suggests further on the above of Mr. Chakravarti that this mahal lies in the countries bounded by the Subarnarekha and Kasai with the police stations of Gopiballabhpur, Jhargram and Binpur in the western part of the Midnapore district.[6]

Chakravarti missed the point by identifying 'Shorbhum' with the Savarbhum of which there is no existence. 'Barah' of the *Ain* is the same as Bara on the right bank of the Damodar river on the north of the Bankura district. Jhargram is still known as Mallabhum and *Rasikamangaḷa* testifies that this area was known as Mallabhum in the sevententh century A.D.

So Śurbhum or Śūrabhūmi was situated to the north of Mallabhum or Bishnupur in the modern district of Bankura.

Garh Mandaran is quite close to this area. The copperplate of Narasiṃha Deva II (*J.A.S.B.*, 1896, pt. 1, p. 241) furnishes evidence that Anantavarma Choda Ganga defeated the king of Mandāra. So it seems that Apara Mandāra of *Rāmacharita* is the same as Mandāra of the above copperplate.

16. Sikharbhum or Śikharbhūmi:—'A portion of the Gangājalahati Thana (in Bankura) * * * forms part of Sekharbhūm or it is known as Sikharbhūmi.'[7] *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* mentions the Śekhara mountain; in other words, it refers to this Śikharbhūmi. The founder of the Panchet or Panchakuṭa was 'the king of Chaurasi or Sekharbhum or Sikharbhum'.[8] 'The dominant race in the State (Gangpur) is the Bhuiya; the Bhuiyas of Gangpur retain no tradition of having ever been governed by the Raja of their own tribe. They allege that for

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[1] *Banger Jatiya Itihas* (Rajanya Khanda), pp. 140 and 198.
[2] *J.A.S.B.* (1873), p. 223 footnote.
[3] *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 10.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 72.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 51.
[6] *History of Midnapore in Bengali*, p. 14 (revised edition).
[7] *The District Gazetteer of Bankura*, p. 23.
[8] *The District Gazetteer of Manbhum*, p. 273, p. 280.

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some time a chief of the Kesarī or lion dynasty of Orissa bore rule in Gangpur; but this line died out, and the people stole a child of the Sikhar family from Sikharbhūm or Pānchet and elected him as their Chief.'[1] In *Rāmacharita* Rudra Śikhara of Tailakampa is mentioned among the allies of Rāmapāla.[2] Tailakampa is the modern Telkupi in Manbhum district which was one of the capitals of the Sikhara kings. Śikharabhum finds mention in *Sirat-i-Forozsahi*.[3]

17. Singhbhum or Siṃhabhūmi:—It is a district in Chota Nagpur division of Bihar. The history of the ruling family of Singhbhum is shrouded in legendary account of modern fancy. The seal of this family represents a pair of swan which is found to be similar to that of the Māthara[4] family. It may be that the ancient name of Māthara has been substituted as Rāṭhora in modern times.

18. Tungbhum or Tungabhūmi:—Tungbhum is situated in the Bankura district of Bengal. 'Tradition relates that it was so called after Nakar Tunga, a descendent of Tunga Deo, who came from the bank of the river Gandakī on pilgrimage to Jagannāth, where, by favour of the God Jagannāth, he was made king of Puri. His grandson, Gangadhar Tung, was informed by Jagannāth that after him there would be no king of his line in Puri, and that therefore his son should change his name and go to some other country, where he should be king. Accordingly, Gangadhar Tunga's son, Nakur Tung, taking with him his wife, his treasure and some soldiers, left Puri in 1270 Saka (1348 A.D.), and after ten years of wandering settled in 1358 A.D. at Tekrapārā village near Syāmsundarpur. To this day parganas Syāmsundarpur and Phulkusmā are generally called Tungbhūm or Tungābani, i.e. the land of Tung. Members of the Zamindar's family are styled Tung or Tungābaninātth, and are also called Bara Tunga and Chhota Tunga respectively. They are Kshatriyas by caste and are connected with the families of Bishnupur, Raipur, Supur, etc.'[5]

Another account of the Tunga family similar to that of Tungbhum is found in the historical account of the ruling family of Tigiria State which is quoted below:—

'According to tradition the founder of this State, Nityānanda Tunga, and his younger brother are said to have come originally on a pilgrimage to Puri, where they remained in the hope of receiving some favour from the God. The elder brother was one day advised in a dream to hold the kingdom of Trigruhiyā to the west on the bank of the river Chitrotpāḷā in Puri by expelling its chief who was an infidel. Nityānanda Tunga accordingly went there, and founded the State in the year 1246 A.D.'[6]

Tungabhumi finds mention in the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* quoted above.

Up till now only three copperplates of the Tunga family[7] have been found in Orissa and these show that they were rulers of Yamagartta maṇḍala. One Jayasiṃha of the unknown family and another ruler of the Sulki dynasty are found to be rulers of the same Yamagartta maṇḍala. The modern locality of this maṇḍala has not been definitely identified although it has been suggested by Pandit B. Misra that it extended on the banks of the river Brahmani in its course in hilly parts of Orissa. The tradition of the Tunga family according to the copperplates states that the family came from the north to Orissa from a place called Rotasgarh and the mention of the Gandaki river in the tradition of the Tunga family of Tungbhum corroborates the account of the copperplates to some extent.

Stirling in his '*An account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*' writes the following:—

'There are eight classes or families who claim to represent the military and regal tribe, known by the affixes or titles of Dhir, Dhal, Towang, Mal, Bhanj, Rai, Rāwāt and Khandait.'[8] This account written in 1822 finds corroboration from

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1 *Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer*, p. 177.
2 *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 90.
3 *J. & P.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. VIII, 1942, p. 66.
4 *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 254-55.
5 *The District Gazetteer of Bankura*, pp. 179-80.
6 *Orissa Feudatory States Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 335.
7 *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, pp. 40-41.
8 Stirling's *An account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*, Bengal Secretariat edition, 1904, p. 22.

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the following Sanskrit verse which I came to know from the Zamindar of Haldia in the Khurda subdivision of the Puri district in 1927:—

'Bhanjabhūmi-dhaḷabhūmivarttinastungaśikhara-mahīnivāsinaḥ |
Dhīra-vīra-vara-malla-nāmakā aṣṭabhūmihāraschaiva pārthivāḥ ||'

Among the eight land owners the eight kings of Bhanjabhūmi, Dhalabhūmi, Tungabhūmi, Śikharabhūmi and Mallabhūmi are well known. Though the mention of Dhirabhum is not certain, yet the present Zamindar family of Madhupur in Cuttack possesses the title of Dhira. The Varabhūmi of the Vara family is mentioned in the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* and it is perhaps the same as Balbhum mentioned by Stirling under Bishnupur and Bhawalbhum of the *Ain*.

All the place names ending in *bhum* suffix are found in a contiguous geographical area on the frontiers of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and most of them are originated from the surnames of the families which established supremacy in that area. Some of these families possess also the epigraphical records which have been referred to above.

These peculiar endings of *bhum* in place names are no doubt very interesting and the investigation of the history of these places will throw light on the dark history of a vast area where once stood the famous seaport Tāmralipti and the inland city of Karṇasuvarṇa indicating the culture and civilization of the people. This area is found now to be mainly inhabited by aborigines of Kolarian family but the archaeological evidences establish the influence of the more civilized section of the people. The local traditions everywhere narrate that prior to the advent of aborigines the country was populated by the Sarākas who are credited with building temples at Para, Chara, Boram and many other places in early days and it is far more interesting that the aborigines maintained the tradition. 'The word *Sārāk* is doubtless derived from Śrāvaka the Sanskrit word for a hearer. Amongst the Jains the term is used to indicate laymen or persons who engaged the secular pursuits, as distinguished from Yatis, the monks or ascetics, and it still survives as a name of a group which is rapidly becoming a regular caste of the usual type (Saraogi). The Buddhists use the same word to designate the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries.'[1] Like the history of the ruins of ancient monuments scattered here and there in this part of the country, the history of these ancient Kṣatriya families who were rulers there awaits exploration. The labours of some European officers, who were guided more or less according to their pet theory, have put a screen over it instead of illuminating the same. Col. Dalton relying on the predominance of modern aboriginal population of the locality has advanced a theory that the ancient Kṣatriya families of this part of eastern India are of aboriginal descent. But the archaeological as well as epigraphical evidences which are full all over the country, expose a portion of the decoration of the structure covered with the thick plaster of foreign matters. The discovery of a large number of stone and copper age relics in this area furnishes evidence that a phase of the Indian prehistoric culture dawned here. The geological investigation has revealed the rich deposit of mineral wealth in this area and it is expected that proper archaeological investigation will bear open a rich field of cultural wealth of eastern India.

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[1] *The District Gazetteer of Manbhum*, p. 84.

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GLIMPSES INTO THE ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE OF BENGAL AS GIVEN BY A MAHĀRĀṢṬRA BRAHMIN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By P. K. Gode

In 1938 my friend Prof. N. B. Roy published his article on 'Glimpses into the History of Bengal'—(the fourteenth and early fifteenth century) in the *Sardesai Commemoration Volume* (pp. 153-160). In this article Prof. Roy observes: 'The medieval history of Bengal is shrouded in utter obscurity'. He then records the remarks of Ibn Batuta, the African traveller, about Bengal. Batuta mentions the flourishing agriculture of Bengal and the cheap prices of the necessaries of life, not to say the abundance of rice for which Bengal was then famous as it is today. 'The smiling villages and gardens of Bengal' enchanted the traveller, who incorporated into his account a list of the current cheap prices of the necessaries of life which include fowls, milch cow, pigeons, ram, piece of cotton of finest quality measuring 30 cubits, a beautiful girl (for one gold dinara), rice, paddy, syrup, sugar, sesame oil, ghee, etc. This plenty and prosperity of Bengal was, however, counterbalanced by the severity of its climate so that men of Khorasen called Bengal 'a hell crammed with blessings' (*dozak pur niamut*).[1]

From Batuta's account of Bengal of *c.* A.D. 1330 we are led by Prof. Roy to the account of a Chinese, Mahaun,[2] an interpreter attached to a Chinese embassy that visited Bengal about 1406 A.D. Mahaun brings to light for the first time the dress, manufactures, chief products and amusements of the Bengali people. I note below some items from Mahaun's account:—

(1) Bengal, an extensive country, with abundant products and population.
(2) Flourishing trade, commercial intercourse with foreign nations.
(3) *People* were Muhammadans with dark skin—some light complexioned persons were also seen.
(4) *Costume.*—Shaved heads and white turbans, long loose robe with a broad coloured handkerchief round waist.
(5) *Manufactures.*—Fine cotton fabrics of many varieties,—six varieties described—silk industry—handkerchiefs, caps embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel, guns, knives and scissors, paper-manufacture from the bark of a tree.
(6) *Corn and fruits.*—Abundance of rice, wheat, sesamum, all kinds of pulse, millet, ginger, mustard, onions, hemp, quash, brinjals, and many kinds of vegetables.
Fruits.—Plantains, jack fruits, mangoes, pomegranates, sugar-cane, white sugar, granulated sugar, various candied and preserved fruits. Betel nut was offered to the guests.
(7) *Amusements.*—Feasts and entertainments, music and dance—conjurers—display of man fighting with tiger given in the streets.
(8) *Character.*—People were open and straightforward in their dealings.

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1 Cf. *Indian Companion* (by G. H. Khandekar, Poona, 1894), pp. 66-67—*Bengal Presidency*:—*Minerals*: coal, iron, salt. *Products*: 'Luxuriance of vegetation in Bengal is not surpassed, perhaps in any part of the world,'—may be called 'one enormous garden,'—rice, wheat, other grains, poppies, indigo, *tea*, jute, cotton, sugar-cane, mulberry, *tobacco*, hemp, flax—oilseeds, ginger, *chillies*, other esculent vegetables—mangoes, oranges, limes, plantains and other fruits in profusion—beautiful flowers and gorgeous flowering trees and shrubs grow without care—timber from Sundarbans and base of the Himalayas. *Manufactures*: silk production, cultivation of date tree, date-sugar, saltpetre,—indigo, tea, silk, sugar and saltpetre are important manufactures—in every village there are carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, potters, and oil-sellers. *Exports*: opium, rice, wheat and other food grains, oil-seeds, sugar, tea, saltpetre and hides,—trade with England, France and China.

2 *Sardesai Comm. Vol.*, pp. 159-160.

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Let us now see how this affluence of Bengal continued to enchant not only foreigners but even people from other provinces of India. In this connection I record below a very detailed picture of Bengal incidentally recorded in a Sanskrit grammatical work composed between A.D. 1690 and 1710 or so. This work is called the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* [1] by Dhuṇḍirāja, son of Śrīraṅgabhaṭṭa. This author appears to have been a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin of Madhva sect. He composed this work at Benares. The work is a Sanskrit conversational grammar in which the subject of conversation is the daily life of a Benares Brahmin from morn till eve. This Brahmin invites a Sanyāsin for dinner. The guest is assured that his host is a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin by caste (*jñātī*). He is further informed that the host was born in *Gauḍadeśa, i.e.* Bengal. His father also was born in Bengal. The education of both the father and son took place in Bengal. After a sumptuous dinner the Sanyāsin inquired why his host stayed in Bengal for long. The host replied that his stay in Bengal was with a view to study *Tarka* (logic) in which his father was proficient. His own study, however, was not as deep as his father's. Nevertheless he had studied *Pañcaprakaraṇas, Cintāmaṇi, Śiromaṇi, Mathurānāthī*, and other works. The guest observed that the Brahmins of Bengal were *Vedabāhya* (excluded from the study of the *Vedas*). The host replied that the statement was correct as these Brahmins are guided in their conduct by the authority of the *Smṛti*. The guest questioned if it was a fact that the Brahmins in Bengal were fish-eaters. The host confirmed the statement and observed that it was a *durācāra* or evil custom. Then followed a long discussion on the evil customs of different provinces like the Deccan, Āndhra, Karnāṭaka, Draviḍa, Kerala, Konkaṇa, Gurjara, North India, Gauḍa deśa, Kānyakubja, Utkala, Parvata, Maithila, Magadha, Candrāvatī, and Kashmīr. About the Kashmīr Brahmins the host observed that they were practically *Yavanas* and that there was no limit to their *durācāras* (**"काश्मीरदेशीया द्विजाः केवलं यवनप्रायाः खलु तेषां दुराचाराणां गणना नैवास्ति"**). According to him only the Mahārāṣṭra Brahmins were free from *durācāras* and even among them those belonging to *Mādhva* sect were completely free from evil customs. The guest then inquired about the number of *tīrthas* or holy places in Bengal. The host mentioned the following *tīrthas*:—

(1) *Gaṅgāsāgaratīrtha*,[2] (2) *Kumārikā Kṣetra* with *Kumārikā* goddess, (3) *Brahmaputra*, (4) *Kāmarūpeśvara* with *Kāmākṣī* goddess and many other holy places and temples.

The Sanyāsin inquired if any other special things are produced in Bengal. The host replied as follows:—

Folios 13–18 of MS. *No. 21 of 1919–1924*:—

"पट्टवस्त्राणि बहुमौल्यानि तत्र भवंति। क्षौरोदकसंज्ञानि दुकूलानि समीचीना जायंते। अन्यानपि रेशमसंभवानि समीचीनानि बहुविचित्राणि भवंति। खामिनः रेशमोत्पत्तिः पृथिव्यांस्तत्रैव जायते। अन्यानि तूलजानि वस्त्राणि अति सूक्ष्माणि भवंति।[3]

तथा सर्वाणि धान्यानि तत्र भवंति। व्रीहयो भवंति। गोधूमाः भवंति यवाः भ० चणकाः भवं० आढक्यो द्विजातीनि भवंति। माषाः द्विजातीयाः भवंति। मुद्गाः। मसुराः।

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[1] There are three MSS. of this work in the Govt. MSS. Library, at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona. This work refers to the Siege of Gingee (A.D. 1690–1698) by Zulfiqārkhān, the son of Asadkhān as an event of fresh occurrence (vide my paper on *An Echo of the Seize of Jinji in a Sanskrit Grammatical Work*, etc., contributed to the Madras Session of the Indian History Congress, 1944). According to my evidence Dhuṇḍirāja, the author of the work, flourished between A.D. 1650 and 1710 or so.

[2] *Jinaprabhasūri* refers to "गंगासागरतित्थ" in his विविधतीर्थकल्प (p. 92 of वि. ती. कल्प ed. by Jinavijaya, 1934). Jinaprabha was a contemporary of Batuta, the African traveller.

[3] Vide *Hobson-Jobson* (1903), p. 85—article on *Bengal—A.D. 1498*—'Bengala:—in this kingdom are many Moors, and few Christians and the King is a Moor . . . . . in this land are many *cotton cloths*, and *silk cloths* and much silver; it is 40 days with fair wind from Calicut'—(*Roteiro de V. de Gama*, 2nd ed.; p. 110).

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राजमाषाः। कुलित्थाः०। लंकाः०। तिलाः। द्विजातीयाः०। खल्वाः भवति। प्रियंगवाः० एणवः० नीवाराः० श्यामाकाः० मंडवः० सर्षपाः त्रिविधाः भवंति। पृथुकः अतिसमीचीनो जायते। सः कथं।

पृथुकाः किरतनूरुहपीतस्तरुणीकरकमलैरुपनीतः।
पयसाः शर्करया समुपेतः कर्षति कस्य जनस्य न चेतः।

एचादृशः चिपटकस्तत्रैव भवति। शर्करा[1] अति शोभना जायंते। सितापि भवति। गुडो भवति। दुग्धं समीचीनं जायते। दधि भवति। क्षौद्रो भवति। घृतं अतिसमीचीनं वर्तते। तैलानि बहुविधानि भवंति। तिलतैलं। सर्षपतैलं। अतसीतैलं। ऐरंडतैलं। कुसुंबतैलं जायते। नानाविधानि सुगंधतैलानि भवंति। नानाविधानि सुगंध अर्काणि भवंति। बहुविधाः शाखाः भवंति। बहुविधा वृक्षाः संति। आम्रवृक्षाः पनसवृक्षाः वर्तंते। नारकेलतरवः। क्रमुकाः। बहुविधाः कदलीतरवश्च संति। बदरीवृक्षाः। जंबूफलतरवः। दाडिमीवृक्षाः। कदंबवृक्षाः। बकुलभूरुहाः सन्ति। पारिजाततरवः। चंपकवृक्षाः त्रिविधाः संति। बहुविधा निंबूतरवः संति। पिचुमंदवृक्षाः संति। नागरंगगुल्मा वर्तंते। शीताफलशाखिनः। कपित्थवृक्षाः। केतकीगुल्माः संति। शमीवृक्षाः। धात्रीवृक्षाः। तिंतिणीतरवः। कर्वंदगुल्माः वर्तंते। भूपलाशगुल्माः तिष्ठंति। देवदारुतरवः संति। चंदनवृक्षाः। रक्त-चंदनतरवः। शुक्लागरुतरवः। कृष्णागरुतरवः। न्यग्रोधवृक्षाः संति। अश्वत्थवृक्षाः। औदुंबरवृक्षाः वर्तंते। शाल्मलीतरवः। कंचनवृक्षाः संति। बिल्ववृक्षाः संति। मधुक-वृक्षाः। अशोकवृक्षाः। कर्मरतरवः। तमालतरवः। तालवृक्षाः। शालवृक्षाः। शालफलवृक्षाः। सरलतरवः। पुंनागवृक्षाः। अर्जुनवृक्षाः संति। बदरीवृक्षाः। द्विविधा केदूरवृक्षा विद्यंते। धवखदिरबकूरवृक्षाः पलाशतरवः। विभीतकवृक्षाः। भल्लातक-वृक्षाः। भूर्जतरवः। अभयावृक्षाः संति। कीचकाः विद्यंते। चेतसाः संति। करंज-वृक्षाः। गुग्गुलवृक्षाः। वलंजुवृक्षसप्तच्छदाः संति। चारवृक्षाः। अगस्तिवृक्षाः। क्षत्रतरवः। बचनागतरवः।

वनस्पतयः बहुविधाः संति। अपामार्गगुल्माः। नागकेशरं जायते। भृंगराजवर्गा। वृहतीगुल्माः भवंति। अर्कधत्तूरगुल्मा द्विविधानि भवंति। मुचुकुंदा तुलसी बर्बरी। ब्राह्मी। मुंडी। दूर्वा द्विविधानि भवंति। अपराजितास्ति। पुनर्नवा वर्तते। विजया गुल्माः। रुदंती। वाचस्पति विद्यते।

अथ लताविशेषः। माध्वीलता। मालती। आकाशवल्ली। मारीचलताः। पिप्पलीलताः। गुडची। नागदमलता। गुंजालता। नागवल्ली। सेवंतिका गुल्माः।

[1] Vide *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 863 (*sugar*)—'In the reign of Taitsung (627–650) a man was sent to Gangetic India to learn the art of sugar-making.'

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वासंतिका। कंदपुष्पाणि। असनकुसुमानि। मंदारपुष्पाणि। जातीकुसुमानि। मल्लिकापुष्पाणि। मल्लिका सुमना विद्यंते। बंधूकपुष्पाणि। सिंदूरकुसुमानि। माची कुसुमानि। तुलसीगुल्माः भवंति। दमनगुल्माः मरुगुल्माः भवंति। इक्षवो भवंति। अपस्मारेक्षवो भवंति। कुशा विद्यंते। काशाः विद्यंते। शराः विद्यंते। श्वेतदूर्वा विद्यंते। विष्णुक्रांतास्तृणमस्ति। अतोप्यधिकाः वनस्पतिविशेषा बहवस्तिष्ठंति।

पूर्वसमुद्रोस्ति। भागीरथी वर्तते। अन्यानि बहुविधानि सरांसि विद्यंते। पुष्करिण्यः संति। तासु बहुधानि सरोवराणि भवंति। शतपत्राणि संति। इंदीवराणि भवंति कुमुदानि बहुविधानि जायंते। तत्र बहुविधाः पक्षिजातयः संति। नीरपतत्रिणः संति। हंसाः विद्यंते। कंकाः विद्यंते। वायसाः विद्यंते। पिकाः विद्यंते। मयूराः संति। चातकाः संति। चक्रवाकाः संति। खंजनाः संति। शुकाः विद्यंते। सारिकाः विद्यंते। चकोराः संति। जलकुक्कुटानि विद्यंते। कोयष्टयः संति। दात्यूहाः संति। कारंडपक्षिणः संति। गृध्राः संति। चाषाः संति। पिंगलाः संति। हरीताः संति। भृंगराजाः संति। परावृतः संति। सारसाः संति। उलूका विद्यंते। वागुरण्यः संति। टिटिभाः संति।

तथा बहुविधानि श्वापदानि विद्यंते। व्याघ्राः संति। वनमहिषाः संति। वृकाः जंबूकाः गोमायवः। खड्गमृगा वर्तंते। मृगाः संति। चर्मयवः संति। भल्लूकाः संति। मर्कटाः संति। श्वानः संति। मृगिणः संति।

तथा ग्राम्यपशवः। गावः संति। महिष्यः संति। अजाः संति। एडकाः संति। मेषाः संति। उष्ट्राः संति। गजाः संति। अश्वाः संति। खेचराणि संति। रासभाः संति। मार्जाराः संति। मूषकाः संति। नकूलाः संति। सर्पाः विद्यंते। भेकाः संति। चुच्छुंदर्यस्तिष्ठंति। शरठाः संति। पल्यः संति। वृश्चिकाः विद्यंते। मक्षिकाः संति। मशकाः संति। मत्कुणा विद्यंते। क्षुद्राः संति। पतंगाः संति। भ्रमराः संति। पिपीलिकाः संति। अतोप्यन्ये बहुविधाः जंतवस्तिष्ठंति।

अथ जलजंतवः। बहुविधा मत्स्याः संति। शफर्यः संति। कूर्माः विद्यंते। नक्राः विद्यंते। जले सर्वाः संति। जलवृश्चिकाः संति। जलकर्कटाः विद्यंते। जलूकाः संति। जलभूषकाः संति। जलमनुष्याः संति। एभ्यो बहु जलजंतवस्तिष्ठंति।

नौ विशेषा[1] बहवः संति। नौचारिणः बहुकुशला विद्यंते। कैवर्तकाः बहव संति। नौव्यवसायिनः बहवो वर्तंते। बहुविधाः जनाः वर्तंते। ब्राह्मणाः वर्तंते।

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1 Vide *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 86 (*Bengal*)—A.D. 1516—Barbosa States:—'. . . . the kingdom of Bengala . . . . the seaports are inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, amongst whom there is much trade and much shipping to many parts, because this sea is a gulf.'

Vide p. 144 of *Early History of Bengal*, by P. L. Paul, Calcutta, 1939, remarks on *Navy*:—Bengal is a country of big rivers—mercantile navy indispensable—evidence of Fa-hien, Yuan Chwang about regular intercourse with far eastern countries—in every Pāla grant the royal fleet is mentioned—Gauḍa people called "**समुद्राश्रयान्**" in the Haraha inscription of the Maukhari king Iśānavarman (A.D. 560)—the story of colonization of Ceylon by Prince Vijaya of Vaṅga.

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क्षत्रियाः संति। वैश्याः संति। शूद्राः संति। गुर्जराः वर्तंते। आंध्रास्ति। कर्णाटकाः वर्तंते। द्रविडाः वर्तंते। महाराष्ट्रास्तिष्ठंति। चित्तपावनाः संति। कानपावाः संति। माध्यंदिनाः संति। जैनाः संति। कान्यकुब्जाः संति। सारस्वताः संति। माथुरा वर्तंते। पाश्चात्या वर्तंते। मरुजाः वर्तंते। मागधीयाः संति। मैथिलाः संति। पार्वतीयाः संति। चिह्नतजाः संति। गौडानां देश्य एव। उत्कलाः वर्तंते। काश्मीरस्थाः वर्तंते। गयापालकाः संति। प्रयागपालकास्तत्र गच्छंति। गंगापुत्राः तत्र आगच्छंति। अन्ये नीचजातीयाः[1] तत्र वर्तंते। नापिकाः संति। रजकाः संति। कुलाला वर्तंते। म्लिच्छिनः संति। चित्रकारिणः तिष्ठंति। जंतुपालाः वर्तंते। स्वर्णम्लिच्छिनः। अयःम्लिच्छिनः। वणिजस्तिष्ठंति। पटुकाराः संति। मागधाः संति। अन्ये पण्यजीवो बहवस्तिष्ठंति। यवनाः[2] संति। चांडालाः वर्तंते। वंशफोटकाः वर्तंते। धीवराः वर्तंते। वनेचराः संति। व्याधाः संति। कुसुमोपजीविनः।

जटिलाः वर्तंते। तापसाः संति। वैरागिणः संति। भैरवोपाल(स ?)काः संति। नटाः संति। नर्तकाः संति। कुलटाः वर्तंते। वेश्योपजीविनः संति। व्यवसायिनो बहवस्तिष्ठंति। धनिकाः बहवो वर्तंते। वैद्याः संति। ज्योतिर्विदः संति। मांत्रिकाः संति। एवंविधाः सर्वजातीयजनास्तत्र वसंति। स्वामिनः भूरि किं वक्तव्यं पृथिव्यां ये विशिष्टाः पदार्था वर्तंते ते सर्वे तत्र विद्यंते। एवं वा। तर्हि अतिसमीचीनो देशस्तिष्ठति। तर्हि एकवारं मया गंतव्यं तत्र गंगासागरे स्नानं विधाय अग्रे पुरुषोत्तमस्य दर्शनं कृत्वा गंतव्यं। चातुर्मास्यं विधाय गमिष्यामि। तर्हि स्वामिनः गंतव्यं। स्वामिनः सर्वं द्रष्टव्यं। भवतु।"

The foregoing picture of the flora and fauna of Bengal as also its composite society consisting of settlers from other parts of India is very important because we rarely meet with such detailed descriptions of our provinces in Indian sources. Generally we are required to depend on the testimony of foreign observers in reconstructing the history of our Indian provinces. In the above description of Bengal of the seventeenth century we find that *Mahārāṣṭras* and *Cittapāvanas*[3] are mentioned as residents of Bengal. The term '*Mahārāṣṭra*' is possibly used here to denote the *Deśastha* Brahmins. It is curious to note that even *Cittapāvanas* had gone to Bengal and resided there in the seventeenth century according to Dhuṇḍirāja's testimony. In this connection, I may note here that a *Cittapāvana* from Konkon (Śṛṅgārpur in the Sangameshwar Taluka of the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency) hearing of the Tantric attainments of a *Siddha* of Rāḍhā in Bengal went there and served the *Siddha* as his pupil. This *Cittapāvana* was called *Śivayogī*. He attained *siddhi*, returned to Śṛṅgārpur in Konkon and there founded a Maṭhī as will be seen

1 This has reference to नापिकाः (barbers), रजकाः (washermen), etc. It is a social irony that these useful professions should be considered as म्लेच्छ from great antiquity.

2 *Yavanas* here may mean Muhammadans or foreigners in general like the English, Dutch, Portuguese, etc., who are mentioned by Bernier as settlers in Bengal in the middle of the seventeenth century.

3 The references to *Cittapāvanas* and *Mahārāṣṭras* in Gauḍa deśa are found in the three MSS. of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī* at the B.O.R. Institute, viz.—(1) *No. 345 of 1892–95* (folio 12), (2) *No. 13 of 1898-99* (fol. 12), and (3) *No. 21 of 1919–24* (fol. 16).

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from the following extracts from *Poems pertaining to the Maratha king Sambhāji*, published by me in the *Annals* (B.O.R. Institute), Vol. XIX (1938), (pp. 58–60).

—"शिवयोगी नाम कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणश्चित्तपावनः ।
निशम्य तस्य सिद्धस्य चरितं परमाद्भुतम् ॥ ३३ ॥
हित्वा कोंकणकं देशं तं देशं समुपस्थितः ।
गुरुत्वेनाश्रु तं सिद्धं वरयामास सुव्रतः ॥ ३४ ॥"

—"विद्योतद्वह्निवर्चाः परिचरितपदाः भावयन्मन्त्रजातं
पश्यन्क्षेत्राणि नानारसभरभरितः पर्यटन्तीर्थपंक्तीः ।
प्रेम्णा शृंगारपुर्यां व्यरचदथ मठीं कोंकणे क्रूरदेशे
वस्तुं योगी प्रसिद्धस्तदनुनुतगुणं सन्निवासं चकार ॥"

The description of Rāḍhā in Bengal, the town of residence of the guru of शिवयोगी is described as follows in the above poems:—

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उत्तरस्यां पुण्यतमा राढा[1] नाम महापुरी ।
नानातपोवनाकीर्णा नानामुनिसमाकुला ॥ २ ॥
अनेकतीर्थैर्निचिता महापुण्यफलप्रदैः ।
हंसाकारोद्यानकीर्णैश्चक्रवाकोपशोभितैः ॥ ३ ॥
हंसैः परमहंसैश्च बालखिल्यैः समावृता ।
गतद्वेषैरभिवृता सिंहव्याघ्रमृगादिभिः ॥ ४ ॥
गतदंशा गतक्रोधजनमंडलभासुरा ।
कुलस्त्रीभिः परिवृता नानापुष्पलताकुला ॥ ५ ॥
सुमनामल्लिकाजातिजपाचंपकपाटलैः ।
करवीराशोककुंदकर्णिकारस्वबंधुकैः ॥ ६ ॥
पुंनागकेतकीभिंटीबकुलैर्भूमिचंपकैः ।
सेवंतिकार्कजलजसरोजैः कंदुकैरपि ॥ ७ ॥
आम्रैराम्रातकैर्निंबो निचुलैर्वंजुलैरपि ।
कदंबकर्णिकारैश्च वटाश्वत्थार्जुनैरपि ॥ ८ ॥
करकैर्बदरीवृन्दैः करीरैश्चारुपीलुकैः ।
वधुलैश्चंदनै रक्तचंदनैः कृष्णचंदनैः ॥ ९ ॥
वानस्पत्यैरनेकैश्च वनस्पतिगणैरपि ।
पलाशैर्नव्यलतिकाकलितैर्ललितैरलं ॥ १० ॥

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1 Vide p. 164 of *Geographical Dictionary* by Nandalal Dey, 1927—article on *Rāḍha*—that part of Bengal which lies to the west of the Ganges including Tamluk, Midnapur, and the districts of Hughli and Burdwan. In the *Mahālingeśvara tantra* the temples of Tārakeśvara and Siddhinātha are mentioned to be situated in *Rāḍha*.

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वर्वर्ति त्रिपथातीरे मंदमारुतवीजिते ।

तस्यां महासिद्धिधरः सर्वसिद्धजनप्रियः ॥ ११ ॥

The above description of the town of Rāḍhā in Bengal belongs to the seventeenth century as the *Cittapāvan* Śivayogī was associated with the reign of King Sambhaji, son of Shivaji. Another feature of the description is that it is recorded by a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin like Dhuṇḍirāja, the author of the *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī*.

With a view to test the factual character of Dhuṇḍirāja's account of Bengal of the seventeenth century I note below some items from Bernier's glowing account of *'the fertility, wealth and beauty of the Kingdom of Bengale'* as recorded in his *Travels* (1656–1668 A.D.), pages 437–446 (Constable, 1891):—

(1) 'Pre-eminence ascribed to Egypt is rather due to Bengal.'

(2) Bengal *rice* produced in abundance and sent to remote States by sea and land.—Sent to Ceylon, Maldives also.

(3) Bengal *sugar* produced in abundance and sent to Golkonda, Karnatic, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia.

(4) Bengal *sweetmeats* produced in places inhabited by the Portuguese, who are skilful in preparing them.

(5) *Fruits.*—Large *citrons* preserved—a certain delicate root about the length of sarsaparilla—*Ambā, ananas, myrobolans, limes* and ginger.

(6) B. yields not so much *wheat* as Egypt—rice used normally—cheap *sea-biscuits*, supplied to European, English, Dutch and Portuguese ships.

(7) *Food of common people.*—3/4 sorts of vegetables with rice and butter, purchased for the merest trible.

(8) *Non-vegetarian diet.*—Fowls (20 or more for one rupee), geese, ducks, goats, sheep, pigs, fish of every species,—abundance of the necessaries of life is the cause of foreign settlements in Bengal by *Portuguese, Half-castes, Christians* (about 35,000).

(9) *Women.*—'The rich exuberance of the country, together with the beauty and amiable disposition of the native *women* has given rise to a *proverb* in common use among the *Portuguese, English* and *Dutch* that the *Kingdom of Bengale has a hundred gates open for entrance but not one for departure.'*

(10) *Commerce.*—Variety of commodities—*sugar* a valuable commodity—Bengal, a common storehouse of *cotton* and *silks*—cotton cloths, fine, coarse, white and coloured, which are exported by *Hollanders* alone to Japan and Europe—silk stuffs also exported—B. supplies all these stuffs to the Mogul Empire as far as Lahore and Kabul and to foreign nations—silks, not so fine as those of *Persia, Syria, Sayd* and *Barut* but are of much lower price.—The silk factory of the *Dutch* at *Kassem-Bazar* (700–800 natives employed)—English and other merchants employ a proportionate number.—Bengal, principal emporium of *Saltpetre*—Dutch and English export it to *Indies* and *Europe.*—B. produces best *lac, opium, wax, civet, long pepper* and various drugs.—*Butter* in plenty exported.

(11) *Climate.*—Seldom salubrious—great mortality.

(12) *Geography.*—Endless number of *channels* to the sea—merchandise conveyed by water-towns and villages on the banks of these channels thickly populated with *Gentiles—Fields*, extensive, produce *rice, sugar, corn,* 3/4 sorts of *vegetables, mustard, sesame oil, mulberry trees* (food for silkworms)—ISLANDS, extremely fertile, produce *fruit trees* and *pine-apple*—long walks arched with trees—danger of pirates—antelopes, hogs, wild fowls, tigers, a great danger—lunar rainbows—*Bernier* feels more happy than ancients who according to *Aristotle* had observed no *lunar rainbows*—storms and down-pour of rain experienced by Bernier in his nine days' voyage in the *islands* and *channels.*

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I shall now give a summary of the description of Bengal in Sanskrit as recorded in Dhuṇḍirāja's work:—

(1) Bengal produces—

(i) Costly पट्टवस्त्राणि (fine or coloured cloths).

(ii) दुकूलानि (very fine silk garments or garments in general).

(iii) coloured रेशम (silk) fabrics—रेशम is produced in Bengal alone.

(iv) Cotton fabrics of a very fine variety (अतिसूक्ष्माणि)

(2) Bengal produces *corn* of all varieties:—

Rice, wheat, यव (barley), चणाक (gram), आढकी (a kind of pulse) of two varieties, माष (beans) of two varieties, मुद्ग (kidney beans), मसुरा (lentil or pulse); राजमाष (a variety of beans), कुलित्थ (same as कुलत्थ a kind of pulse), लंका (a kind of grain), तिल (sesamum) of two varieties, खल्वाः (possibly खल्याः (खलिः or खली) sediment of oil or oil-cakes, प्रियंगवाः (long pepper or saffron—*Apte's Dictionary*), एणावः नीवार (wild rice), श्यामाक (a kind of grain or corn), मंडवः (=मंडक ? a kind of baked flour), सर्षप (mustard) of three varieties, पृथुक (=पोहे in Marathi) parched and flattened rice of the finest type—when mixed with milk and sugar and served with the lotus-like hands of a young woman is sure to be inviting to every man.

This type of flattened rice is available only in Bengal. Beautiful, white *sugar* and *molasses* are produced in Bengal, as also good milk, curds, honey (क्षौद्र), ghee of good quality. Among *oils* mention should be made of sesamum oil, mustard oil, linseed oil, castor oil, कुसुंबतैल (safflower or saffron oil), and all varieties of scented oils (सुगंधतैलानि) and essences (सुगंध-अर्काणि).

(3) Bengal produces all types of Śākhās (=शाकाः, *i.e.* vegetables or herbs) and many varieties of *trees* like mango tree, jack-fruit tree, cocoanut tree, betel-nut tree, plantain trees (many varieties), jujube trees, the rose-apple trees, pomegranate trees, *Kadamba* trees, *Bakula* trees, *Pārijāta* trees, *Campaka* trees (three varieties), lime trees (many varieties), *Picumanda* (=Nimba—*Apte's Dict.*) trees, thickets of orange trees, *Śītāphala* [1] (= *Sītāphala* = the custard-apple) trees, the wood-apple (*Kapittha*) trees, thickets of *Ketakī* plants, *Śamī* trees, *Dhātrī* (= *Āmalaka*) trees, tamarind trees, thickets of *Karvanda* plants, thickets of *bhū-palaśa* plants, pine trees, sandal trees, red sandal trees, white *agaru* (*agallochum*) trees, black *agaru* trees, banyan trees, *aśvattha* (holy fig) trees, *audumbara* trees, *śālmali* (silk-cotton) trees, *Kañcana* trees, *Bilva* trees, *Madhuka* trees, *Aśoka* trees, *Karmara* (= *Karmāra* = bamboo) trees, *Tamāla* trees, *Tāla* (palmyra) trees, *Śāla* trees, *Śāla-phala* trees, *sarala* (turpentine) trees, *Punnāga* (nutmeg or *nāgakeśara*) trees, *Arjuna* trees, *Kedūra* trees (two varieties), *Dhava*,

[1] Saint Rāmadāsa of Mahārāṣṭra (died *1682 A.D.*) mentions *Sītāphala* plants in his *Bāga-prakaraṇa*. In the *Hobson-Jobson* (Yule and Burnell, 1903), p. 284 we are told that the custard-apple was introduced from South America and spread over India during the 16th century. The reference to *Custard-apple*, on p. 66 of Blochmann's trans. of the *Ain-i-Akbarī* (A.D. 1590), is doubtful as the original text contains the word *sadāphal* (*fructus-perennis*). The *Hobson-Jobson* records references to this fruit from foreign sources dated A.D. 1672, 1690 (Ovington—'They (Hindus) feed likewise upon pine-apples, *custard-apples*, etc.'), *1830* and *1878*. Ovington's reference to Custard-apple corroborates Rāmadāsa's reference to सीताफळ referred to above. Indian scholars ought to study the history of Indian plants from Indian sources.

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Khadira (*Acacia catechu*), *Bakūra* trees, *Palāśa* trees, *Vibhītaka* trees (*Termenelia Belerica*), *Bhallātaka* (marking-nut) trees, birch-trees, *Abhayā* (= Harītakī) trees, bamboo trees, *Cetasa* (= ? *Vetasa* = cane) plants, *Karañja* trees, *Guggula* (fragrant gum) trees, *Valañju* trees, *Saptaccada* trees, *Cāra* trees, *Agasti* trees, *Plakṣa* trees, *Bacanāga* trees.

(4) Bengal produces many *forest-plants* such as *Apāmārga* (*Achyranthes Aspera*) thickets, *Nāgakeśara* (*Mesua Roxburghii*) plants, *Bhṛṅgarāja* grass, thickets of *Bṛhatī* or the egg-plants, thickets of *Arka* (sun-plant) and *Dhattura* (white thorn-apple) of two varieties, *Mucukundā Tulasī*, *Barbarī* (= Barbura? = Marathi बाभळ), *Brāhmī*, *Muṇḍi* (= *Muṇḍā* or *Muṇḍīrikā*), *Dūrvā* (panic grass) of two varieties, *Aparājitā*, *Punarnavā*, thickets of *Vijayā* (hemp), *Rudantī* and *Vācaspatī*.

(5) Bengal produces *Creepers* like *Mādhvī* (= *Mādhavī*), *Mālatī* (kind of jasmine), *Ākāśavallī* (= *Amaravel*, a parasitical plant), *Mārīca*, *Pippalī* (long pepper), *Guḍacī* (= *Gudūcī* = *Cocculus Cordifolius*), *Nāgadama*, *Guñjā*, *Nāgavallī* (piper betel), clusters of *Sevantikā*, *Vāsantikā*, *Kaṇḍapuṣpāṇi* (flowers of bulbous plants), *Asana* flowers, *Mandāra* (coral tree) flowers, *Jātī* (jasmine) flowers, *Mallikā* (a kind of jasmine) flowers, *Bandhūka* flowers, *Sindūra* flowers, *Mācī* flowers, clusters of *Tulasī*, *Damana* (= Damanaka), *Maru*, Sugar-cane (*Ikṣu*), *Apasmāra-ikṣu*, *Kuśa* (sacred grass), *Kāśa* (grass), *Śara* (a kind of white reed or grass), white *Dūrvā* grass, *Viṣṇu Krāntā* grass.

Many more forest-plants besides those mentioned above exist in Bengal.

(6) Bengal possesses the *Eastern Ocean* and the river *Bhāgīrathī*, besides many lakes and pools, full of lotuses, like the blue lotuses and varieties of red lotuses.

(7) Bengal possesses many kinds of *Birds* such as aquatic birds (or otters), swans, herons, crows, cuckoos, peacocks, *cātaka* birds, *cakravāka* birds, *Khañjana* or wag-tails, Parrots, *sārikā* birds, *Cakora* (= Greek partridge) birds, water-fowls, lap-wings (or white cranes), gallinules (or water-crows), *Kāraṇḍa* (duck) birds, vultures, *cāṣāḥ* (blue jays), *Piṅgalaḥ* (small owls), *Harītaḥ* (kind of pigeons), *Bhṛṅgarajaḥ* (large bees), *Parāvṛtah* (= *Pārāvṛtah* = pigeons), *Sārasāḥ* (cranes or swans), owls, *Vāguraṇyaḥ* (wild fowls?), *Ṭiṭibha* birds.

(8) Bengal possesses many kinds of *wild-beasts* such as tigers, wild buffaloes, wolves, jackals, *gomāyavaḥ* (jackals), *Khaḍgamṛgāḥ* (rhinoceros), deer, *Carmayavaḥ*, bears, monkeys, dogs, *mṛgiṇaḥ* (= ? antelopes).

(9) Bengal possesses *domesticated animals* like cows, buffaloes, goats, wild goats, sheep, camels, elephants, horses, mules, asses, cats, rats, mongooses, snakes, frogs, musk-rats, chameleons, house-lizards, scorpions, flies, mosquitoes, bugs, bees or wasps, moths (or locusts or grass-hoppers), black-bees, ants.

Besides these Bengal possesses many other varieties of creatures.

(10) Among the numerous *aquatic animals* of Bengal mention may be made of varieties of fish, small glittering fish, tortoises, crocodiles, water-snakes, prawns, water-crabs, leeches, water-rats, and mermen (*jala-manuṣyāḥ*).

(11) Bengal possesses *boats* of different types in plenty. The sailors of Bengal are expert in the art of navigation. There are numerous fishermen as also numerous men engaged in shipping industry in Bengal.

(12) The *population* of Bengal is of varied type, consisting of *Brahmins*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas*, *Śūdras*. There are in Bengal *Gurjaras* (Gujaratis), *Andhras*, *Karnāṭakas*, *Draviḍas*, *Mahārāṣtras*, *Cittapāvanas*, *Kānapāvas*, *Mādhyandinas*, *Jainas*, *Kānyakubjas*, *Sārasvatas*, *Māthuras*, *Pāścātyas* (Westerners), *Marujas* (people from Marwar), *Māgadhīyas* (from Bihar), *Maithilas* (from Mithilā), *Pārvalīyas* (people from the hills =

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hill tribes?), *Trihūtajas* (from Tirhut)—all these reside in *Gauḍadeśa*. There are also in Bengal people from *Utkala, Kāśī*. Guardians of Gayā and Prayāga (*Gayāpālakas* and *Prayāgapālakas*) go there, as also *Gaṅgāputras* (Brahmins who conduct pilgrims to the Ganges). There are people of *inferior caste* in Bengal like the barbers, washermen, potters, artisans, painters, *jaṇtupālas* (= ? tantuvāyas = weavers), gold-smiths, iron-smiths, merchants, *Paṭukāras* (= *Paṭvekarī* in Marathi), *Māgadhas* (bards or panegyrists), and many other people who live by trading. There are also in Bengal the *Yavanas* (Muhammadans or foreigners), *Cāṇḍalas, Vaṁśa-Sphoṭakas* (= Bamboo workers?), fishermen, woodmen, hunters, flower-sellers.

There are also in Bengal ascetics with matted hair, hermits, ascetics who have subdued all their passions and desires and those who are devotees of god Bhairava, besides the actors and dancers, women of profligate character (*Kulaṭāḥ*), persons living on the earnings of the prostitutes. There are many business men, rich men, physicians, astrologers, conjurers.—In this manner there are people of all kinds in Bengal.

In short, whatever things on this earth are considered excellent are all found in Bengal.

On hearing this description of Bengal the *Sanyāsin* observed that it was a fine country and further expressed his desire to visit it once. The host requested the Sanyāsin to do so and then to take his bath at the *Gaṅgāsāgara* (*i.e.* the place where the Ganges enters the ocean). Later he should visit God *Puruṣottama* and see all things for himself.

The foregoing description of Bengal of the seventeenth century is quite a Gazetteer description of Bengal textiles, agricultural products, forest produce, flora and fauna in detail, geography, zoology, shipping and navigation, population of varied sort including foreign settlers, aristocracy, merchants and people of all professions, high or low. This description is more specific than the description of Bengal by Batuta (fourteenth century), by Mahaun (early fifteenth century) and by Bernier (A.D. 1656–1667). For want of space I cannot enter into the details of the description which my Bengali friends will be better able to verify than myself. I shall feel happy if any of my readers would point out any such description of Bengal from Indian sources,[1] Sanskrit or vernacular, prior to A.D. 1700. To the students of the history of Mahārāṣṭra the migration of *Mahārāṣṭra* Brahmins, Sārasvata Brahmins and *Cittapāvana* Brahmins to Bengal for educational or other purposes would be of special interest especially because this migration pertains to the seventeenth century. Benares was the abode of many *Sārasvatas, Mahārāṣṭras* and *Cittapāvanas* between A.D. 1550 and 1700 but the evidence recorded in this paper shows that some of them had further migrated to *Gauḍadeśa* or Bengal. My friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar who has made a special study of the history of the *Cittapāvana* Brahmins informs me under date 17-10-1944 that he has 'no material to prove the migration of any Cittapāvana to Bengal'. In view of this statement he would be interested in Dhuṇḍirāja's reference to *Cittapāvanas* in the *Gauḍadeśa* population and the migration of the *Cittapāvana Śivayogī* from Konkon to the town of *Rāḍhā* for Tāntric study during the reign of Chatrapati Sambhāji (A.D. 1680–1689). I await further light on this *Cittapāvana* migration to Bengal from the students of the Maratha and Bengal history.

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[1] Dr. D. C. Ganguly in his very scholarly article on *Vaṅgāla-Deśa* [*Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, XIX (Dec. 1943), pp. 297–317] examines (1) *Brahmanical and Buddhist sources*, (2) *Chinese sources*, (3) *Moslem sources* and (4) *European sources* on Bengal. The first of these sources consists of a *Cola* Inscription of *A.D. 1025* and the *Nālandā Inscription* of the *first half of the twelfth century A.D.* These inscriptions, however, give no detailed description of Bengal. Originally Bengal was split up into divisions like गौड, राढा, वङ्ग, समतट, etc.

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A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO THE ARTICLE 'A DISSERTATION ON THE IDENTITY OF THE AUTHOR OF THE *DHVANYĀLOKA*' IN THE DR. B. C. LAW VOLUME, PART I

By SATKARI MOOKERJEE

(I)

As regards the rules of exegesis requiring the *vṛttikāra* to behave as a different person even when he is the author of the original text on which he comments in the *vṛtti* or *ṭīkā* or *bhāṣya*, I have obtained further confirmation from much older works. The *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* with its *bhāṣya* is the basic work on Jainalogy of the second century A.D. at the latest. It is esteemed as the highest authority by students of Jaina thought. According to the *Śvetāmbara* tradition the *sūtra* and *bhāṣya* are both the composition of Umāsvāti. But the *bhāṣyakāra*, though numerically identical with the *sūtrakāra*, behaves as a different person and refers to the *sūtrakāra* in the third person (cf. *sūtrakramaprāmāṇyāt prathamadvitīye śāsti*, *TASB*, I. 11). Siddhasenagaṇi, while commenting upon this remark of the *bhāṣyakāra*, observes: 'The *granthakāra* (author) functionally differentiates himself into the author of the aphorisms and the author of the commentary and says "*śāstī 'ti*" (propounds), which is to be supplemented by the word *sūtrakāra* as the nominative. The sentence thus completed would turn out as "The *sūtrakāra* propounds". An alternative explanation may be advanced also. A substance becomes different with the difference of modes and so though the same person is the author of the *sūtra* and the author of the *bhāṣya*, the mode-as-the-author-of-the-*sūtra* is different from the mode-as-the-author-of-the-commentary. Thus there is no logical incompatibility since the subject of the verb "propounds" is the mode-as-the-author-of-the-*sūtra*.'[1] In other words, Umāsvāti *qua sūtrakāra* is a different entity from Umāsvāti *qua bhāṣyakāra* from the official point of view, just as the same person as a Judge of the High Court and as the Vice-Chancellor of a University should behave as virtually two different persons in the different official capacities. In another place Siddhasenagaṇi remarks, '(He) sets forth this very meaning in the commentary'[2] and this is exactly on a par with the remarks of Abhinavagupta, '(He) now explains in the *vṛtti*,' etc., which have been adduced by us as evidence of numerical identity of the *vṛttikāra* with the *kārikākāra* in the article.[3]

The examination of the remarks of Siddhasenagaṇi reveals a momentous principle. The appellation '*granthakāra*' (author) is reserved for the author of the whole work and when the occasion for distinction arises he is designated as the *sūtrakāra* or *kārikākāra* or *mūlagranthakāra* (original author) and *bhāṣyakāra* or *vṛttikāra*, as the case may be. Abhinavagupta's reference to Ānandavardhana as *granthakāra*, when he does not feel the necessity of differentiating him as the commentator or the author of the original text, should therefore be understood in the undifferentiated sense as the author of the whole work—*kārikā* and *vṛtti* included, in conformity with the usual custom of commentators as evidenced by the remarks of Siddhasenagaṇi quoted above.

Our original thesis that the observance of distinction between the original author and the commentator is necessitated by rules of form receives further verification from Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika*, which consists of *kārikās*. Dharmakīrti

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[1] Granthakāra eva dvidhā ātmānaṃ vibhajya sūtrakārabhāṣyakārākāreṇa evam āha 'śāstī'ti'. sūtrakāra iti śeṣaḥ. athavā paryāyabhedāt paryāyiṇo bheda ity anyaḥ sūtrakāra-paryāyaḥ, anyaś ca bhāṣyakāraparyāya ity ataḥ sūtrakāra-paryāyaḥ śāstī'ti (Siddhasenagaṇi's com. on I. 11).

[2] amuṃ arthaṃ bhāṣyeṇa darśayati (*ibid.*, p. 168, S.V., II. 19). *TASB*.

[3] The reference is to my article in the Dr. B. C. Law Volume, Part I.

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again comments upon his own work and in the *vṛtti* refers to himself *qua* the author of the original text in the third person.[1]

We referred to Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra-vṛtti* as furnishing evidence of the necessity of observing formal distinction between the commentary and the text. It is refreshing to find that the author of the sub-commentary, *Kāmadhenu*, on the aforesaid work, takes note of this fact and observes that the reference to the author of the *sūtra* in the third person by the *vṛttikāra*, though they are as a matter of historical truth the same person, is due to the recognition of the functional and official difference entailed by the difference of rôle as the author of the *sūtra* and the author of the *vṛtti*.[2]

The same procedure again is found to be observed in the *Bhaktirasāyana* by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who is the author of the original work in verse and also of the commentary on it. Notwithstanding personal identity Madhusūdana *qua* commentator refers to himself *qua* the author of the original text as *granthakāra* and uses the third person. Instances can be added *ad libitum* and we trust our conclusion stands firm that the distinction of the author of the original text from that of the commentary is a matter of form and the interpretation of the same as evidence of numerical difference by modern scholarship is a grievous error of judgment.

(II)

Unfortunately the discussion in the second paragraph of p. 7 *et sequentes* has not been made so exact as the importance of the argument requires. Abhinavagupta maintains that the threefold classification of *dhvani* based on suggested sense has not been broached in the *Kārikā*, which is an error of fact as we have shown by chapter and verse. Under the impression that this threefold division of *dhvani* is the creation of the *vṛttikāra* Abhinavagupta now seeks to pick holes in the interpretation of the *Candrikā* on formal grounds. He contends that if the position of the *Candrikā* were correct on the point that the classification of *dhvani* based on suggested meaning had reference to *Vastudhvani*, *alaṅkāradhvani* and *rasadhvani*, then the laws of syntax involved in the two clauses would be guillotined altogether. It is required by the ordinary rules of syntax that the subject of the subordinate clause should be identical with the subject of the principal clause. The introductory statement of the *vṛttikāra* translated literally would be as follows. 'The nature of *dhvani* with all its divisions having been expounded only on the basis of suggested meaning, it (the nature of *dhvani*) is being again expounded on the basis of suggestive form.' The contention of Abhinavagupta is that if the divisions of *dhvani* based on suggested meaning were to refer to the threefold classification, *vastu*, *alaṅkāra*, and *rasadhvani* as made out by the author of the *Candrikā*, then there would be no syntactical relevancy between the two clauses. The said classification has been shown by the *vṛttikāra* and not by the *Kārikākāra* and the ensuing classification of *dhvani* based on suggestive form is going to be propounded by the *Kārikākāra* and not by the *vṛttikāra*. Thus the form of the sentence with its ellipses supplied would turn out on the proposed interpretation of the *Candrikākāra* as follows. 'The nature of *dhvani* with all its divisions based exclusively on suggested meaning having been expounded by the *vṛttikāra*, it is again being expounded by the *Kārikākāra* on the basis of suggestive form. Thus the subjects of the two clauses being different (*kartṛbhede*), what would be the syntactical relevancy between them?' As has been observed before, the rules of syntax demand that the subjects of the two clauses in such a situation should be identical and not different.

It is regrettable that the present writer failed to stress the full significance of the phrase '*kartṛbhede*'. The '*kartṛ*' in the phrase stands for the grammatical subject and not the author. The syntactical irrelevancy complained of by Abhinavagupta

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[1] Tadvyavasthāpanāya āha, p. 4 (PV., ed. by Rahula Sankrtyayana, Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad).

[2] Ata āhe 'ti. Vṛttikāra-daśātaḥ sūtrakāradaśā anyaiveti kartṛbhedam āśrityo'ktam āheti. *Kāmadhenuṭīkā*, S.V., 1. 1. 2, *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra-vṛtti*.

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would certainly be an unpardonable anomaly if the contention of Abhinavagupta about the aforesaid classification of *dhvani* as *rasadhvani*, etc. were correct. But we have shown that Abhinavagupta is mistaken and that the *Candrikākāra* is right. Apart from this observation, the contention has force in that the *vṛttikāra* and the *Kārikākāra* must be kept apart and the confusion resulting from the transference of a statement of one to the credit of the other is a lamentable offence irrespective of the fact whether the two authors are the same or different persons. We have shown in the body of the article that the charge of syntactical irrelevancy has no factual basis as the *Kārikākāra* is, as a matter of actual fact, the author of both the aforesaid threefold classification and the later classification based on form. And even if the fact were what has been contended to be by Abhinavagupta the difficulty of form could be avoided by the device set forth by us. One thing requires to be stressed in this connection. The difference of Abhinavagupta from the previous commentator has no bearing upon the question of numerical identity or difference of the authors of the two species of composition. The charge of irrelevancy would *prima facie* hold good, even if the *vṛttikāra* were the same person with the *Kārikākāra*, as under no circumstances the functional and official distinction can be obliterated. The syntactical irrelevancy could be sought to be avoided on the supposition that the *Candrikākāra* did not discriminate between the authors since they were numerically identical. But the defence would break down since the question of numerical identity has no bearing on the form of procedure. It is a matter of accident that they may be the same person, but the functional difference must be maintained as a matter of inescapable form.

(III)

It is a pity that I did not know of the paper written by Dr. A. Sankaran entitled *The authorship of the Dhvanikārikās* and that of Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya which traverses the thesis of the former, when I wrote my article on the subject. I based my arguments on the data collected by me from the commentary '*Locana*'. One of the two statements of Abhinavagupta which have been adduced by Dr. Sankaran from the '*Locana*' as evidence of the identity of the author of the *Kārikās* with Ānandavardhana, somehow escaped me. But I think the statement on pp. 219-20 'Having thus established the nature of suggested meaning he now observes as follows with a view to determining the status of the variety of composition which is bereft of suggestion in every respect' [1] is inconclusive. It is quite legitimate to argue that the subject of the two clauses is the *Kārikākāra* and thus the question of identity with or difference from the *vṛttikāra* does not simply arise. But the other remark quoted by Dr. Sankaran is decisively conclusive and is exactly on a par with the instances adduced by me. 'Having explained the *kārikā* (III. 1) in the way he has done he now states (the *kārikā*, III. 2) *yaṣṭvalakṣya* . . . etc. in order to elaborate the variety of *dhvani* called *asaṃlakṣyakramavyañgya* not included in the previous *kārikā*.' [2] Certainly the construction of the sentence of Abhinavagupta becomes unintelligible unless the subject of the verb 'having explained' and that of the verb 'states' are numerically identical. The point has been elaborated by Dr. Sankaran and I am of the opinion that it is too plain to require elucidation. The most outstanding and clinching evidence adduced by Dr. Sankaran is, however, furnished by two quotations from a manuscript of the *Abhinavabhāratī*, a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[3] Now Abhinavagupta is the author of the

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[1] evaṃ vyañgyasvarūpaṃ nirūpya sarvathā yat tacchūnyam tatra kā vārte'ti nirūpayitum āha (pp. 219-20).

[2] evaṃ kārikāṃ vyākhyāya tadasaṃgṛhītam asaṃlakṣyakramavyañgyaṃ prapañcayitum āha-yastv iti, p. 130.

[3] (1) etad evo 'pajīvyā' nandavardhanācāryeṇo'ktam, suptiṅvacane'tyādi (*Dh. Kārikā*, III. 16).

(2) etam evārtham samyag Ānandavardhanācāryo'pi vivicya nirūpayan (nyarūpayat) 'Samīkṣya viniveśitaḥ'. 'rūpakādir alaṅkāravarga' ityupakrameṇa 'Vivakṣā tatparatvena nā'ṅgitvena kadācana. kāle ca grahaṇatyāgau nātinirvahaṇaiṣitā' (II. 18-19) ityādinā grantha-

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commentary, *Locana*, on the *Dhvanyāloka* and also of the *Abhinavabhāratī*. The arguments of separate authorship of the *Dhvanyāloka* are all derived from certain remarks of Abhinavagupta in the *Locana*, which have been thoroughly discussed by us. We have taken pains to show that the remarks of Abhinavagupta are of formal significance and have no bearing on the question of personal identity. Our thesis receives unmistakable corroboration from the statements of Abhinavagupta in the *Abhinavabhāratī* cited from a MS. by Dr. Sankaran. Abhinavagupta quotes a part of the *kārikā*, III. 16, and *kārikās*, II. 18-19 as the handiwork of Ānandavardhana. He quotes these *kārikās* in the course of his commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* where he is no longer under the duress imposed by the laws of exegesis as in the commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka*. No evidence can be more convincing or illuminating than this. I must thank Dr. Sankaran for the light he has thrown on the problem by the discovery of the two extracts and I would request my readers to read my discourse along with the article of Dr. Sankaran; and I am categorically definite that all right-thinking men will be convinced that the theory of dual authorship of the *Dhvanyāloka* is only a canard and a figment of misconception due to lack of careful appraisal of the rules of exegesis. I am constrained to observe that Prof. Bhattacharya's attempt at the defence of the new-fangled hypothesis is inspired by love of a pet theory. To attribute this clear and unambiguous reference to Ānandavardhana as the author of the *Dhvanikārikās* together with the *vṛtti* which contains the illustrations by Abhinavagupta to lapse of memory on his part is too big a demand on the credulity of a sophisticated mind. I am definite that the problem is set at rest finally and once for all and that the unbroken tradition among Sanskrit writers is absolutely correct and authentic.

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sandarbheṇa sodāharaṇena. tac cā'smābhiḥ sahṛdayālokalocane tadvivaraṇe vistarato vyākhātam.

The first text quoted here asserts that Ānandavardhana is the author of the *kārikā* (III. 16). The second text definitely asserts that Ānandavardhana composed the *kārikās* and explained them with illustrations in the *vṛtti*. I am indebted for these quotations to the article of Dr. Sankaran published in the *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference* held at Madras in 1924.

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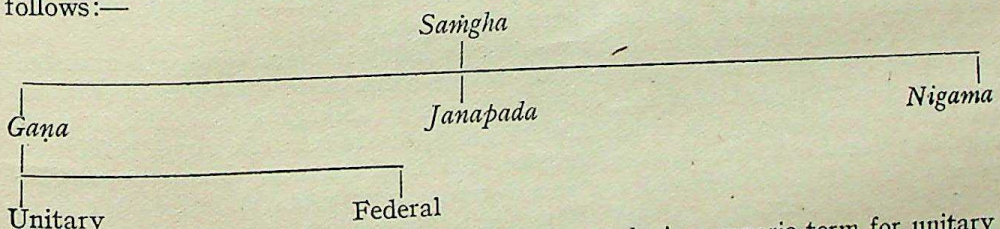
THE CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SAṀGHA-GAṆA IN THE POST-VEDIC PERIOD

By U. N. GHOSHAL

Indicating the inapplicability of the meaning "tribe" or "corporation of tradesmen or workmen" formerly adopted for *gaṇa*, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, Part I, p. 27) says: "*Gaṇa* was the *assembly* or *parliament*, so called because of the 'number' or 'numbering' of the members present . . . . The secondary meaning of *gaṇa* came to be 'parliament' or 'senate', and as republics were governed by them, *gaṇa* came to mean a republic itself." Explaining in the same context the relation between the *saṁgha* and the *gaṇa*, Jayaswal observes (*op. cit.*, p. 28): "The republics were the *saṁghas* and the *gaṇas* at the time [of Pāṇini]." But there was, strictly speaking, a distinction between the two. "The term *gaṇa* signified the form of *government*. *Saṁgha*, on the other hand, signified the *state*." Though it is difficult to make out fully the sense of the above extracts amid the confusion of nomenclature, we may take Jayaswal as meaning that strictly speaking, the political *gaṇa* signified the ruling assembly (loosely also called "parliament" and "senate") in a republic, while the *saṁgha* meant the republic itself.

Somewhat different from the above is the interpretation of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Lectures on the Ancient History of India on the period from 650 to 325 B.C.* Premising that the political *saṁgha* possessed "not Sovereign One but Sovereign Number" (*ibid.*, p. 146), he distinguishes *gaṇa* as "its best known form" (p. 149). The *gaṇa* in the special sense, he thinks (p. 149), was "tribal in character and was confined to the Kṣatriya order". The *gaṇa* itself, according to him, was of two kinds: one (illustrated by the Kurus, the Pañcālas and the Yaudheyas) being an "oligarchy", and the other (represented by the Licchavis) being "a federation of chiefs of different clans of a tribe, who were also each the ruler of a small principality" (pp. 164–167). Besides *gaṇa*, Dr. Bhandarkar distinguishes two other kinds of *saṁghas*, viz., the *Janapada* and the *Nigama*. "Both are democracies, but the sway of the first was confined to a single town and of the second extended over a province" (p. 172). The resulting classification may be shown in tabular form as follows:—



According to Dr. Bhandarkar, therefore, *saṁgha* is a generic term for unitary and federal oligarchies as well as town and provincial democracies. A different view on this subject is held by Dr. R. C. Majumdar who in his work *Corporate Life in Ancient India* repeatedly characterizes *saṁgha-gaṇas* of the post-Vedic period as "democratic forms of government". This description is applied by him to the *saṁgha* of Pāṇini (*op. cit.*, 2nd ed., p. 221), to the *gaṇa* of an *Avadāna-śataka* passage (p. 223), and lastly and above all to the constitutions of the Licchavis, the Śākyas and others, the most notable feature of which, according to him, was "the supreme *popular* [*italics ours*] assembly that regularly held its sittings at the *santhāgāra* in the capital city" (p. 239).

Now there seems to be no valid reason for taking *gaṇa* to be a species of the genus *saṁgha* in the sense of a Kṣatriya "tribal" oligarchy (Bhandarkar), or for interpreting their mutual relation as that existing between a ruling assembly and a republic (Jayaswal). As we understand the point, the two terms are identified

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with each other in the generic sense by Pāṇini (iv. 1. 186) and in the special political sense in M. i. 231, not to speak of their identification in the sense of monastic orders in the Buddhist and Jaina texts. As regards the alleged "tribal" organization of *saṁgha-gaṇa*, the sense of "tribe" has been conclusively disproved by the important researches of Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Modern Review*, May 1913; amplified, *Hindu Polity*, Part I, pp. 26–32). In fact, the term Kṣatriya "tribal" organization seems to be self-contradictory, since caste, as has been well said, is the solvent of the tribe. The true character of the political *saṁgha-gaṇa* may be understood in the light of the relevant texts. The oft-quoted passage in the *Avadāna-śataka*[1] by sharply contrasting the tracts ruled by *gaṇas* from those ruled by the *rājans*, shows that the former were governed not by single individuals, but by collective bodies of individuals. Again, consider the passage in the Jaina *Ācāraṅga-sūtra*[2] mentioning *gaṇa-rāyas* in a list along with *arāyas*, *juvarāyas*, *dorajjas*, *verajjas* and *viruddharajjas*. We do not know the precise significance of some of these titles, but at any rate we can infer from the above by the rule of elimination, that *gaṇarāya* meant government by a multiple body of people. More important is the testimony of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini, iv. 1. 168,[3] where *saṁgha*, by contrast with *ekarāja-janapada*, is taken to mean a country-cum-Kṣatriya-clan ruled by a collective group of people. We may take *saṁgha-gaṇa*, then, to stand for a State ruled by a Kṣatriya class. How completely unlike "democratic forms of government" was the constitution of the *saṁgha-gaṇa* is proved by the concrete cases of the Licchavis and the Mallas who are acknowledged examples of this type.[4] We hear repeatedly in the canonical as well as non-canonical texts of the Licchavis and the Mallas having gathered at the *Santhāgāra* on some unspecified business.[5] Later tradition knows the members of these assemblies by the title of *rājans*.[6] With this agrees a passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (xi. 1) giving Licchivikas, Vṛjikas and Mallakas, etc. as examples of *rājaśabdopajīvin saṁghas* (*saṁghas* with titular kings). There is no reason to think that the Licchavi and Malla members of these assemblies comprised the mass of freemen, so as to justify the application of the designation "democratic forms of government" to their constitution. On the contrary, the Licchavis and the Mallas are habitually described in the texts as forming the class of Kṣatriyas, which occupies, according to the Pali texts, the dominant rank in society. The position of the Licchavis as a social class ranking above the Brāhmaṇas and the Gahapatis is clearly indicated by such texts as we find in D., iii. 16. There, in a list of those assembled at Vesālī to witness a display of mystic wonders by the Buddha and a naked ascetic, are mentioned in order of succession many distinguished Licchavis, many eminent Brāhmaṇas and many wealthy gahapatis.

It follows from the above that the ruling assembly in the *saṁgha-gaṇa* consisted of a Kṣatriya aristocracy ranking higher in the social scale than the Brāhmaṇas and the gahapatis, not to speak of inferior classes. *Saṁgha-gaṇa*, then, was an aristocracy (or oligarchy) in which the supreme power was exercised by a hereditary class of nobles to the exclusion of the general body of freemen. Does the *saṁgha-gaṇa*, then, admit of division into the sub-types, unitary and federal? We have elsewhere (*IHQ.*, xx, pp. 338-39) attempted to show what little ground exists for the view that the Licchavis were an example of a federal *gaṇa*. There are, however, other examples not noticed by Dr. Bhandarkar which seem to belong to this sub-type. A federal *gaṇa* is hinted at in the Pali references to the Vajji confederacy of which the Licchavis and the Videhas are regarded as the chief members. The

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[1] *keciddeśā gaṇādhīnāḥ kecid-rājādhīnāḥ* (*Av.-sat*, ii. 103).

[2] *arāyāṇi vā gaṇarāyāṇivā juvarāyāṇi vā dorajjāṇi vā verajjāṇi vā viruddharajjāṇi vā.*

[3] Pāṇini's sūtra reads: *janapada-śabdāt Kṣatriyād-añ*, to which Kātyāyana adds his *vārttika*, *Kṣatriyād-ekarājāt saṁgha-pratiṣedhārtham.*

[4] Cf. M., i. 231, quoting Vajjis and Mallas as examples of *saṁghas* and *gaṇas* and Kautilya, xi. 1, listing Licchivikas, Vṛjikas and Mallakas among examples of *rājaśabdopajīvin saṁghas*. Also see Devendra's commentary on the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xv. 9 (quoted by J. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* ed., p. 338), where Mallas are given as examples of *gaṇas*.

[5] Cf. M., i. 228, A., iv. 179ff., Vin., i. 233-34 = Mahā., vi. 31. 1ff., for assemblies of Licchavis of Vesālī; D., ii. 147, 159; iii. 207–09, for assemblies of Mallas of Kusinārā.

[6] See Jāt., i. 504; iii. 1.

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same sub-type is suggested by references in the Jaina Kalpasūtra (*S.B.E.*, xxii, p. 266) and the Jaina Nirayāvaliyāo (i. 57ff.) to the nine Mallakis and the nine Lecchakis as well as the eighteen *gaṇarājas* of Kāsi-Kosala. But these confederacies are mere names. We may next ask whether *janapada* and *nigama* ranked with *gaṇa* as different types of *saṁgha*. Dr. Bhandarkar seems to be right in taking the legend *rājaña-janapadassa* on a certain coin-type of later times to refer to "the Rājanya people" who are known even to Pāṇini, and the *Majhimikāya Śivi-janapadassa* on another type of coins to refer to the Śivi people of Madhyamikā, a town noticed by Patañjali. What is more, we know that a branch of the Śivis, living near the junction of the Jhelum and the Chenab, enjoyed a republican form of government in Alexander's time according to the descriptions of the accurate Greek writers. But Dr. Bhandarkar gives no reasons for his view that the Rājanyas and the Śivis were democracies: they may have, quite likely, formed a Kṣatriya oligarchy of the familiar *saṁgha-gaṇa* type like the Licchavis and the Mallas of earlier times. The description of an un-named people living beyond the Hyphasis by Arrian (v. 25) and Strabo (xv. 3) as possessing an aristocratic form of government is certainly a decisive evidence on this point. But there is no reason for classing them as a *janapada saṁgha* distinct from the usual type of *saṁgha-gaṇa*. Nor are we convinced that the Nysa State described by Arrian as an aristocracy with a president and a council of three hundred members was "a form of *nigama-saṁgha*, which is neither an oligarchy nor a democracy" (Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 178). For, apart from the question whether the Nysaeans were an Indian people at all, their constitution appears to us to be an extreme form of the familiar Kṣatriya oligarchy, and not a distinct type. On the other hand, the "Abastanoi" (Ambaṣṭhas), cited by Dr. Bhandarkar on the authority of Q. Curtius as an example of a democratic constitution, cannot certainly be classed as a *saṁgha* in the sense understood by the grammarian Kātyāyana and illustrated by the cases of the Licchavis and the Mallas above quoted. The same criticism would apply to the examples of "town-democracies" quoted by Dr. Bhandarkar (pp. 176-77), even if we could be sure of their identification as such.[1] We may, then, conclude that *saṁgha-gaṇa* in the political sense signified as aristocracy (or oligarchy) in which the supreme power was enjoyed by a Kṣatriya clan.

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[1] Identifying *Negama* on the obverse of a certain coin-type with "*Naigamas*, i.e., the body of citizens such as that mentioned in the Yājñavalkya and Nārada Smṛtis", Dr. Bhandarkar observes (p. 176): "The Naigamas of a town which could strike coinage must be looked upon as a corporate body endowed with political power." Further on, after taking a Nasik cave inscription (*EI.*, viii. 92) to refer to the gift of a village by the inhabitants of Nasik, he says (p. 177): "It is inconceivable that they could have done so unless they constituted a government holding sway over the town and its adjunct villages." The former interpretation may be correct, but the latter is certainly not above criticism. We have two inscriptions dated 933 and 960 V.S. clearly recording the gift of lands by the whole town (*samastasthāna* or *sakalasthāna*) in favour of temples, the towns themselves being included in the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperors. For references, see *EI.*, i. 20, No. 2 and *ibid.*, i. 21. For a full account of the above, see *Agrarian System in Ancient India* by the present writer, pp. 90-91.

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THE PRINCIPLE OF ADVAYA AND YUGANADDHA IN TANTRIC BUDDHISM

By S. B. Das Gupta

The synthesis or rather the unification of all duality in an absolute unity is the real principle of union, which has been termed as *Yuganaddha* in the Buddhist Tantras. This principle of *Yuganaddha* is clearly explained in the fifth chapter (*Yuganaddha-krama*) of the *Pañca-krama*. There it is said that when a state of unity is reached through the purging of the two notions of the creative process (*saṃsāra*) and absolute cessation (*nirvṛtti*), it is called *Yuganaddha*. When the transcendental nature of both the phenomenal (*saṁkleśa*) and the absolutely purified (*vyavadāna*) realities are realized and they become unified into one, it is called the *Yuganaddha*. Again, when the Yogin will be able to synthesize the thought-constructions of all corporeal existence with the notion of the formlessness, he can be said to have known the principle of *Yuganaddha*. Thus the text goes on explaining that the real principle of *Yuganaddha* is the absence of the notion of duality as the perceivable (*grāhya*) and the perceiver (*grāhaka*) and their perfect synthesis in an unity,—it is the absence of the notions of eternity and as well as limitation and their synthesis in an unity,—the unity of *prajñā* and *karuṇā*,—the state of all-void (*sarva-śūnyatā*) through the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* (which are explained as the male and the female in the commentary). Where there is no notion of extinction with some residual substratum (*sopādhi-śeṣaḥ*) or extinction without any residuum (*anupādhi-śeṣaḥ*), i.e. no notion of the non-essentialness of the *dharmas* (*dharma-nairātmya*) or of the self (*pudgala-nairātmya*)—that is what is called the *Yuganaddha*;—for, the very nature of *Yuganaddha* involves its freedom from all kinds of thought-constructions. To realize through constant practice the truth of both *svādhiṣṭhāna* (which is the third *śūnyatā* as self-establishment or the universalization of the self) and the resplendent (*prabhāsvara*, which is the fourth or the final stage as *sarva-śūnya*) and then to unite them together—this is *Yuganaddha*. To enter into the final abode of 'thatness' in body, word and mind and thence again to rise up and turn to the world of miseries—that is what is called *Yuganaddha*. To know the nature of *samvṛti* (the provisional truth) and the *paramārtha* (the ultimate truth) and then to unite them together is real *Yuganaddha*. Where the mind neither lost in the absolute 'thatness' nor does it rise up in the world (of activity)—that immutable state of the Yogin is called the state of *Yuganaddha*. Here there is neither affirmation nor denial;—neither existence nor non-existence;—neither non-remembering (*asmṛti* = non-subjectivity through the absence of the *vāsanās*) nor remembering (*smṛti*);—neither affection (*rāga*) nor non-affection (*arāga*);—neither the cause nor the effect;—neither the production (*utpatti*) nor the produced (*utpanna*);—neither purity nor impurity;—neither anything with form, nor anything without form;—it is but a synthesis of all these dualities—that is what is meant by the principle of *Yuganaddha*. A Yogin thus placed in *Yuganaddha* is called the omniscient, the seer of the truth, the support of the universe;—he has escaped the snare of illusion by attaining perfect enlightenment,—he has crossed the sea of birth and death,—he has attained non-dual knowledge and eternal tranquillity. This in fact is perfect enlightenment (*buddhatva*),—this is what is meant by becoming a *Vajrasattva*,—this is the way to attain all power and wealth. This stage is called the absorption in the *Vajropama* (or thunder-like) meditation,—the *niṣpanna krama* or the absolute state, or the absorption in the *Mayopāma* (illusion-like) meditation, or it is called the non-dual truth (*advaya-tattva*). Words like 'uncreate', 'non-dual', etc., all refer to this. In this way the Buddhas, whose number is innumerable like the sand on the bank of the Ganges, attained perfection, which is a stage neither real nor unreal. This principle of *Yuganaddha* should be meditated as well as practised, and in such a stage the mind being absolutely free from the notion of all sorts of duality, there remains no

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distinction between the self and the enemy, the wife and the daughter, the mother and the woman of the Vaiśya class, or, a woman of the *doma* caste or of the Brahmin caste; there is no distinction in his mind between cloth and skin, gem and husk,—the scent of camphor or any other bad scent, praise and calumny, day and night, dream and perception, the ruined or the surviving, pleasure and pain, evil and good, hell and heaven, merit and demerit.[1]

In the *Yuganaddha-Prakāśa* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha* we find that the truth is neither existence (*bhāva*) nor non-existence (*abhāva*), but it appears as the unification of both of them. The nature of the union of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is incomprehensible; void and manifestation always remain in union by nature. In the *Prema-Pañcaka* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṁgraha*, *śūnyatā* has been spoken of as the wife and the manifestation of *śūnyatā* as the husband,—and the relation between them is that of conjugal love which is very natural (*sahajaṁ prema*); and so inseparable are they in their deep love that *śūnyatā* without the husband of manifestation would have been dead and the husband of manifestation without *śūnyatā* would have always suffered bondage. In the *Sādhana-mālā* it is said that the one body of the ultimate nature as the unity of both *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is called the neuter or often as the *Yuganaddha*.

On the whole it seems clear that the principle of *Yuganaddha* is nothing but the principle of non-duality (*a-dvaya*).[2] The principle of *maithuna* (conjugal intercourse) or *kāmakalā* (as it is called in the *Kāmakalā-vilāsa*) of the Śaiva or Śāktatantra refers to the same principle. In the *Kāmakalā-vilāsa* we find the principle very clearly explained. Śiva or Maheśa is pure illumination (*prakāśa-mātra-tanu*) or the abstract self-shining thought with all the principles of activity contracted within him (*antarlīna-vimarśah*); Śakti is the principle of activity or the inherent activity of thought (*vimarśa* or *kriyā-śakti*) and she contains the seed of the future worlds (*bhāvi-carā-cara-bījam*). Śiva, however, realizes himself through the Śakti, and therefore it is said that Śiva is the form or beauty which is to be reflected in the clear-looking glass of *vimarśa*.[3] The philosophical implication seems to be that pure abstract thought cannot realize its own nature unless it comes back to itself through its own activity, and when it thus returns back to itself through *vimarśa* it becomes the 'Egohood'. Thus at first there is pure thought-illumination (*prakāśa*), then the activity (*vimarśa*) and by their union is produced *ahaṁkāra* or the 'Egohood'.

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1 *saṁsāra-nirvṛtiśceti kalpanā-dvaya-varjanāt|*
ekī-bhāvo bhavet yatra yuganaddhaṁ tad ucyate||
saṁkleśaṁ vyavadānañca jñātvā tu paramārthataḥ|
ekī-bhāvaṁ tu yo vetti sa vetti yuganaddhakam||
sākāra-bhāva-saṁkalpaṁ nirākāratva-kalpanāṁ|
ekī-kṛtya caret yogī sa vetti yuganaddhakam||
grāhyañ ca grāhakañ caiva dvidhā-buddhir na vidyate|
abhinnatā bhavet yatra tadāha yuganaddhakam||
śāśvate cheda-buddhistu yaḥ prahāya pravartate|
yuganaddha-kramā-khyaṁ vai tattvaṁ vetti sa paṇḍitaḥ||
prajñā-karuṇayor aikyaṁ jñā(naṁ) yatra pravartate|
yuganaddha iti khyātaḥ kramo'yaṁ buddha-gocaraḥ||
prajño-pāya-samāpattyau jñātvā sarvāṁ samāsataḥ|
yatra sthito mahāyogī tad bhavet yuganaddhakam||
yatra sopādhi-śeṣañ ca tathā'nupādhi-śeṣakam|
ity evaṁ kalpanā nā'sti tat taddhi yuganaddhakam||
yatra pudgala-nairāt'mya(ṁ) dharma-nairātmyam ity api|
kalpanayā viviktattvaṁ yuganaddhasya lakṣaṇam||
jñātvā karmeṇa tattvajñaḥ svādhiṣṭhāna-prabhāsvaraṁ|
tayor eva samājaṁ yad yuganaddha-kramo'hy ayam|| etc.
Vide *Pañca-krama*.

2 *ekaḥ svābhavikāḥ kāyaḥ śūnyatā-karuṇā-dvayaḥ|*
napuṁsakam iti khyāto yuganaddha iti kvacit||
Sādhana-mālā, Vol. 2, 5, 505.
etad advayam ity uktaṁ bodhicittaṁ idaṁ param|
Ibid., p. 17.

3 *śiva-rūpa-vimarśa-nirmalā-darśaḥ||*
Kāmakalā-vilāsa, Verse 2.
Kāśmīra Series of Texts and Studies No. XII.

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This principle of 'Egohood' is called the 'mass produced through the union of Śiva and Śakti' (*śiva-śakti-mithuna-piṇḍa*).[1] We have already indicated that this Śiva is thought of as the white matter (*śita-bindu*) and the Śakti as the red-matter (*śona-bindu*), and if we are to expand the analogy, it comes to this, that just as all production is through the commingling of the seed and the ovum through the union of the male and the female, so this 'Egohood' is the son as it were, produced through the union of the Śiva and Śakti.[2] This Śiva is the *Kāma* (he who is desirable) and the Śakti is the *Kalā*,[3] and their union is the *Kāma-kalā*.

The principle of the union of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* is often illustrated in the Buddhist Pantheon by the representation of many of the gods embracing their consorts or female counterparts. The Lord Supreme as the *Vajrasattva* or the *Vajradhara* is often represented as embracing his consort variously called as the *Vajra-dhātveśvarī* or *Vajra-vārāhī* or *Prajñā* or *Prajñā-pāramitā* or *Nairātmā*. Lord Heruka in the *Heruka-tantra* is represented as filled with erotic emotion (*śṛṅgāra-rasa-samanvitam*) and deeply embracing his consort Vajra-vairocanī in great joy of compassion (*karuṇā-mahotsava*).[4] In the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* the Lord is depicted as embracing Vajra-vārāhī who clings to Him (in sexual union) and who is red in colour (red colour of love). To illustrate the principle of union they are depicted as in sexual union touching at all points of contact.[5] In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find that Heruka, as embraced by his *Prajñā*, represents the knowledge of the non-dual union.[6] Lord Ādi-buddha embraced by his *Prajñā* is said to be the non-dual (*advaya*) truth.[7] In many of the *Sādhanas* we find that the god to be worshipped is to be meditated on as in union with or deeply embraced by his female consort and as enjoying great bliss.[8] We have seen that the five Tathāgatas or the Dhyāni-Buddhas, viz. Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava and Amogha-siddhi, have their female consorts Vajradhātveśvarī, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍara and Āryatārā, and these Dhyānī-Buddhas or Tathāgatas are generally described with their own consorts or Śaktis. It is interesting to note, however, that many of the Buddhist gods of Nepal and Tibet are depicted in *yab-yum* or in union. Often the god holds the *yum* (the female) on his knee in the archaic manner of Śiva holding Pārvatī. Thus Avalokiteśvara is often depicted as holding his Śakti on the knee.

We have seen that most of the Buddhist Tantras are Saṅgīti in type and the Lord Supreme as the Bhagavān Buddha or the Lord Vajra-sattva or Vajra-dhara is depicted as preaching these principles of *Sādhana* in an assembly of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tathāgatas and others; but sometimes we see that the Lord Supreme is not preaching in the assembly, but is depicted as explaining the principles of esoteric practices by way of answering the questions of goddess Nairātmā or Vajra-vārāhī or simply Vārāhī, who, out of compassion for the suffering beings, puts all sorts of questions as to the secrets of the practices through which all beings may attain liberation. In the *Hevajra-tantra* we see that goddess Nairātmā, deeply moved by the miseries of the beings, is entreating the Lord to explain all the secrets through which the suffering world may be delivered. The Lord is moved by her request; he kisses her and caresses and coaxes her in deep embrace and explains to her all the secrets of Yoga through which all beings may be liberated.[9] In one

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[1] *Ibid.*, Verse 5.
[2] *Kāmakalā-vilāsa*, Comm. on Verse 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, Comm. on Verse 7.
[4] *Heruka-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11279) p. 31.
[5] *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra*. Translated from Tibetan by Kazi Dawa Samdup and edited by Arthur Avalon, pp. 27, 29.
[6] *advaya-yoga-jñānaṁ tu prajñā-liṅgi ta-herukam|*
Vol. II (G.O.S.), p. 503.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 505.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 491, 500, 502, 529, 532, 537, 539, etc.
[9] Cf. *kapāla-mālinaṁ vīraṁ nairatmā-śliṣta-kandharam|*
pañca-mudrā-dharam devaṁ nairātmā pṛcchati svayam||
asmāc cakraṁ tvayā kathi taṁ pañca-daśa-parivāri tam|
tad idaṁ maṇḍalaṁ kidṛk prāk na jñātaṁ mayā prabho||

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place, however, goddess Nairātmā asks the Lord to explain what is meant by their Cakra. The Lord replies that it is a place with four corners and four doors decked with *Vajra*-threads; within it remains the Lord with the Lady in deep passion in the nature of the Sahaja-bliss; and from their union proceed all the goddesses in all the quarters.[1] The *Vajra-vārāhi-kalpa-mahā-tantra* (R.A.S.B. MS. No. 11285), the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* (R.A.S.B. MS. No. 9089), etc. are written entirely as dialogues between the Lord and the Lady in exactly the same manner described above. In the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* the Lord says that in the form of the unity of the four kinds of bliss, free from all notions of existence and non-existence—as the principle of non-phenomenalism he resides in all men; while the Lady replies that she also in the form of the unity of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*—as the 'non-construct' bliss resided in all women.[2] It is very interesting to note that the Hindu Tantras are also generally introduced by way of a dialogue between Lord Śiva and his Śakti Pārvatī; there also, Pārvatī (who is the mother of the world as *Prajñā* also is) out of deep compassion for the beings asks the Lord of the way through which the beings may be liberated, and in way of replying to the questions of Pārvatī Lord Śiva explains to her all the secrets of Yoga. It is indeed very hazardous to postulate on the basis of this similarity of form of both the Buddhist and the Hindu Tantras any theory concerning the priority of the one to the other, it is, nevertheless, to be admitted that the resemblance is rather striking, and in later time with the gradual decay of Buddhism and the revival of Hinduism the Buddhist Lord Supreme with his female counter-part could very easily conceal himself behind the Hindu god Śiva with his Śakti Pārvatī or Gaurī or Durgā. This confusion between the two pairs of the Hindu and Buddhist divinities is rather palpable in the Hindu-Buddhist vernacular literature of India.

The Buddhist Tantric literature of the Saṅgīti class (i.e. where Lord Buddha himself is depicted as the preacher of the truth contained in the body of the book) invariably begins with the sentence—*evaṁ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-hṛdaya-vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu vijaḥāra.* The general meaning of the sentence is—'It is heard by me that once upon a time, the Lord sported in the heart of super-human knowledge arising out of the body, speech and mind of all the Tathāgatas'. But the line has been explained in various ways in various Tantras and their commentaries. Of course, as pointed out before, in many cases the interpretation is absolutely sectarian and as such is purely arbitrary. The word *bhaga* may be (and has often been) explained to mean the six super-human qualities, viz. all sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), energy (*vīrya*), fame (*yaśas*), beauty (*śrī*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and detachment (*vairāgya*); and taking this meaning the above line may be explained in the following way: the lord shone in bliss in the transcendental qualities belonging to the body, speech and mind of the Tathāgatas. But the

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cumbayitvā tu nairātmāṁ kṣiptvā vajraṁ kakkolake|
mardayitvā stanaṁ devo maṇḍalaṁ samprakāśate||
Hevajra-tantra, MS. p. 55(B).
pṛcchate tatra sā devīvajra-pūja prayogataḥ|
tatkṣaṇaṁ kidṛśo deva kathayasva mahāprabho||
Ibid., MS. p. 61(A).
Cf. also pp. 61(B), 69(B), 62(A), 69(A), etc.

[1] *Ibid.*, MS. pp. 55(*b*)–56(*a*).

[2] *bhāvā-bhāva-viniṛmuktaś catur-ānandaika-tatparaḥ|*
niṣprapañca-svarūpo'haṁ sarva-saṁkalpa-varjitaḥ||
mān na jānati ye mūḍhāḥ sarva-puṁ-vapuṣi sthitam|
teṣām ahaṁ hitā-rthāya pañca-kāraṇa saṁsthitaḥ||
atha bhagavatī dveṣa-vajrī samadhiṁ āpadye'dammudā jahāra,—
śūnyatā-karuṇā-bhinnā divya-kāma-sukha-sthitā|
sarva-kalpa-vihīnā'haṁ niṣprapañca nirākulā||
māṁ na jānanti ye nāryaḥ sarva-strī-deha-saṁsthitā|
tāsām ahaṁ hitā-rthāya pañcā-kāreṇa saṁsthitā||
atha bhagavān kṛṣnācano (?) gāḍhena bhagavatī-dvesavajrīṁ
cumbayitvā samāliṅgya cā'mantrayate sma|
devi devī mahā-ramyaṁ rahasyaṁ cā'ti-durlabham| etc.
MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 9089) pp. 1(B)–2(A).

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Guhya-siddhi of Padmavajra says—'There is renowned *Prajñā* who is divine and who sanctions all fulfilment; that which remains in her is called the syllable *bhaga*,—that is the pure truth; and I have worshipped it from the standpoint of the absolute.' [1] Here it seems that the truth (*tattva*) that remains in union with *Prajñā* is the Lord himself. Thus the aphorism (*evam mayā* etc.) means that the Lord remains in union with *Prajñā* in the form of the *tattva*. Again it is said, that the Lord of mind is the *bhagavān* and *Prajñā* is the *Vajra-yoṣit* (the adamantine woman), and there (in the *Vajra-yoṣit*) sported the Lord in the form of great bliss.[2] Again it is said, that all non-constructive and universal knowledge, condensed into a mass, is void-element in the form of the *bhaga*.[3] This void-element or *śūnyatā* is the *Prajñā*; and the *Prajñā* is depicted as the eternal and infinite object of joy of the Lord of elements (*Bhūta-nātha*); she is pure in the beginning, in the middle and in the end,—and she comes from *Vajra*-knowledge and remains as *Samvṛtti* (provisional or phenomenal); she is known also as *karma-mudrā*; and moved by her kindness towards the beings she condescends to take the human forms (as women). [4]

From the above we may conclude that whatever might have been the original meaning of the epithet *vajra-joṣit-bhaga*, it began to be taken in later times in its sense as the female organ; and the Lord (representing Lord Buddha), instead of being conceived as preaching in the assembly of the adept, began to be conceived as dallying with *Prajñā* or his female counterpart and this will be confirmed by the manner in which the dialogues of the *Dākārṇava* (ed. by MM. H. P. Śāstrī) are introduced. The text begins with the line—*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān mahā-vīre-śvara(ḥ) sarva-tathāgata-vīra-kāya-vāk-citta-yoginī-bhageṣu krīḍitavān*. Then the Mahavīre-śvara begins to narrate his experiences in the *mahāsukha-samādhi*; but the goddess Vārāhi interferes and puts questions to the Lord, and the Lord goes on replying to her questions and removing all her doubts.[5]

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[1] *sthitā siddhi-pradā divyā nāmnā prajñe'ti viśrutā/*
tasyāṁ vyavasthitaṁ yat tad bhagam ity akṣara dvayam/
tan mayā śuddha-tattvā-khyaṁ sevitaṁ paramārthataḥ//
Guhya-siddhi. MS. p. 9.

[2] *bhagavān iti nirdiṣṭaṁ cittasyā'dhipatiḥ prabhuḥ/*
vajra-yoṣit smṛtā prajñā yā sā savajriṇā-tmakā//
. . . . . .
vijahāra tataḥ śrīmān śrī-mahāsukha-vajriṇaḥ//
Ibid., p. 17.

[3] *nirvikalpaka-sarvajña-jñānaṁ piṇḍīkṛtaṁ tu yat/*
sarva(ṁ) yat bhagam ākāra-rūpeṇa tat kha dhātum iti smṛtam/
Ibid., p. 17.

[4] *yā sā śrī-bhūta-nāthasya mud(r)ā parama-śāśvatī/*
nāmnā prajñe'ti vikhyātā ādi-madhyā-nta-nirmalā/
sthitā samvṛtti-rūpeṇa tu vajra-jñāna sambhavā/
karma-mudre'ti vikhyātā sattvā-nugraha-hetunā/
mānuṣi tanum āśritya sarva-sattva-hitaiṣiṇī/
Ibid., p. 14.

[5] Cf. *Dākārṇava* (Śāstrī), p. 135.
Again:—
saṁśayaṁ sarvam atraiva kiṃ rahasyā-di vākyakam/
kathayantu mama svāmi sattvā-nāmupa-kārakam//
tuṣṭāmy ahaṁ mahādevī sattvo-pakāra-hetukām/
kathayāmi samāsena śṛnvekāgratva-cetasā//
Ibid., p. 137.

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A HISTORY OF IRRIGATION IN SOUTH INDIA[1]

By V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

In a tropical country like India the paramount importance of irrigation for agricultural purposes can hardly be exaggerated. In India agriculture has been and still continues to be the main industry of the country and enormous areas are cultivated and crops raised on them annually with no water except the rain water. India has been getting unequal rainfall. Though in South India, for instance, the total annual rainfall ranges from 40 to 60 inches and is thus sufficient in quantity for agricultural operations, it is badly distributed. Undue dependence of agriculture on rainfall renders cultivation precarious. Normal years of rainfall are frequently disturbed by years of scarcity caused by drought or bursting. There are frequent periods of bursts in rivers resulting from torrential rains, while periods of complete failure of monsoon and rains are also not infrequent.

It is largely with a view to removing the menace of these years of failure of monsoons and the consequential drought, that the irrigation systems of India have been constructed. Furthermore to the orthodox Hindus, among the different forms of charity, one of the most important is the provision for the supply of water which serves to nurture the movable and immovable creation in the world. An inscription of A.D. 1369 which extols the merit accruing from the provision of water by the construction of a tank quotes the following from Hemādri: 'A shed for distributing water, a well and a reservoir, a canal and a lotus tank; the merit of (constructing) them is millions and millions (of times) higher in succession; as the water of a tank serves to nurture both movable and immovable creation on (this) earth, even the lotus-seated (Brahma) is unable to recount the fruit of merit (attaching) to it.'[2] The digging of a tank is considered to be one of the seven great meritorious acts a man (is expected to) perform during his lifetime, the others being the procreation of a son, the composition of a poem, the hoarding of treasure, the planting of a grove, the marriage of a girl to a Brahman and the consecration of a temple.[3]

The importance of affording irrigation facilities for agricultural operations was well realized by the Hindu kings of South India. About the irrigation sources of South India, Crole, in his Chingleput Gazetteer, says that many of them 'now abandoned or in ruins evince the solicitude of those ancient monarchs for the extension of cultivation even in tracts not favoured by natural position or the quality of the soil. Almost every catchment basin, however small, still bears traces of having been bounded across and in many instances this was done in order to secure a *paddy* on a few acres of stony ungenerous soil to which all the fostering care of the British administration has induced cultivation to return. Large and more expensive projects were not neglected. Even some of them bear witness to the enlightenment of those Hindu kings while the absence of scientific instruments in those remote times compels the astonishment of the beholder'.

Large river systems were brought into existence very early in the history of South India. The history of South Indian irrigation goes back to the Śangam period, if not earlier. The credit for launching large irrigation projects goes again to one of the early Chola kings by name Karikāla I, who flourished sometime towards the close of the first century. The Chola kingdom was known Punal nāḍu, due to the fact that its river the Kāverī was in floods every year. This Kāverī was otherwise known Ponni, and it was given to the creative genius of Karikāla I to utilize the waters of the Kāverī for productive purposes. He saw that the wastage of the waters was due to insufficient, or rather want of proper embankments. Therefore

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[1] Paper submitted to the Indian History Congress, Aligarh, Dec. 1943.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 94ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 88ff.

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he embarked on the useful scheme of providing embankments for the river. Records, literary and epigraphical, ranging from the first to the eleventh centuries, uniformly and unanimously refer to this great achievement of Karikāla. It was indeed a singular achievement of a monarch who had the long vision of brightening the rural life of his kingdom and consequently increasing the prosperity of his State. So the king came to be known as Karikāl Peruvaḷattān.

The Cholas were generally called Valavar and to distinguish Karikāla from his compeers, the public honoured him with the title Peruvaḷattān. We have pieces of evidence as to his great irrigation projects and works, scattered in literature and epigraphy. If we are to credit the testimony of the *Paṭṭinappālai*, a Śangam work, Karikāla cast his net wide. He was not satisfied with merely constructing embankments for which there are a host of references.[1] The bunds were erected with the aid of other kings, hired labourers and subjects of the subdued kings. The Rangeśa veṇbā (55) refers to the help rendered by one Pratāparudra in this connection. This ruler must not be confounded with the later Pratāpa Rudra, the Gajapati of Orissa. The former was a contemporary of Karikāla I. The inscriptions referred to above, though belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries, record an ancient tradition which dies hard in this country. These further show that the bund was formed of earth carried in baskets by the subdued kings. Add to this the evidence of the Ceylon chronicles. According to them Karikāla took a number of labourers from Ceylon to accomplish the great task of erecting the bund. This fact of regulating the waters of the Kāverī is further pointed out by the *Kalingattuparani*, (stanza 184) and the Ulās like the Vikrama Chola Ula and Kulottungan Ulā, not to speak of the testimony of the *Porunararṟupaḍai* (ll. 242–8). According to the last work it was the Kāverī that made the Chola king and his kingdom great, fertile, and prosperous. Even today we speak of Chola deśattu vallāmai meaning the fertility of the soil and the rich crop yielded by the lands irrigated by the Kāverī waters. The major portion of the Tanjore district is at present a coveted field for crop cultivation.

Though the erection of bunds is testified to us by more than one authority including the Māllapādu plates of Punya Kumāra,[2] there are other evidences to show that Karikāla extended his activities in other directions. He was responsible for excavating a number of irrigation channels from the Kāverī.[3] This unmistakable reference of the epic to Karikāla's activities shows the great expansion of the monarch's project. Waters may be controlled by means of embankments on the two sides of the river but it would be wanting in statesmanship if they are not properly utilized for productive purposes. With the avowed object of increasing the material prosperity of his kingdom, Karikāla cut a number of channels and canals so as to make the waters flow to the cultivable parts of his kingdom. Tanks were also dug then and there to enable some lands inaccessible to the river irrigation to get the benefit of a regulated water supply. This was effected by digging tanks as is evidenced by the Śangam classic the *Paṭṭinappālai*.

All authorities are agreed in the magnificent performance of Karikāla, the Chola monarch who flourished some time towards the end of the first century A.D. There is again inscriptional evidence recording a tradition that Karikāla reclaimed forests and waste lands by his policy of irrigational expansions. It is said that he disafforested large tracts of lands and made them cultivable. This is another service done by this early Chola monarch to the agricultural improvement of South India.[4] This is the first known example in South Indian history of the State promoting an important industry, namely, agriculture. This would not thrive if proper irrigation facilities are not provided. So the Chola king, farsighted statesman that he was, thought of a well-conceived plan to effect his object. He succeeded in his plan with the willing co-operation of his subjects. If we are to follow the later-

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[1] *E.P.R.*, 1906, Large Leyden Grant, Tiruvālangādu Plates of Rājendra I, Kanyākumari Inscription of Vīrarājendra, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 339: *S.I.I.*, III, iii, p. 386, etc.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 35 (dated cir. 7th century A.D.).
[3] *Śilappadikāram*, X, ll. 107–9.
[4] K. A. Nilakanta Shastrī, Colas, II, p. 406.

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day practice of *Kāverikkarai viniyogam*,[1] it is legitimate to infer that once the construction work was over, the State entrusted the local authorities such as the village assemblies to look after the repairs of the bund by contributing a special cess for the purpose and getting the repairs effected.

Light comes from another quarter where we meet with the first literary reference to the *Kal Anai* or the grand Anicut. This occurs in the well-known work *Chola-maṇḍala Śatakam*. Here we have the following significant line

காவிரி சிறந்தகரை கல்லால் அணைகட்ட

This demonstrates that this Anicut was not made of earth but of brick and stone. Speculation is ripe as to the monarch who was responsible for this grand Anicut.

The interest of the Government in the construction of such irrigation works was not only the desire of the ruler to attain merit by such work, but also to increase the economic well-being of the State. Thus they constructed original irrigation works and afforded irrigation facilities to the people as a result of which waste lands were reclaimed and fresh lands were brought under cultivation. This naturally resulted in an increase in the revenues of the State. Further, whenever a new village was founded, care was taken to provide irrigation facilities to the place. The importance of this policy is well emphasized by King Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar who, in his well-known work, the *Āmuktamālyāda*, says that the extent of a State is the root cause of its prosperity, and that if it is small its prosperity would increase only when tanks and other irrigation canals are constructed and special favour is shown to the poor cultivators in the matter of taxation and services.[2] The Hindu kings of South India themselves constructed irrigation tanks and canals besides encouraging private initiative in that direction. The kings supplemented such a policy with fixing favourable rates of assessment on lands newly brought under cultivation, so that fresh lands might be so brought under cultivation.

Though there were different types of irrigation sources like wells, tanks, reservoirs, perennial canals, etc., they may be brought under three broad types, storage works or tank irrigation, river or canal works, and well or lift works. Though the major river systems of South India may be traced to very great antiquity it must be noted that as days rolled on, the possibilities for large and new irrigation works became limited and therefore greater attention was paid to storage works and the digging of wells. The Government undertook the construction and embankment of tanks wherever possible and necessary. Dams were constructed across mighty rivers and the waters diverted through special canals for irrigation purposes. In places where facilities for such works were lacking, wells were dug and water taken by means of lifts. The opinion of Vijñāneśvara on the use of a well can be referred to here. 'A well, as it occupies a small portion of land, causes little injury but is beneficial on account of the abundance of water (in it) should never be stopped. The use of a well, moreover, is indicative, by implication, of a small well, a water pond and the like others.'[3]

The irrigation system of South India during the period of the Hindu rule may be studied under three broad heads such as (1) their construction, (2) their maintenance and repair, and (3) distribution of water from them.

Construction

The construction of large irrigation works was undertaken both by the Government and private individuals or institutions. During the days of the Pallavas many irrigation tanks were constructed which continue even to this day to serve the purpose they were intended to. The Kaśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallava Malla refer to a big lake by name Tiraiyan eri, apparently the modern Tenneri, some ten miles to the east of the present town of Conjeevaram. At Mahendra-vāḍi in the North Arcot district is still flourishing an irrigation tank called *Mahendra*

[1] 96 of 1911 of Kulottunga III.

[2] *Canto* IV, V. 236.

[3] *Mitākṣarā*, II, 156.

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taṭāka excavated by Mahendravarman I. About this tank the North Arcot District Manual states as follows:[1] 'Mahendravāḍi has a fine tank, the date of the construction of which is not known. The tank must originally have been larger than that of Kāveripakkam and served lands some seven or eight miles distant. The bund is enormously high and might be restored to its original height in which case a great extent of land could be brought under irrigation.'

The Parameśvara taṭāka mentioned in a copper-plate from the village of Kūram was by Parameśvara varman of the second half of the seventh century A.D. It was provided with a feeder channel from the river Pālār. At Māmandūr was excavated a large tank the bund of which 'rests upon the bases of two hills, and islets rise here and there in the centre of the reservoir making it the prettiest tank in the district'.[2] The Vairamegha taṭāka at Uttaramerur was constructed during the days of Dantivarman Pallava. The local assembly was entrusted with the task of removing the silt every month. There are more than eight records relating to the endowments for the upkeep of this tank before the rise of the Cholas at the end of the ninth century. The big tank at Kāveripakkam, the bund of which extends to about four miles north to south, appears to have been constructed about the time of the Pallava King Teḷḷārerinda Nandipottaraiyar or Nandivarman III. Thus instances could be multiplied to show that under the Pallavas a large number of irrigation tanks were excavated in their kingdom. To supply water to such tanks, rivers and channels were dug. In some cases sluices were constructed to regulate the supply of water from them. Through them water was let out from the main channels into other branches. Sluices were also constructed at tank bunds to regulate the flow of water into tanks and out of them. But well irrigation continued to be popular. From such wells water was baled out by means of picotas and baskets.

Parāntaka I, who was also called Vīra Nārāyaṇa, founded the town of Vīranārāyaṇa-catuvedimangalam [modern Kāṭṭumannār-koyil (South Arcot district), eight miles west of Gangaikoṇḍacholapuram in the Trichy district] and constructed a big tank near the place even now called *Vīrāṇam eri* (the tank of Vīra Nārāyaṇa) kept in a fairly good condition and affording irrigation facilities to a good part of the modern Chidambaram taluk.[3] Tanks and feeding channels for them were constructed by Parāntaka I at Sholinghur, Vinnamangalam, Sodiyambakkam and Takkolam, in the North Arcot district. For the removal of silt there is a reference to the establishment of skilled and unskilled labourers together with their wages which were paid in kind, i.e. paddy.[4] Rāja Rāja I carried out the construction of the Myyakoṇḍān channel which leaves the Kāverī some miles above Trichinopoly and flowing through that taluk and through the town itself falls into a tank in the village of Valavandankoṭṭai, about 10 miles to the east of Trichinopoly, an ancient irrigation work in the Trichinopoly district. In commemoration of his victories in the north Rājendra Chola the Gangaikoṇḍa excavated a big tank near his capital Gangaikoṇḍa Cholapuram which he founded and consecrated it by pouring the sacred waters of the Ganges into it. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates refer briefly to this event and states that 'this lord constructed in his own dominions as a pillar of victory (a tank) known by repute as Cholagangam which was composed of the waters of the "Ganges".' The tank exists even to this day having an embankment of about 16 miles long and provided with the necessary sluices and channels for the irrigation of a large area. The method of perpetuating the victory by Rājendra may appear novel, but the excavation of a big useful tank by the king was an act which did immense economic good to the people.

Bhāskara Bhavadura, a prince of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, constructed a huge tank with many sluices in the modern Cuddapah district, an area which even to this day suffers from frequent famine. The dam was 500 *rekhadaṇḍas* long, eight *rekhadaṇḍas* wide and seven high. It is of interest to note that the tank continues even to this day to afford irrigation facilities to a good part of the district.

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[1] Vol. II, pp. 438ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 305.
[3] *M.E.R.*, 1921, para. 24; *S. Arcot Gazetteer*, pp. 275-76.
[4] Nos. 342 and 343 of 1903.

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It is recorded that one thousand men were employed in the work, one hundred carts were used to get stones for the walls that formed part of the masonry work and that it took two full years to finish the work.[1] The science of Hydraulics, *Jalasūtra*, was well studied by professionals and made use of in the construction of Engineering Works. We are told, for instance, that under instructions from Bukkarāya, also of the first Vijayanagar dynasty, Singayya Bhaṭṭa, the Hydraulic Engineer (*Jalasūtra*) who was a master of ten sciences, led the river Henne through a channel to the Siruvara tank at Penugoṇḍa and gave it the name of Pratāpa-Bukkarāya-Maṇḍala channel.[2] About 1489 during the days of Narasingarāya Mahārāya a valley in the Anantapur district was converted into a tank and named Narasambudhi.[3] In 1533 a big tank was formed from the river Arkkāvatī, and it still serves as the source of water supply to the Bangalore city.[4]

Paes, the Portuguese chronicler who stayed at Vijayanagar for some time during the days of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, gives a contemporary account of the construction of a big tank by the emperor near his capital to provide irrigation facilities to the fields and supply water to the new city of Nāgalāpura founded by him. He says: 'The King made a tank there which as it seems to me has the width of a falcon shot and it is at the mouth of two hills so that all the water that comes from either side or the other collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice fields. In order to make this tank, the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men looking like ants so that you cannot see the ground on which they walked, so many there were, this tank the king portioned out among his captains each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.' [5]

Nuniz, referring to the same work, says that Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya was assisted in the work by the Portuguese worker in stone, Joao della Pomte, and states that he made a bank across the middle of the valley so lofty and wide that it was a crossbow shot in breadth and had large openings. He made many sluices in connection with the tank and constructed many pipes to let out the water whenever necessary. Nuniz bears witness to the fact that as a result of this great irrigation project, many improvements were made in the city and many rice fields and gardens were brought under cultivation.[6]

The Government were not the only body who evinced interest in the affording of irrigation facilities in the empire. Servants of the Government, private individuals and local bodies like the village assemblies besides the temple had a share in the construction of irrigation works. Private individuals were actuated in such work by the prospect of attaining merit. Thus we see various individuals undertaking the construction of irrigation works. In 1285 one Lalāmadeva and his brother built a tank in memory of their mother. Rāyasam Koṇḍanarassayya, an important minister under Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, constructed two tanks, the Timmasamudra and Koṇḍasamudra in the Koṇḍaviḍu Province.[7] Tātācārya, the guru of Venkata, constructed a tank at Kāncī and named it Tātasamudram.

The village communities also came forward to undertake such work. A group of villages was entrusted, for instance, with the work of the construction of new dams in their parts and bear the profits and losses of such undertakings.[8] In 1486-87 the residents in and around Tiruvāmāttūr (North Arcot) sold portions of their lands to the local temple treasury for the purpose of digging a channel from the river leading to the irrigation tank of the village.[9] The Brahmans of Tura-

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1 *E.I.*, XIV, p. 97. 2 *E.C.*, X, Gb. 6. 3 710 of 1917.
4 *E.C.*, IX, n.l. 31. 5 Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 245-46.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 364-65. 7 336 of 1915. 8 *Ep. Car.*, XII, T.P. 2. 9 7 of 1922.

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vayakere agreed that 'for building houses, wells, drains, ponds and tanks, stones could be taken from wherever they were found and that none should obstruct the removal of the stones from the fields.' [1] Likewise temple authorities also undertook the construction of such irrigation works.

One of the important functions of the State being the augmentation of the economic resources of the empire, the Government very often encouraged such large-hearted private effort. Such encouragement took two forms. The first was the one where the Government exempted wholesale lands from the payment of taxes for a specified period and fixed taxes only after the lands under the new irrigation system had been brought under cultivation, and necessary improvements had been made on them. Thus Nuniz says that after the construction of the big tank at Nāgalāpura Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya gave the people lands irrigable by the tank for a period of nine years so that they could be improved, after which period they were taxed. According to the chronicler the revenue that reached the coffers of the Government from the lands so brought under cultivation amounted to 20,000 *Pardaos*.[2]

At times graded rates of assessment were fixed on lands newly brought under cultivation with the help of the new irrigation source. An epigraph states, that 'one *arani* of water in the year may be obtained and used, the second year a moderate assessment, the third year the fixed assessment to date, on which terms all may enter and plough for all time.' [3] But in a majority of cases land was granted to persons who did such work as *dasavanda* or *Kaṭṭukoḍage* according to both of which the person who undertook or executed the work was given a piece of tax-free land watered by the tank, canal or well which he constructed. The extent of the land so granted naturally varied with the importance and usefulness of the work done. In 1177 one Narasimhadeva of Maddur who constructed a big tank at Ātakūr was granted a piece of land besides a palace at the place.[4] When one Harinideva Voḍayār constructed a tank at a particular place in the Mysore district he was given a grant by Deva Rāya II and when the tank was extended by him he was granted another piece of land.[5] In 1513 one Sovarya was the recipient of a *dasavanda* grant in consideration of his having constructed a tank.[6]

A word may be said here about the high engineering skill of those in charge of the construction of such irrigation works. Horsley, the Engineer of the Pāṇḍyan canal, observes:

'In other countries, and in India also an engineer generally works on his own lines in developing any large scheme of irrigation and naturally credits his own skill and perseverance with the success of his undertaking. Here, however, I have no hesitation in saying that it has been an unmixed pleasure to me, from a professional point of view to merely follow the lines of the original constructors of the Pandyan canal and Pulpanabapoorum Poothenaur, because the evidence of their skill and almost superhuman perseverance was so marked; and I have in carrying out the works felt contented and fully satisfied to follow in the footsteps of those whom I cannot but consider to have been masters in their art and *facile princeps* in irrigation engineering.' [7] Such unqualified praise of the engineering skill of those who were in charge of the construction of the ancient irrigation works in South India bears testimony to their engineering skill.

Maintenance and Repair

The maintenance and repair of irrigation works are as important as their construction in the same way as the maintenance of a public endowment or charity is considered to be as important as the institution of the endowment itself. Great merit was attached by the Hindus to such work. An epigraph of A.D. 1413 recounts the merit accruing from such work and states 'a ruined family, a breached tank or pond, a fallen kingdom, whosoever restores, or repairs a damaged temple,

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[1] J. 7, Madras University, II, p. 212.
[2] Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 365.
[3] *Ep. Car.*, III, Sr. 148.
[4] *Ibid.*, III, Md. 44.
[5] *Ibid.*, III, My. 77.
[6] 398 of 1896.
[7] Nagam Ayya, *Travancore*, III, p. 102.

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acquires merit fourfold of that which accrued from them at first.' [1] Great attention was paid to the maintenance of irrigation works.

Doing wanton damage to irrigation works was considered a heinous offence, comparable to the destruction of a child in embryo and man slaughter, and the destroyer was to be punished with the tying of a stone round the neck and being plunged into water making it impossible to the criminal to float up. But occasions there were, when, as a result of mutual feud the people at times caused damage to irrigation works. Hence we hear very often that they made agreements among themselves that they would not cause any damage to the trees, wells and tanks, such breach of agreement being punishable by the confiscation of a portion of the lands of the offender to the local temple.[2]

One of the very common methods of providing for the maintenance of tanks and similar irrigation works was the provision of servants and the materials necessary for such work. In 1367 in the modern Arasikere taluk provision was made in the following way for the maintenance of a tank. A buffaloman with his cart was permanently appointed for such work and it was ordered that for oil, wheel, grease, crowbar, pickaxe, etc., every cart load of the original tenants had to pay two *taras* and likewise every load of arecanut, betel and oranges had to pay at the same rate.[3] Then again according to the order of Uḍaiyār Devarasa Uḍaiyār a certain Akkadeva arranged in 1446 for the annual clearance of silt in the tank at Tenmahādevamangalam (North Arcot) with the *velikkuḷippaṇam, vāśal Kuḷippaṇam* and *erimīnvilaippaṇam* and a small quantity of paddy on the cultivable land collected from the villages.[4] In 1513 when two tanks in a village in the Cennapatna taluk went into repair, a village was granted for the maintenance of the tanks and it was ordered that six carts were to be kept for their maintenance, four for one, and two for the other for putting earth on the bunds every year and keeping the tanks in good condition.[5] It is interesting to note that in A.D. 1375 one Yādava-Nārāyaṇa gave to all the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* Lakshmīnārāyaṇapura the property of those who died without heirs in the village of their first settlement for the maintenance of the tank at the place.[6] Sometimes even when grants were made to private individuals by the kings the donees were required to maintain the irrigation sources in good condition. The Tiruvālangāḍa grant of Rājendra Chola I contains, for instance, the following specifications with regard to a piece of land that was granted. It states:

'The lands of this village shall be irrigated by canals dug (proportionately) as per water assigned (from those canals); others (who are not tenants of the *devadāna* lands) shall not be permitted to cut branches from these canals (*Kaṟungaṟu*) dam (the passage of water) across, put up shal *piccottas* or bale (out) water in baskets. The water (thus) assigned shall not be wasted. Such water shall be (appropriately) used for irrigation (after) being regulated. Channels and springs passing across the lands of other villages to irrigate (the lands of) this village shall (be permitted to) flow over (the boundary line) and cast up silt. Channels and springs passing across the lands of this village to irrigate (the lands of) outside villages shall (also be permitted) to flow over and cast up (silt) . . . . . reservoirs and wells shall be dug . . . . . the embankments of the tanks of this village shall be permitted to be raised within their (own) limits (to any suitable height) so as to hold the utmost quantity of water that may be let into those tanks.' [7]

The tank was usually a source of income to the State; for, the right of fishing in the tank was generally leased to bidders. Such right was called *pāśippāṭṭam* or *mīnpāṭṭam* and such income was spent on the maintenance of the tank, such as deepening it by removing the silt from the tank at periodical intervals.[8]

The methods followed for maintaining tanks in good condition are described in some inscriptions. According to an epigraph boats were used for removing silt

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1 *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sp. 30.
2 *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottah State*, No. 156.
3 *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak. 115; see also XII, Ck. 5.
4 47 of 1933-34.
5 *Ep. Car.*, IX, C.P. 156; *M.A.R.*, 1915, page 93.
6 *Ibid.*, XI, Dv. 70.
7 *S.I.I.*, III, p. 467.
8 145 of 1924; 424 of 1922; 149 of 1908.

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from the tanks. One hundred and forty baskets of earth had to be taken out of the tank and deposited on the bund every day. Each of these baskets was big enough to hold six *marakkals* (i.e.) about 200 cubic feet of earth had to be taken out every day. The establishment consisted of six labourers, each of whom had to be paid one *Padakku* of paddy every day, a supervisor who was given one *Kuruni* and a half of paddy every day, a carpenter and goldsmith for repairing the boat, each of whom got annually 2 *Kalam* and a half of paddy and the fishermen who supplied wood (for repairs to the boat) and got 2 *Kalam* of paddy annually. Altogether provision was made for an expenditure of 412 *Kalams* of paddy annually on the removal of silt.[1]

We have another instance of providing for the proper maintenance of an irrigation tank. Referring to the fisherman in charge of the work an inscription states: 'He should look after the dam and the channel, so that the water flows to the pond without running to waste, and in case there was any deficiency of water in the dam and the pond, inform the temple authorities and the villagers of this and with the help of the unpaid labourers (*veṭṭiyāḷ*) of the village raise the dam and take care of it; that he should receive for this work 1 *ma* of tax-free land (specified), 1 *tūni* and four *nāḷi* of paddy from the cultivated lands of the village and a bundle of unthreshed paddy containing about a *Kuruni*; that he should supply the temple authorities with one *paḍi* of *Kari* every day; that he should pay annually a channel tax (*vāykkāl pāṭṭam*) of six *paṇam*; that in place of *Pāśippāṭṭam* he should defray the expenses of a festival in the temple; and that in case a large quantity of fish was obtained when removing silt from the pond he should supply *Kari* in addition to the stipulated quantity.' [2]

In some cases provision was made for the person in charge of the maintenance of tanks by the grant of land as *ēripaṭṭi* while in still others provision was made to him in the shape of a share of the duties on articles.

The Government, however, were not the only body that attended to the work of the maintenance of tanks and other irrigation works; for, the local administrative bodies like the village assemblies and the temples also made provision for the same. Thus the local assemblies of a village in the Mysore district consented to maintain a cartman for the proper maintenance of the tank at the place. The local body in some cases collected a small local cess known to inscriptions as *ēri-āyam* which was utilized for the expenses in connection with the maintenance of tanks.[3] In some places the fines collected from the people as punishment for certain offences were utilized for the proper upkeep of the tanks. But we do not know for certain if the local administrative body in each village raised regularly such a sum earmarked for expenses on the irrigation sources. It was not unusual for the village assembly to provide articles in kind for such maintenance. Thus we hear that the assembly of Parundur agreed to supply 150 *Kāḍi* of *Pañcavāra* paddy for the upkeep of the local tank.[4] In some cases the village assemblies acted as trustees of the endowments for the maintenance of the tanks and met the expenses of the same apparently from the interest of the capital deposited with them for the work. Then again the temples also helped in the upkeep of the tanks. Besides these institutions public-spirited private individuals came forward to make provision for such maintenance. A lady is said to have made a gift of gold for a boat to be launched in a big tank.

Whenever tanks and other irrigation works had to be repaired, the work was immediately attended to. In the year 1189-90 and 1190-91 there were breaches in a tank at Somangalam in the Chingleput district on account of heavy rains. The local people repaired the breaches. In the third year the bund remained in tact. In order that it may be improved and strengthened a money endowment was made from the interest of which the village assembly agreed to carry out the intentions of the donor by strengthening the tank bund by depositing on it annually a specified quantity of earth.[5] In 1396 an irrigation channel came to be blocked up, and soon Mallappa Voḍayār, the local chieftain, ordered the restoration of the channel.[6]

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[1] *A.S.R.*, 1903-04, pp. 206-7.
[2] *M.E.R.*, 1918, page 49.
[3] 192 of 1919.
[4] 252 of 1921.
[5] 183 of 1901.
[6] 66 of 1912.

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The expenses for such repairs were at times sought to be provided by utilizing the income from the property of those who died without heirs. Such an order was made at Lakshmīnārāyaṇapura, a village in the Mysore State.[1]

In 1402-3 there were unprecedentedly heavy floods in the Kāverī on account of which the demarcation boundary in the lands near Vaḷuvūr in the modern Tanjore district watered by the river were washed away, the lands themselves were silted up and fell fallow and the tenants abandoned the villages. The Government soon interfered, restored the channels and boundary banks and rehabilitated the villages in question.[2] Likewise in 1422 the dam constructed by Haridra Bukka Rāja gave way and at once Nāgaṇṇa Voḍayār, the minister of Deva Rāya, got money from Cāma Nṛpāla, the commander-in-chief of the army, and restored the breached dam.[3] Thus instances could be multiplied to show that the State did its best in the matter of attending to the urgent repairs to irrigation works. It was not unusual for the Government to remit certain taxes payable to palace so that such money could be utilized for the repair of tanks. Thus in 1471 an officer did so to help in the repair of a village tank.[4]

As in the matter of the construction of tanks so in their maintenance, the State encouraged private effort. But it appears that such private effort was forthcoming only in cases where the people were put to much hardship on account of the want of proper irrigation facilities, due to the local source having gone into repair. It was not unusual that the ryots who were affected by such inconvenience for want of proper irrigation facilities made arrangements among themselves to provide the necessary labour for deepening the river beds or removing the silt. In such cases it was at times agreed that for a particular unit of land watered by the channel, a certain proportion of labour was to be supplied. Thus arose apparently the custom of *Kuḍimarāmat* or *āḷamañji*.

In 1541 when the residents of Tirumaḍihaḷḷi repaired the breaches in the tank at their village, the Government granted them one *Khaṇḍūga* of *Kaṭṭukoḍage*.[5] Likewise in 1636 when one Mekalabomma of a particular village in the Kolar district repaired the breaches in the tank in his village he was granted ¼ part of the wet lands near the breaches as a *dasavanda*.[6]

When an irrigation work was repaired by a group of individuals it was usually arranged that the water from the source should be enjoyed in proportion to the expenses incurred by the different parties. Thus according to an inscription of A.D. 1410 the annual repairs and other expenses in connection with the wells and other irrigation sources formed under a channel were shared proportionately and it was agreed that the water of the channel was to be distributed in the same proportion.

It would be of interest to examine here how the maintenance of the tanks was supervised in the period under survey. The local assemblies appear to have exercised some control over the tanks and other irrigation sources. Some villages of the type of Uttaramallūr appear to have had each a tank supervision committee which formed a part of the village assembly. The Uttaramallūr inscriptions give an account of the constitution and working of such committees. But it is not possible to say if this system of the administration of the tanks was attended to by such 'Tank Supervision Committees' in all villages.

The following functions of the committee for the supervision of tanks at Uttaramallūr may be noticed with interest. This body consisted of six members who held office for 360 days, after which period they retired. If any one who served on the committee was guilty of any offence he was removed at once. From a study of the inscriptions it may be concluded that all endowments made in favour of tanks were entrusted to them and they were expected to invest money endowments in the best possible way. We may suppose that they utilized them in reclaiming waste land and cultivating it, so that the interest on the endowment could be paid from the produce. They had also apparently to look after the cultivation of lands

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1 *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dv. 70.
2 422 of 1912; Rep. 1913, para. 52.
3 *E.C.*, XI, Dv. 29.
4 8 of 1922.
5 49 of 1917.
6 *E.C.*, XI, Bg. 71.

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granted for the maintenance of tanks. As Venkayya says 'the income from both these sources had to be applied to meet the charges for the annual or periodical removal of silt in tanks and for repairs, so far, I suppose, as funds would permit. Fines to be credited to the tank fund were levied by them.'[1]

While this system appears to have obtained in villages with *sabhas* constituted on the lines of the one at Uttaramallūr we do not know much about the agency for the maintenance of tanks in other types of villages. In a good number of them it is possible the village community itself could have exercised control. But as days passed the bonds that kept the village communities in tact loosened, the State itself might have taken over the supervision of the maintenance of the tanks. In the Vijayanagar period we find frequent reference to the Government making provision for the maintenance of tanks by setting apart the income from the tank for such purposes.

Distribution

The problem of the proper distribution of water between neighbouring fields and villages presents many difficulties even in these days. The proportion and supply of a turn of water from a particular irrigation source were sought to be amicably and satisfactorily settled in those days. An epigraph of A.D. 1228 refers to the sale of water (*nīrvilai*) and specifies the method by which the water was to be taken through a breached tank to another tank for purposes of irrigation.[2] Another inscription mentions certain rules for the distribution of water and says that the cultivators to whom the canal was not intended should not cut open branch channels from it, not bund up the water, nor raise it by small *piccottas*, nor bale it out by baskets; and those who had the right should make the most economical use of the water without wasting it. Canals flowing across other villages to irrigate the lands of that village and *vice versa* should be permitted to flow over the boundary line and to cast up the silt. The embankments of the tanks were to be allowed to be raised within their limits so that they could hold the maximum quantity of water.[3]

In 1406 there arose a quarrel between two neighbouring villages with regard to the supply of water from the local tank. However, it was settled amicably in the presence of Mahāpradhāni Araśar (Tipparaśar).[4] During the time of Vīra Narasimhayya Mahārāya an agreement was made between the residents of three neighbouring villages in the modern Chittoor district regarding their respective right of taking water for irrigation from the channel called Sadāśivakona.[5]

But if such local disputes could not be settled locally the Government interfered. Thus in 1259 A.D. we have an order from the king Sundara Pāṇḍya to the temple authorities requiring them not to take water from Iḍankaḷikāman for purposes of irrigation. Such difficulties were sought to be avoided by the residents of a village requiring for irrigation purposes water from the tank or channel in a neighbouring village by purchasing the right of taking water for irrigation through the sluice of their tank for a specified sum of money or by getting such rights as gift from the local *UR* having right over it. The money paid for the water might be a lump sum or an annual contribution.[6]

It is interesting to note when the Government acquired lands from private individuals for purposes of making irrigation works, the parties that had to sell their lands were provided with others, presumably in compensation.[7]

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[1] *A.S.R.* 1903-4, p. 210.
[2] 90 of 1916.
[3] *S.I.I.*, III, Nos. 151 and 205.
[4] 357 of 1923.
[5] 419 of 1925.
[6] See 405 and 406 of 1916; see also *E.C.*, IV, Ng. 49.
[7] 397 of 1909.

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MISCELLANEA

DATES OF BHAṬṬOTPALA AND KALYĀṆAVARMAN

Mr. Kātre's valuable analysis of an old MS. of Kalyāṇavarman's Sārāvali (*I.C.*, XI, pp. 1–9) has thrown fresh light on some of the problems connected with the great work on astrology. We shall add a few notes here having a bearing on those problems.

Kalyāṇavarman's date depends largely on that of Bhaṭṭotpala. We are afraid, however, the problem of the latter's date has not received due consideration in the hands of scholars. At the end of Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the Bṛhajjātaka the date of its composition is thus recorded:—

चैत्रमासस्य पञ्चम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे।

वस्वष्टाष्टमिते शाके कृतेयं विवृतिर्मया॥

This is the reading of all the printed editions, as far as we are aware, as well as of most of the MSS. of the work.[1]

This date contains a datum which can be easily verified, viz. Caitra Śudi 5 combined with a Thursday. The results of our calculations are given below:—

(1) In 888 Śaka *expired* Śudi 5 ended at about 7 hours on Caitra 28 corresponding to March 19, 967 A.D., which was a Tuesday.

(2) In 888 Śaka *current* Caitra Śudi 5 ended at about 10 hours on February 28, 966 A.D., which was a Wednesday.

(3) In *Caitradi current* year 888 Śaka the lunar month Caitra may in an extreme case refer to the expired year 886, though it is almost impossible for an astronomer like Bhaṭṭotpala to make such an ambiguous statement. Even then Caitra Śudi 5, which ended at about 21 hours on March 10, 965 A.D., fell on a Friday.

So there cannot be any doubt that the reading वस्वष्टाष्टमिते in the above verse is definitely wrong.

In the Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. II, pp. 165-66, R. L. Mitra described a MS. copy of the above commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala (No. 759) transcribed in '1531 Sm.', where the reading is वस्वष्टाश्वमिते, i.e. 788 Śaka. This date also proves to be wrong by calculation. For, in 788 Śaka *expired* Caitra Śudi 5 ended at about 15 hours on March 14, 867 A.D., which was a Friday. Caitra Śudi 5 fell on a Monday in solar Vaiśākha in 866 A.D. and the previous Śudi 5 in Solar Caitra fell on a Saturday. In 865 A.D. it was a Tuesday. The reading of the year has got, therefore, to be amended in the above verse and Mitra's MS. copy gives us a clue to an emendation. Two such emendations are possible, viz. वस्वश्वाष्टमिते (i.e. 878 Śaka) and वस्वश्वाश्वमिते (i.e. 778 Śaka). The former of these two dates is to be rejected. For, in 957 A.D. it was a Monday and in 956 A.D. a Wednesday. Only in 955 A.D. Caitra Śudi 5 fell on a Thursday (March 1); but as we have stated above, Bhaṭṭotpala is not likely to have recorded such a dubious figure. It was in 778 Śaka *expired* that Caitra Śudi 5 actually ended at 14 hours and 30 minutes on a Thursday corresponding to March 4, 857 A.D. It should be mentioned here that a Śaka year is normally an *expired* year. We believe this date (778) might be traced in some MSS.

This new date for Bhaṭṭotpala—857 A.D.—is corroborated in our opinion by internal evidence. In Varāha's Bṛhatsaṃhitā there is a chapter on Ketucāra

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[1] Mr. P. K. Gode kindly informed me that the B.O.R.I. MSS. give the same reading.

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(Chap. XI). While commenting on the line ज्येष्ठासु च सार्वभौमवधः (XI 58) Bhaṭṭotpala states सार्वभौमस्य राज्ञः कान्यकुब्जाधिपतेर्वधो मरणं भवति (Viz. Ed., I, p. 265). So when Bhaṭṭotpala wrote the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty of Kanouj was in the zenith of its power and this, we believe, better coincides with 857 A.D. falling in the reign of Bhoja the greatest of the Pratihara monarchs, than with 967 A.D. when the ruling power at Kanouj was definitely in decay.

Under the circumstances the phrase वर्षशतानां मध्ये found in the MS. of the Sārāvalī described by Mr. Kātre can only mean an indefinitely long period of time and not exactly three centuries as interpreted by Mr. Kātre. The time setparating the two scholars is probably 'over a century' and the lowest limit of Kalyāṇavarman's date may be fixed at 750 A.D. This is corroborated by the following facts. Kalyāṇavarman as stated by Mr. Kātre (p. 7 fn.) recorded details about himself in verse 5 at the beginning of the Sārāvalī. Unfortunately the name of the kingdom over which he ruled is variously given in different MSS. The correct reading is in our opinion व्याघ्रतटीश्वरो as discovered in a MS.[1] We have been able to trace this reading in another MS. examined by us. R. L. Mitra noticed a MS. of the Sārāvalī, a fragment of 103 fol., in the Bengali script preserved in the palace library of the late Raja Satīśacandra of Nadia. (L. 337). This copy is now preserved in the Edward VII Anglo-Sanskrit Library at Navadvipa. The verse under question reads as follows in this MS.:—

देवग्रामशयः स्वपोषणबला ब्रह्माण्डसत्यङ्करं
कीर्त्तिः सिंहविलासिनीव सहसा यस्येह भुङ्क्तागता।
होरा(') व्याघ्रतटीश्वरो रचयति स्पष्टां स सारावलीं
श्रीमान् शास्त्रविनिर्म्मलीकृतमनाः कल्याणवर्म्मा कृती॥

There is epigraphic evidence to show that this Vyāghraṭaṭī was a 'Maṇḍala' (Division) within the 'Bhukti' (Province) of Pauṇḍravardhana in Bengal. In the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 249) it is recorded that 4 villages within Vyāghraṭaṭī-maṇḍala were settled as a gift to a temple in the 32nd year of Dharmapāla at the request of the latter's 'Mahāsāmantādhipati' named Nārāyaṇavarman who erected the temple and was evidently the ruler of Vyāghraṭaṭī. As the name of this ruler ends in 'Varman' it can be reasonably supposed that he was a direct descendant of Kalyāṇavarman.[2]

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

The existence of a fairly advanced and flourishing economic life in the Kuṣāṇa period is revealed from the epigraphic records of that period coupled with the data available from the works of Aśvaghoṣa. It would also appear from the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' as well as from Ptolemy's 'Geography' that India at that time was linked with the outside world through her trade and commerce. The famous silk trade route running overland between China and Rome passed through

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[1] The credit of discovering this reading with its implications belongs to our friend and pupil Mr. S. C. Banerji, M.A., of the MS. department of the Dacca University, who kindly showed me his unpublished paper on 'Kalyāṇavarman, a new name in the History of Bengal'. *Vide* Proc., Ind. Hist. Congress, 3rd Session, Calcutta, 1939, p. 577.

[2] Vyāghraṭaṭī is also mentioned in the Nalanda plate of Devapāla (*E.I.*, XVII, p. 323) and the Anulia plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 87). The exact location of Vyāghraṭaṭī is, however, a matter of controversy. Mr. Banerji suggests its identification with Bagdi, one of the divisions of Bengal, placing it in the Nadia district, where there is a village Devagrāma, a name occurring also in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara.

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the outskirts of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. The part played by the people in that period by undertaking such long and hazardous journeys, with a view to acquiring considerable profit, is clearly shown by Aśvaghoṣa. As a result of this advanced economic life, individual business organizations were sound and even foreigners did not hesitate to invest money in those concerns for some pious and religious purpose. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription[1] of the year 28, recording dedications of 550 purāṇas each in two separate guilds, by a certain lord of Bakana or Wokhāna is a clear proof of the above assertion. The existence of such guilds and their function as modern banks is also known from the Nāsik Buddhist cave inscriptions[2] and as much water has flown on this subject, we shall refrain from touching it, but shall continue this paper only to a few aspects of economic life particularly relating to Trades and Professions, Specialization and Localization of Industries, Means of Communication and Transportation, Medium of Exchange and National Wealth. We shall also refrain from touching the vast subject 'the commercial intercourse of India with the outside world'.

Trades and Professions. - The chief source of information regarding the existence of different trades and professions is the epigraphic one. Records of dedications by different classes of persons, who fortunately did mention their profession in some cases, considerably help us in reconstructing the economic order of that period. Luckily enough some of these professions are also mentioned by Aśvaghoṣa. We therefore stand on a surer ground when discussing the subject. We shall now enumerate the professions.

Lohavarṇa (=Lohakāra, Hindi Lohāra).—Two or three Brāhmī records from Mathurā record dedications by these iron-mongers. The first inscription[3] is that of Mittrā, wife of Haggudeva an iron-monger (lohakāra) and daughter of Jayabhaṭṭi a jeweller (maṇikāra). The other two inscriptions[4] refer to the setting up of a statue of goddess Sarasvatī by smith Gova, and another dedication by a lohakāra Goṭṭika. It is not known from these records if the blacksmiths (lohakāras) had formed themselves into a guild in that period though such a state did exist in the period of the Jātakas.[5] It was really an important profession and its prosperity is apparent from the fact that a jeweller who certainly enjoyed a higher status in economic life gave his daughter in marriage to a blacksmith's son.

Maṇikāra (Jeweller).—It is rather unfortunate that a profession which certainly enjoyed an international market should be conspicuous by its absence in the donatory records. The inscription of Mittrā, referred to above, indicates the existence of a maṇikāra (jeweller) in the economic order. References from the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa throw much light on the subject. Thus the Buddhist scholar considered a person fool who proceeding to a jewel mine should bypass the jewels and take away worthless precious stones (यथाहि रत्नाकरमेत्य दुर्मतिः रत्नान्यसतो मणीन् हरेत्—XVIII. 46). Jewels and pearls were also used as items of ornaments in that period (मणिमुक्तातपनीयमंशुकम्—VIII. 50).

These references suggest the importance of jewels and as such the existence of jewellers in the economic life of that period. This fact cannot be denied in view of the overwhelming evidence furnished by earlier inscriptions. Thus the Kaṇheri cave inscription[6] records dedication of a cave (leṇa) as a gift by a jeweller (maṇikāra) Nāgapālita, the Sopārayaka, evidently an inhabitant of Sopāra. Another inscription[7] refers to jewellers' quarters in Sindh. These references coupled with the information solicited from Pliny's[8] account certainly suggest that the jewellers at that time had certainly a flourishing business. Their existence in the Buddhist period, and their organization into a guild, is apparent from the Jātakas,[9] but it is not known if their guild continued in the Kuṣāṇa period as well. In *Saundarananda* there are different kinds of jewels mentioned as well, out of which diamonds (वज्र)

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1 *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 55ff.
2 Lüders List, Nos. 1133, 1137.
3 *E.I.*, Vol. I, No. IV, p. 383.
4 *Ibid.*, No. XXI, p. 391.
5 VI. 427.
6 *A.S.W.I.*, V, p. 79.
7 Lüders List, No. 1005.
8 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 129.
9 *Buddhist India*, p. 93.

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and lapis lazuli (वैदूर्य) were notable inasmuch as they adorned the conch of Sundarī (VI. 31).

Sārthavāha.—In Sanskrit sārthavāha means 'the leader of a caravan' while it could also mean a 'caravan trader'.[1] A solitary Brāhmī record[2] mentions the gift by the wife of such a trader whose name does not appear there. The existence of such a class of traders in the economic life is also clear from numerous references in the works of Aśvaghoṣa. Thus the poet in his *Saundarananda* refers to a traveller separating from his caravan and meeting an adverse fate (आरोप्यमाणस्य तमेव मार्गं भ्रष्टस्य सार्थादिव सार्थिकस्य—V. 40). In the same work there is another reference to a traveller losing his caravan (सार्थात्परिभ्रष्ट इवाकृतार्थः—XVIII. 41). In *Buddhacharita* as well, we notice a reference to merchant guide and caravan trade (सदैशिकः क्षोभयितुं न युक्तः सुदैशिकः सार्थ इव प्रणष्टे—XIII. 62). Lines of communications being insecure in places like deserts, it was considered a great task to have crossed the desert and make great profit. The credit for the fulfilment of the mission was certainly due to the excellent guide (सुदैशिकस्येव कृतं महावणिक्—*Saundarananda*, XVIII. 50).

It thus appears from these references that merchants went in company under the guidance of a leader who directed the route. Such a travelling in company may have been undertaken for safety and security in the way. Here it is difficult to suggest if the office of a sārthavāha was a hereditary one. There is a reference to a caravan chief or merchant leader (satthavāha jeṭṭhako) in a Jātaka[3] and this term also appears in later epigraphic records.[4] It appears that the duty of such a leader may have been with regard to instructions as to halts, watering, precautions against robbers, etc.

Gāndhika (Perfumers).—There are no less than three Brāhmī inscriptions from Mathurā recording dedications by perfumers. One mentions[5] the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Kamārabhaṭṭī, the mother of a dealer in perfumes, another[6] refers to a fourfold image of Arhat set up by Jitamitrā, daughter of Ṛtunandī and wife of a certain perfumer. The third inscription[7] records the pious gift of Jīnadāsi, daughter-in-law of Datta and wife of a perfumer whose name is mutilated.

From the above records it appears that this profession was in a state of prosperity so as to enable its members to create endowments. References from the two works of Aśvaghoṣa also mention articles of toilet used in that period. Among the preparations used for beautifying the face and the body were salves (विलेपन), paint (विशेषक), ointment (अञ्जन) [VII. 50] and sandal paste (चन्दन) which was rubbed over the body. Some preparations like salves were made at home (काचित् पिपेषान्तविलेपनं—IV. 26) while others may have been purchased from the shop of the perfumers.

This professional class did exist in earlier times as well. A reference in a Jātaka[8] specifies the locality occupied by perfumers in the city. There are a good many post-Kuṣāṇa records as well suggesting the existence of this class in later times. Here a mention may be made of the two Amravati Buddhist pillar inscriptions,[9] the Karle Buddhist cave[10] and the Pitalkhora Buddhist pillar[11] inscriptions. It is, however, difficult to suggest here if the perfumers were dealing in pharmaceutical products and indigenous herbs as well.

Hiraṇyakāra.—There is only one Brāhmī record,[12] mentioning the dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the daughter of a goldsmith Deva. The term Hiraṇyakāra is synonymous with Suvarṇakāra. The latter is noticeable in *Saundarananda*, as well as in several epigraphic records of different periods. Aśvaghoṣa has

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[1] Monier Williams, Dictionary, p. 1209.
[2] *E.I.*, Vol. I, No. XXIX, p. 395.
[3] II. 295.
[4] Lüders List, Nos. 1062, 1065, 1066.
[5] *E.I.*, Vol. I, No. VII, p. 385.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. XVI, p. 203.
[7] Vogel, Cat. Mat. Mus., No. 132, p. 62.
[8] IV. 81.
[9] Lüders List, Nos. 1210, 1230.
[10] *Ibid.*, No. 1090.
[11] *Ibid.*, No. 1187.
[12] *E.I.*, Vol. II, No. XXIII, p. 205.

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described the entire process from the recovery of gold mixed with dust till its reduction in many ways (XV. 65–69). Here it may be out of place to mention the description given by Aśvaghoṣa. Suffice it to say, the considerable use of ornaments by members of both the sexes was an index to the prosperity of this professional class in the economic life of that period. The work of goldsmiths was confined to gold alone and they were different from silversmiths. They had a guild of their own in ancient times but evidence is wanting to show if such a state did exist in the Kuṣāṇa period as well.

Rājnāpita.—In Sanskrit Nāpita means a barber while Rājnāpita would mean 'a king's barber, or the head of barbers'. It could also mean 'king's barber' but it would be better to take it in the sense of a barber. A solitary record [1] which may well have served the purpose of a signboard mentions the name of that barber. Barbers certainly played an important part in ordinary everyday life, as well as on ceremonial occasions. In the Buddhist period they had a guild of their own and were placed in the category of shampooers.[2] Their functions were confined to the dressing of the hair, shaving and massaging. The same thing may have continued in the Kuṣāṇa period as well.

Vaḍhika (Skt. Vardhika).—An inscription [3] dated in the year 12 of the Kuṣāṇa era records the dedication of a lady belonging to the carpenter class. It is the only record mentioning carpenters as a class in the economic life of the people in that period, but their existence in earlier as well as in later times is apparent from other records.[4] Their prosperity cannot be ascertained but this much may not be denied that they were possibly on a par of equality with blacksmiths (lohakāra) and sculptors (śelarūpakāra).

Śelarūpakāra (Skt. Śailarūpakāra) meaning 'a maker of stone images'. A reference to sculptors from Mathurā is found in a Brāhmī record from Śrāvastī.[5] On palaeographic grounds, it appears to be of a slightly earlier period, but it certainly suggests that even before the period of the Kuṣāṇas Mathurā was famous for its sculptors in Northern India and they were sent outside Mathurā for making statues. The existence of such a high class of artisans is apparent from the vast number of sculptures and statues of that period. They seem to have had a flourishing business since statues of that type are also found at Sārnāth and Śrāvastī.

Vaṇika.—The fact that some traders formed a class by themselves distinct and different from the artisan class is clear from an inscription [6] recorded on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image, mentioning the gift of Puśikanāgapriyā, a trader's (vaṇik) wife. Such traders may be identified with the modern shopkeepers. In *Saundarananda* there is a reference that when Buddha passed through the streets of Kapilavastu, the merchants made obeisance to the Great Sage from their shops (महापणेभ्योपहारिणश्च महामुनौ भक्तिवशात् प्रणेमुः—V. 1), but after doing it they went away under pressure of business (प्रणम्यार्थवशेन जग्मुः—V. 2). At another place the term *Vaṇik* appears in reference to the caravan trade (ख्यातीत्य कान्तारमवाप्तसाधनः सुदैशिकस्येव हृतं महावणिक्—XVIII. 50).

Chitrakāra.—In *Saundarananda* there is a reference to a painter falling in love with the subject of his art (स्वयमेव यथालिख्य रचेच्चित्रकरः स्त्रियम्—XV. 30). This suggests that the art of painting had sufficiently advanced in that period so as to create beautiful figures excelling human beauty and capable of enchanting the artist's mind and heart.

Rayaga (Washerman).—An inscription [7] from Mathurā records dedication by Rayaginī which Buhler took to be the wife of a *Rayaga* (= Rajaka) in analogy of such terms as Vihārasvāminī, the wife of a Vihārasvāmin. Far from discussing the analogy itself, it may not be denied that washerman did exist in that period.

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[1] *J.U.P.H.S.*, July 1937, No. III, p. 3.
[2] *Buddhist India*, p. 94.
[3] *E.I.*, Vol. X, p. 111, No. 4.
[4] *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 389; Lüders List, No. 1092.
[5] *A.S.I., An. Rep.*, 1908-9, pp. 133ff.
[6] *J.U.P.H.S.*, July 1939, p. 24, No. XIV.
[7] *E.I.*, Vol. I, No. V, p. 384.

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Aśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarananda* has referred to cleaning clothes by soda (यथा मनुष्यो मलिनं हि वासः क्षारेण भूयो मलिनीकरोति—X. 42).

Attendants.—Though inscriptions are silent on the existence of this class in the economic life, some references from *Saundarananda* admit their existence which is rather natural. Aśvaghoṣa has referred to both male and female servants. The latter class attended on the ladies and prepared cosmetics and articles of toilet. They also perfumed clothes and made garlands (काचित् पिपेषान्त्रविलेपनं हि वासोऽन्वना काचिद्वासयच्च, व्यधोजयत् स्नानविधिं तथान्या अग्रन्यूरन्या सुरभीस्रजश्च—IV. 26). Such ladies in attendance were known as अन्तर्गृहदासी (VI. 35). The male attendant was a door-keeper known as द्वाराध्यक्ष.

Specialization and Localization of Industries. Having briefly discussed the main professions of that period, it might equally be interesting to refer to this phase of economic life. There are references which suggest specialization and localization of industries at different centres in that period. Thus Mathurā was famous for its sculptors who carved beautiful statues of red Śikri sandstone. These colossal statues, found at Sārnāth and Śrāvastī as well, speak for the work of the sculptors who made them either at Mathurā and somehow they were transported, or such sculptors personally went there. The latter possibility is evinced by an inscription [1] from Śrāvastī mentioning the name of Śivamittra, a sculptor from Mathurā, who made that statue (*Mathureṇa Śelarūpakāreṇa Śivamitreṇa Bodhisattvā kritā*). Just as Mathurā was famous for its sculptors, Vidisā was notable for its ivory workers. A Sāñchi inscription [2] of probably an unknown date mentions the carving being done by the ivory workers of Vidisā. We also notice this fact from a reference in the famous work 'Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago'.[3] It mentions that for building the palace skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Mareidam, smiths from Avantī, carpenters from the Yavana and the cleverest workmen in the Tamil land had continued to make the building grand and lovely. These references thus suggest that there were certain quarters notable for their specialized and skilful workers.

Means of Communication and Transportation. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription [4] of some lord from Bakana or Wokhāna coupled with the finds of statues of red Śikri sandstone and from Mathurā at far off places suggest that there must have been some safe and suitable means of communication and transportation. The inscriptions are no doubt silent, but references from Aśvaghoṣa's works are helpful. They show that boats and ships were used on water while caravans, most probably of camels and chariots, were used for land traffic. Aśvaghoṣa describing Buddha's departure from Nanda's palace compared it like a boat on a river going against the stream (जगाम दुःखेन विवर्त्यमानः स्रवः प्रतिस्रोत इवापगायाः—IV. 44). Ships broken by waves were not an unknown phenomenon (समुद्धृतो येन भवार्णवादहं महार्णवाच्चूर्णितनौरिवोर्मिभिः—XVIII. 48). In *Buddhacharita* there is a reference to chariots yoked with little oxen (रथांश्च गोपुच्छक से प्रयुक्तान्—II. 21). Caravans probably of camels were used for greater distances under the guidance of a competent guide who was harassed in case the caravan lost its way (सदैशिकः क्षोभयितुं न युक्तं सुदैशिकः सार्थ इव प्रनष्टे—XI. 62). There were good roads and streets for which separate terms are used in *Saundarananda*. They were known as पथ or मार्ग (V. 4) and रथ्या (V. 14) respectively. The royal road was called नरेन्द्रमार्ग (V. 3).

Having considered the means, we may now refer to the main lines of communications. We have already noticed that Mathurā was linked up with Śrāvastī and Sārnāth on the one hand and Bakana or Wokhāna on the other. The recorded cave inscriptions at Karle, Kanehri and Nāsik suggest that persons residing at Sopāra made benefactions in those places. Besides these, gifts of the natives of

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[1] *A.S.I., An. Rep.*, 1908-9, pp. 133ff.
[2] *E.I.*, Vol. II, p. 378, No. 200.
[3] p. 25.
[4] *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 55ff.

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Bharukaccha or Broach are mentioned in caves at Jumar, of Vaijayantī at Karle or Karhāḍ and Nāsik in the Bharhut stūpa inscriptions.[1] These evidently show that there were good lines of communications in south-west India and they were linked up with Northern India. This fact is also referred to by Ptolemy [2] in connection with his reference to Ozene (Ujjain) which was linked up with the port of Barygaza. It has been already shown how skilled workers were imported from one part to the other and such a thing was not possible unless they were linked together.

National Wealth. The national wealth of the country in the Kuṣāṇa period can very well be judged from two factors, namely, the general economic prosperity of the people in India and the market that India commanded in the west. It has been shown that even ordinary traders were prosperous and they commanded credit with the result that outsiders entrusted their money with them for some pious purpose. The external trade was splendid and even Pliny [3] had to admit that there was hardly any year when India did not secure tons of money from Rome through her commerce. India was rich in mineral resources and according to the same writer she was the mother of precious stones. The prosperity of the country is further evinced from numerous endowments made by ordinary people.

Medium of Exchange. The medium of exchange in that period must have been through gold and copper coins which were of different denominations. They were extensively used and were to be found in abundance even in the last century. Purāṇas or silver denominations were also in use, as appears from the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription, but unfortunately barring a solitary silver coin of Wima Kadphises now in the British Museum, no silver coin of the Kuṣāṇa emperors has been recovered. It appears that gold coins of the same denomination as the Roman Aurie were used for external trade, while copper coins catered indigenous needs.

Weights and Measures. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription[4] is the solitary piece of evidence relating to weights and measures in that period. The terms used therein are *āḍhaka*, *prastha* and *ghaṭaka*. These terms were known in ancient times as well. According to Sir Monier Williams [5] Āḍhaka was a measure of grain equivalent to ¼ kārshas = 4096 Māshas = nearly 7 lbs. 11 ozs. avoirdupois. Prastha [6] accordingly was equal to 30 Palas or ¼ of an āḍhaka. The third term Ghaṭaka [7] was equivalent to one Droṇa which was a measure of capacity equivalent to 4 āḍhakas. Besides these, we find hardly any reference to weights and measures either in inscriptions or in the works of Aśvaghoṣa.

We have considered only some aspects of the economic life of that period. We have refrained from discussing some other aspects in this short paper. From the inscriptions as well as from the data derived from the works of Aśvaghoṣa, particularly his work *Saundarananda*, we have been able to suggest that iron-mongers (lohakāra), jewellers (maṇikāra), caravan traders (sārthavāha), perfumers (gāndhīka), goldsmiths (hiraṇyakāra), barbers (nāpita), carpenters (vāḍhika), painters (chitrakāra), washermen (rajaka), attendants both male and female (antargṛihadāsī and dvārādhyakṣa) were some of the important professional class of persons who formed an important part and parcel of the economic structure in that period. Internal trade and external commerce were responsible for the vast national wealth of the country. The medium of exchange was through the denominations of that period while some weights and measures were in use as in early times. It would, however, appear on a perusal of this short account that it was an age of happiness, contentment and prosperity.

Baij Nath Puri.

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1 *I.A.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 30ff. Reprint, p. 7.
2 *Ancient India*, p. 155.
3 McCrindle, p. 130.
4 *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 55ff.
5 Dictionary, p. 134.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 699.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 375.

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ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF HARIKELA[1]

Harikela[2] as the name of a geographical area or political unit is mentioned in a number of ancient and mediaeval works, in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, and in at least three inscriptions of early mediaeval Bengal. Regarding its identification, however, scholars seem to hold most divergent views. According to one school of opinion it was synonymous with Vaṅga[3]; according to another it was 'the coastland between Samataṭa and Orissa'.[4] One writer has identified it with 'some portion of Bakerganj and Noakhali districts',[5] another with Chittagong,[6] and still another with 'a tract roughly covering the southern part of the district of Tipperah'.[7]

Among the authorities which mention Harikela as a definite geographical or political unit, the earliest in date is the account of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (*c.* 673–95 A.D.). In his work entitled *Kau-fa-kao-sang-chuen*, I-tsing mentions two Chinese priests who visited O-li-ki-lo or A-li-ki-lo (= Harikela) in eastern India. One of them, named Tan-Kwang, is said to have found such favour with 'the king of that country' that having 'got a temple built and books and images' procured, he continued to stay there till his death.[8] Another named Wu-hing (Prajñādeva) stayed there for one year before he went to Mahābodhi and Nālandā.[9] Both these priests came to Harikela by the southern sea-route, the *latter journeying from Ceylon in a north-east direction for a month.*

This is a definite statement of which the full significance does not seem to have been recognized by scholars. A voyage from Ceylon to the Bengal coast in those days usually took a much shorter period than a month. Pliny, who probably based his account on the *Indica* of Megasthenes, writes that whereas 'in former days' the island of Ceylon was thought to be twenty days' sail 'from the country of the Prasioi', the distance 'came afterwards to be reckoned at seven days' sail, according to the rate of speed of our ships'.[10] In the early years of the fifth century A.D., Fa-hien embarked on board a merchant vessel at Tāmralipti and sailed to Ceylon, the voyage taking 'fourteen days and nights'. It is not unreasonable to hold, therefore, that in the seventh century also a voyage from Tāmralipti to Ceylon or *vice versa* did not normally take more than a fortnight. I-tsing himself does not say so in clear language; but he makes certain statements in connection with his own voyage and that of another Chinese priest named Hiuen-ta which strengthen the above inference. Hiuen-ta was a priest of Kung-chow, who came to India by the southern sea-route. We are told that he first went to Śri-bhoja; thence to Quedah; then to the 'country of the naked men', which has been rightly identified with the Nicobar islands; and then 'going for half a month in a north-west direction', he came to Tāmralipti.[11] I-tsing himself followed the same route in his journey to India, and the time he took in reaching Tāmralipti from the Nicobar islands was also the same.[12] Now, the distance between the Nicobar islands and the Ganges mouth is virtually the same as that between the Ganges mouth and Ceylon. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the normal period required by a sea-going vessel in reaching the Bengal coast from Ceylon was about a fortnight. But Wu-hing, according to the testimony of I-tsing, took double that time—a month—in his journey from Ceylon to Harikela.

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[3] *Modern Review*, Nov. 1922, p. 613; *I.H.Q.*, II, 322; *ibid.*, XIX, 220.

[4] *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (University of Dacca), pp. 134-5.

[5] P. L. Paul, *Early History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. iii-iv.

[6] N. K. Bhattasali, *Ananda Bazar Patrika, Saradiya Sankhya*, 1353 B.S.

[7] *I.H.Q.*, XX, 5.

[8] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxxix.

[9] *Ibid.*, xxxi; Takakusu, Introd. xlvi.

[10] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 103.

[11] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxx.

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It is permissible to infer, therefore, that Harikela was not a coastal country as most writers on the subject assert,[1] but lay considerably farther inland.

This inference derives additional strength from certain other relevant statements of I-tsing. He says, for instance, that whereas Tāmralipti formed the 'southern limit' of East India,[2] Harikela constituted its 'eastern limit',[3] and that the former lay some 'forty *yojanas* south (south-west?) from the eastern limit of India'.[4] In other words, Harikela was situated some forty *yojanas* to the north (north-east?) of Tāmralipti, and as such could not possibly be a coastal country.

The distance of forty *yojanas*, as mentioned by I-tsing, cannot, however, be reduced to terms of modern measurement. The reason for this is that the extent of I-tsing's *yojana* cannot be determined with any precision. I find no authority for the statement made by some recent writers that Harikela was 100 *yojanas* to the east of Nālandā.[5] All that I-tsing says is that Tāmralipti was about sixty *yojanas* from Mahābodhi and Nālandā,[6] and Harikela some forty *yojanas* to the north (north-east?) of Tāmralipti. From this it does not follow that Harikela was 100 *yojanas* from Nālandā. On the contrary, I-tsing makes the following remark in describing the distance between Nālandā and the eastern frontier of India: 'Going east from the Nālandā monastery 500 *yojanas*, all the country is called the Eastern Frontier'.[7] As Harikela lay along the eastern frontier ('eastern limit of East India'), its distance from Nālandā, according to I-tsing, should be somewhere in the neighbourhood of these 500 *yojanas*. What these 500 *yojanas* will come up to in terms of modern measurement is extremely doubtful. It is clear, however, that if any reliance is to be placed on I-tsing's account, we must look for Harikela considerably to the north-east of Tāmralipti, probably in the modern districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Mymensingh and Dacca. From the wide geographical limits thus indicated we may exclude those regions (e.g. a large part of Tippera) which are known to have formed a part of Samataṭa, for I-tsing seems to have known it as a distinct or separate territorial unit, as is evidenced by his reference to it in connection with the itinerary of another Chinese priest named Seng-chi.[8]

II

Of the other texts bearing on the subject under discussion much is made of a statement contained in Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (twelfth century A.D.), which identifies Harikela with Vaṅga (*Vaṅgāstu Harikeliyāḥ*).[9] As Vaṅga is usually taken to mean Central and East Bengal with the Dhaleswari on the north, the Meghna on the east, the Madhumati on the west and the sea towards the south, most recent writers point to this region, on the strength of the above statement of Hemacandra, as the country of Harikela.[10] In other words, their contention appears to be that the kingdom of Harikela did not comprise any regions to the east of the Meghna and lay wholly on the west of that river. Two considerations, however, militate against this supposition. One of these is I-tsing's mention of Samataṭa, and his concurrent and specific statement that Harikela was situated along the eastern frontier of East India. Taken together, this would mean that the latter

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[1] E.g. Mr. P. L. Paul says: 'It was a coastal country and there was direct communication between Harikela and Ceylon' (*E.H.B.I.*, Introd. p. iv). Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya writes: 'Harikela's proximity to the sea indicated by Wu-hing's account precludes the possibility of its lying farther up in the north' (*I.H.Q.*, XX, 2). Dr. R. C. Majumdar also appears to share the same view. See *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 134-5.

[2] Takakusu, Introd. xxxi.

[3] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxxi; Takakusu, Introd. xlvi.

[4] Takakusu, Introd. xxxiii. I-tsing's directions are not always exact. For instance, he says that in his journey from Tāmralipti to Nālandā and Mahābodhi, he travelled 'westwards', taking the road which goes 'straight to the west'. Takakusu, Introd. xxxi.

[5] See P. L. Paul, *Early History of Bengal*, I, Introd. iii-iv; *I.H.Q.*, XX, 2.

[6] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxx; Takakusu, Introd. xxxiii.

[7] Takakusu, Introd. p. 9.

[8] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxx.

[9] *Abhi.*, p. 382; Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī* (Oppert, p. 37, l. 62) also contains the same statement.

[10] *I.H.Q.*, XIX, 220.

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It is permissible to infer, therefore, that Harikela was not a coastal country as most writers on the subject assert,[1] but lay considerably farther inland.

This inference derives additional strength from certain other relevant statements of I-tsing. He says, for instance, that whereas Tāmralipti formed the 'southern limit' of East India,[2] Harikela constituted its 'eastern limit',[3] and that the former lay some 'forty *yojanas* south (south-west?) from the eastern limit of India'.[4] In other words, Harikela was situated some forty *yojanas* to the north (north-east?) of Tāmralipti, and as such could not possibly be a coastal country.

The distance of forty *yojanas*, as mentioned by I-tsing, cannot, however, be reduced to terms of modern measurement. The reason for this is that the extent of I-tsing's *yojana* cannot be determined with any precision. I find no authority for the statement made by some recent writers that Harikela was 100 *yojanas* to the east of Nālandā.[5] All that I-tsing says is that Tāmralipti was about sixty *yojanas* from Mahābodhi and Nālandā,[6] and Harikela some forty *yojanas* to the north (north-east?) of Tāmralipti. From this it does not follow that Harikela was 100 *yojanas* from Nālandā. On the contrary, I-tsing makes the following remark in describing the distance between Nālandā and the eastern frontier of India: 'Going east from the Nālandā monastery 500 *yojanas*, all the country is called the Eastern Frontier'.[7] As Harikela lay along the eastern frontier ('eastern limit of East India'), its distance from Nālandā, according to I-tsing, should be somewhere in the neighbourhood of these 500 *yojanas*. What these 500 *yojanas* will come up to in terms of modern measurement is extremely doubtful. It is clear, however, that if any reliance is to be placed on I-tsing's account, we must look for Harikela considerably to the north-east of Tāmralipti, probably in the modern districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Mymensingh and Dacca. From the wide geographical limits thus indicated we may exclude those regions (e.g. a large part of Tippera) which are known to have formed a part of Samataṭa, for I-tsing seems to have known it as a distinct or separate territorial unit, as is evidenced by his reference to it in connection with the itinerary of another Chinese priest named Seng-chi.[8]

II

Of the other texts bearing on the subject under discussion much is made of a statement contained in Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (twelfth century A.D.), which identifies Harikela with Vaṅga (*Vaṅgāstu Harikeliyāḥ*).[9] As Vaṅga is usually taken to mean Central and East Bengal with the Dhaleswari on the north, the Meghna on the east, the Madhumati on the west and the sea towards the south, most recent writers point to this region, on the strength of the above statement of Hemacandra, as the country of Harikela.[10] In other words, their contention appears to be that the kingdom of Harikela did not comprise any regions to the east of the Meghna and lay wholly on the west of that river. Two considerations, however, militate against this supposition. One of these is I-tsing's mention of Samataṭa, and his concurrent and specific statement that Harikela was situated along the eastern frontier of East India. Taken together, this would mean that the latter

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[1] E.g. Mr. P. L. Paul says: 'It was a coastal country and there was direct communication between Harikela and Ceylon' (*E.H.B.I.*, Introd. p. iv). Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya writes: 'Harikela's proximity to the sea indicated by Wu-hing's account precludes the possibility of its lying farther up in the north' (*I.H.Q.*, XX, 2). Dr. R. C. Majumdar also appears to share the same view. See *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 134-5.

[2] Takakusu, Introd. xxxi.

[3] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxxi; Takakusu, Introd. xlvi.

[4] Takakusu, Introd. xxxiii. I-tsing's directions are not always exact. For instance, he says that in his journey from Tāmralipti to Nālandā and Mahābodhi, he travelled 'westwards', taking the road which goes 'straight to the west'. Takakusu, Introd. xxxi.

[5] See P. L. Paul, *Early History of Bengal*, I, Introd. iii-iv ; *I.H.Q.*, XX, 2.

[6] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxx; Takakusu, Introd. xxxiii.

[7] Takakusu, Introd. p. 9.

[8] Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxx.

[9] *Abhi.*, p. 382; Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī* (Oppert, p. 37, l. 62) also contains the same statement.

[10] *I.H.Q.*, XIX, 220.

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stretched in certain parts at any rate even beyond Samataṭa towards the east. Now, if, as is well known, Samataṭa included large parts of the Tippera district, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Harikela, which in all probability extended eastward even beyond Samataṭa, must have included extensive regions to the east of the Meghna.

The other consideration which militates against the view, referred to above, is the indefiniteness and elasticity of Vaṅga as a geographical appellation. The frontiers of Vaṅga, it is well known, varied from age to age. One ancient authority, for instance, makes it extend westward beyond the Hooghly so as to include Tāmralipti (Tamluk),[1] while another authority (Yaśodhara), belonging to a later age (thirteenth century), places it eastward beyond the Brahmaputra (*Vaṅgā Lohityāt purveṇa*).[2] As Hemacandra flourished in the twelfth century, it is not improbable that geographical traditions (not facts) were much the same in his time as in that of Yaśodhara. In other words, it is not impossible that Hemacandra believed, as Yaśodhara did, that Vaṅga included vast tracts of the plains lying to the east of the old course of the Brahmaputra, and possibly to the east of the Meghna as well. And if that were so, there is no contradiction between I-tsing and Hemacandra, between the former's clear indications and the latter's nebulous statement. In any case, as Hemacandra does not define either the frontiers of Vaṅga or those of Harikela, it will be unsafe to build any theory merely on the basis of his statement.

III

Of the other texts bearing on this subject, some are of direct, and some of indirect importance. We quote below a few of these so that the reader may judge for himself whether they contradict or corroborate the hypothesis we have tried to set forth above.

(1) जय पूर्वदिगङ्गनाभुजङ्ग चम्पा-चम्पकपूर्ण
लीलानिर्जितराढादेश विक्रमाक्रान्तकामरूपस्य
हरिकेली-केलिकारक च्यवमानित-कर्णसुवर्णदान... ...

—*Karpūramañjurī* (Nirn. Ed., p. 13).

(2) असुराणां भवेद् वाचा गौडपौण्ड्रोद्भवा सदा।
यथा गौडजनश्रेष्ठं रुतं शब्दविभूषितम्॥
... ...
यक्षराक्षसप्रेतानां नागांश्चापि सपूतनाम्।
सर्वेषामसुरपक्षाणां वङ्गसामतटाश्रयात्॥
हरिकेले कलशमुखे च चर्मरङ्गे ह्यशेषतः।
सर्वेषां जनपदां वा तथा तेषां तु कल्पयेत्॥

—*Ārya-Mañjuśri-mūlakalpa* (T.S.S. No. LXX), pp. 232-3.

(3) तथा वङ्गे समा ज्ञाता या वाचा प्रवर्तते।
किन्नराणां तथा वाचा सा वाचा परिकल्पिता॥
... ...

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[1] The Jaina Upāṅga styled the *Prajñāpanā* mentions Tāmralipti as a city of the Vaṅgas. See *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (University of Dacca), p. 15.

[2] The *Jayamaṅgalā* of Yaśodhara, edited by Dāmodara Goswami (VI, 5, 25; p. 294).

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ऋषीणां तु कामरूपी तु वाचा विश्वरूपिणाम्।
पञ्चाभिज्ञं तु सा वाचा ऋषीणां परिकल्पिता॥
या तु सामातटी वाचा या च वाचा हरिकेलका।
अव्यक्तां स्फुटां चैव डकारपरिनिश्रिता॥

—*Ibid.*, p. 232.

(4) त्रिपुरस्य वधे काले रुद्रस्याक्ष्णोऽपतंस्तु ये।
अश्रवो बिन्दवस्ते तु रुद्राच्चा अभवन् भुवि॥
रुद्रवामाक्षिसम्भूतं रुद्राक्षं कामरूपके।
दक्षिणाक्ष्यसुसम्भूतं हरिकोलोद्भवं विदुः॥

—रुद्राक्षमाहात्म्य (Dacca University Manuscript No. 2141B).

The extract quoted from the *Karpūramañjurī* seems to imply that Rāḍha, Kāmarūpa, Karṇa-suvarṇa and Harikeli were all eastern countries and yet separate from one another. The verses cited from the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* further suggest that Harikela as a geographical entity was different from Gauḍa, Pauṇḍra and Kāmarūpa on the one hand, and Carmaraṅga (Karmaraṅga), Samataṭa and Vaṅga on the other, and yet was adjacent to the last two (*vaṅga-sāmataṭ-āśrayāt . . . . harikele*). Obviously the Vaṅga of the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* was not the Vaṅga of Hemacandra's conception. Karmaraṅga has been defined in another verse as an island where cocoa-nut trees grew in plenty (*karmaraṅgākhya-dvīpeṣu laḍikera-samudbhave*). It is thus difficult to see what other area could have been meant by Harikela apart from the one we have indicated above, viz. the modern district of Sylhet and the territories adjoining it towards the west and the south-west forming parts of the districts of Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh.

But the two verses cited from the *Rudrākṣa-māhātmya* clinch the issue still further. Here the god Rudra is spoken of as shedding tears; and tears issuing from his left eye are said to have dropped on Kāmarūpa and got condensed into one variety of *Elacocarpus ganitrus*, while those issuing from his right eye fell on Harikola (or Harikela) and were solidified into another species of this berry. We may well imagine that as in the case of a man, so in the case of the god, there was a nose between the two eyes. This nose or nasal barrier was obviously constituted by the range of hills now known as the Garo and the Khasi Hills. To the north of this range lay the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, to the south lay the territory called Harikela or Harikola. This is quite in consonance with what we learn from I-tsing. But to leave no room for doubt, as it were, the scribe of the *Rudrākṣa-māhātmya* has added the note: *Harikolaḥ Śrīhaṭṭadeśaḥ*.

A similar statement identifying Harikela with Śrīhaṭṭa has also been traced in another work—a lexicon in manuscript—entitled *Rūpacintāmaṇi* composed in Śaka 1515=A.D. 1593 (Dacca University MS. No. 1451, fol. 15*a*). The author of this work, Yādavānanda Dāsa, was himself an inhabitant of Sylhet, and there can hardly be any doubt that a genuine tradition identifying Harikola with Śrīhaṭṭa survived in the district down to the end of the sixteenth century. Could a tradition of this kind grow and continue unless there was some solid historical fact behind it?

It may be argued that the texts mentioned above refer to Harikola and not Harikela or Harikeli, and therefore no conclusion regarding the identification of the latter can be drawn from them. To this an answer is provided by another work called *Kalpadrukośa* (G.O.S., Vol. I, p. 7), which contains the same line as in the *Rūpacintāmaṇi*, but with the reading Harikeli for Harikola—*Śrīhatto Harikeliḥ syācchrīhaṭo-pi kvacid-bhavet*. It is clear, therefore, that Harikela and Harikola were interchangeable terms and were used indiscriminately to denote the same geographical area. It is also clear that the modern district of Sylhet was included in the ancient kingdom of Harikela. But besides Sylhet, Harikela in all probability

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comprised portions of other neighbouring districts which lay to the east of the Brahmaputra. It is also not improbable that the frontiers of Harikela, like the frontiers of Vaṅga, varied from age to age, and that Sylhet was the region to which the name clung before it went out of existence.

IV

Before we conclude, it is necessary to examine what bearings the proposed identification of Harikela has on the history of Kāntideva and the Candras. As already stated, Harikela as the name of a kingdom or geographical unit occurs in three inscriptions of early mediaeval Bengal. Of these the earliest in date is the unfinished Chittagong Plate of Mahārājādhirāja Kāntideva, which has been assigned on paleographical grounds roughly to the period 850–950 A.D.[1] It appears from this inscription that Kāntideva was the ruler of a territorial division called Harikelā-maṇḍala (unless, of course, *maṇḍala* has been used here in the Kauṭilyan sense of a 'circle of States'), and that his headquarters (*vijaya-skandhāvāra*) was at a place called Vardhamānapura. On the supposed identification of Vardhamānapura with modern Burdwan and of Harikela with the 'coastland between Samataṭa and Orissa', Dr. R. C. Majumdar has propounded the theory that Kāntideva's kingdom comprised 'a portion of south and west Bengal'.[2] It may be pointed out, however, that the evidence in favour of locating Harikela along the eastern frontier of Bengal is too strong to be lightly brushed aside, and Vardhamānapura, being a popular name for cities in ancient times,[3] may have been the designation of a township in Eastern Bengal of which all memory has lost. In any case, the mere mention of Vardhamānapura as the 'camp of victory' of Kāntideva does not, in our view, justify the assumption that his authority extended from the 'eastern limit of East India' to so far west as modern Burdwan. There is no evidence to support the contention that he wielded sway over so extensive an area. On the other hand, the fact that he addresses the future rulers of Harikelā-maṇḍala seems to prove that his rule was confined to that territorial division only.

The two other inscriptions which mention Harikela as a territorial designation are the Rāmpāl and Dhuliā Plates of Śrī-candra,[4] assigned on paleographical grounds to the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. The passage in which the name occurs is written in a highly ornate and involved style; but it has such an important bearing on the history of the Candra dynasty that it is better to quote it before we proceed further in our discussion. The passage runs thus:

आधारो हरिकेल-राजककूदच्छत्रस्मितानां श्रियां ।
यः चन्द्रोपपदे बभूव नृपतिर्द्वीपे दिलीपोपमः ॥

Most writers have taken the view that, stripped of all metaphor, the first line in the above passage means that Trailokyacandra became the king of Harikela.[5] The question, therefore, naturally arises—did he become king of Harikela by right of heredity or by right of conquest? According to Dr. D. C. Ganguly, 'The inscription states that Śrī-candra's father, Trailokya-candra, who was the king of Harikela, became the ruler of Candradvīpa'.[6] What he probably means to imply is that Harikela formed the hereditary dominion of Trailokya-candra, and to it he added

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[1] The editors of the Plate (*Modern Review*, Nov. 1922, pp. 612ff.) placed it between 750 and 850 A.D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, on the other hand, assigns it to the period 850–950 A.D. See *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, p. 135.

[2] *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 134-5. A little later, however, Dr. Majumdar writes: 'It is very likely that Kāntideva flourished during the decadent period that set in after the death of Devapāla, and took advantage of the weakness of the central authority to found an independent kingdom in Eastern Bengal. Ultimately he extended his authority over Southern Bengal and probably even a part of Western Bengal.' (*Ibid.*, p. 135.) If Harikelā-maṇḍala was 'the coastland between Samataṭa and Orissa', and Vardhamānapura identical with modern Burdwan, it is difficult to see how Kāntideva founded a kingdom in Eastern Bengal.

[3] See B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* (1942), pp. 60-61.

[4] N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 1ff., 165-6.

[5] Cf. e.g. *I.H.Q.*, XX, 3.

[6] *I.H.Q.*, XIX, p. 200.

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Candradvīpa at a later stage. But the inscriptions, referred to above, clearly state that Rohitāgiri constituted the paternal dominion of the Candras, and that both Purṇa-candra and Suvarṇa-candra—the two immediate predecessors of Trailokya-candra—seem to have ruled over this territory alone. In the time of Trailokya-candra, however, the sway of the dynasty was extended by the establishment of its paramountcy over Harikela on the one hand, and by the annexation of Candra-dvīpa on the other. From the language employed in the epigraph in describing this expansion of the Candra dominion, it seems clear that there was some difference in degree in the control exercised by Trailokya-candra over Candradvīpa and Harikela. Of the former he definitely became the king (*vabhuvaḥ nṛpatiḥ*); of the latter he became the 'support' or 'repository' (*ādhāraḥ*) of 'fortune goddesses (of other kings) smiling at the umbrella which was the royal insignia', that is to say, the suzerain or lord paramount.

Regarding the identification of Rohitāgiri, opinion is divided. But there is much to be said in favour of the view, first expressed by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali and later endorsed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, that it was probably the Sanskritized form of Lal-māṭi and identical with the Lalmai Hills near Comilla. From this ancestral dominion, Trailokya-candra, who is described in the Kedarpur Plate as 'animated by the ambition of conquering the Earth bounded by the four waters', seems to have launched a series of operations both northward and southward which resulted in the acquisition of the territories mentioned above.

In the time of Trailokya-candra's successor, Śrī-candra, the kingdom seems to have expanded still further by the acquisition of fresh territories towards the west. Although there is no specific evidence to prove this, we may infer it from Śrī-candra's assumption of full imperial titles and the epithets used about him in the inscriptions. The Rāmpāl Plate, for instance, describes him as a conquero · who 'put his enemies in prison-houses' and 'made the Earth decorated with one single umbrella'. The Kedārpur Plate refers to 'the multitude of dust raised by that conqueror in battles'. We may infer it also from the transference of the capital from Rohitāgiri to Vikramapura, which in all probability took place in his time. Lastly, we may infer it from the details of some of his land-grants.[1]

P. C. CHAKRAVARTI.

AL-JEZIAH

Gabriel asked Muhammad, son of Abdullah, to recite[2]:—

'Fight those who believe not
In God nor the last day,
Nor hold that forbidden
Which hath been forbidden
By God and His Apostle,
Nor acknowledge the religion of Truth,
Of the People of the Book,
Until they pay the Jeziah
With willing submission
And feel themselves humiliated.'

The meaning of the word Jeziah.—The origin of the word 'Jeziah' is 'Jaza' which means 'gave satisfaction'.[3] Satisfaction for what? Evidently this

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[1] E.g. the Edilpur Plate of Śrīcandra records the grant of a piece of land in the Kumāratālaka-maṇḍala situated in the Sataṭa-Padmāvāṭi-vishaya. It is said that the latter refers to the river Padmā, and that the name of the *maṇḍala* is probably derived from the river Kumāra, and is possibly preserved in Kumārkhāli, in the Faridpur district.

[2] *Surah Taubah*, verse 29.

[3] Muhammad Ali in his translation of the *Qur'ān* (ed. 1929, abridged, p. 195 note) says that the 'Geziah' is derived 'Gaza' (he gave satisfaction) and means that 'the tax is taken from free non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim Govt. as a compensation for the protection which is granted to them, the non-Muslim subjects being free from military service'.

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satisfaction or compensation has an implication that Muslims had a duty and right to make non-Muslims believe in God, in His Apostle, acknowledge the religion of Truth and surrender to Allāh.[1] But if the non-Muslims, who had 'surrendered' to the Muslims politically, refused the conquerors privilege of making them 'believe' and 'surrender to Allāh',[2] they must pay compensation for such refusal. This compensation is 'Jaza'. The verse quoted above has reference to 'humiliation'. 'Humiliation' has been interpreted by Al-Kharashi in his commentary on Al-Mukhtasar [3] to imply that if the Dhimmis suffer humiliation, 'perhaps they will decide to get rid of it by becoming Muslims' [4]; and that will serve the purpose of a Muslim because he is 'commanded to spread the message of Allāh'.

Besides this theory of compensation and humiliation several other reasons have been advanced by different scholars for imposition of Jeziah at different periods.[5] They are—

(1) punishment for unbelief;
(2) price for protection;
(3) rental for residence;
(4) price for free exercise of religion;
(5) exchange for military service.

Punishment for unbelief.—Sarakhsi remarked that the payment of Jeziah was a 'punishment so long as he (the unbeliever) persists in his unbelief and in order to impress him with degradation of unbelief and power of Islam'.[5]

Price for protection.—Mawardi [6] says that the Dhimmis by paying the Jeziah becomes entitled to protection and therefore he is called the protégé (Mahrus). The Prophet has said, 'The blood of a Dhimmi is as sacred as the blood of a Muslim', and thus the payment is in lieu of protection.

Rental for residence.—Some scholars wanted to explain Jeziah as rental for residing in the land of the Muslims. Possibly this view is not sound because if it were a mere rental, women, children and monks would not be exempted.

Price for free exercise of religion.—Sometimes liberal concessions were made to Dhimmis in lieu of Jeziah and they were allowed to continue the repair of their temples, worship of idols and similar heathen practices not sanctioned by Islam. Hajjaj, Governor of Khalīfah Abdul Malik, in reply to Muhammad bin Qasim's letter from Gujarat admitted such rights of the non-Muslims because they agreed 'to pay fixed tribute to the Khalīfah'.[7]

Exchange for military service.—Sarakhsi says that it was expected that the Dhimmis residing in a Muslim State must be ready to defend it, but being non-Muslims they were not trusted to do so lest they might be inclined to assist the enemy. So their personal service in the army was converted into contribution for expenses of the Muslim army. Caetani in his Anali delle Islam says,[8] 'From Papyri, dated 80 to 90 Hijri, it appears that the Jeziah was intended for payment of the army.' Caetani's observations are supported by a letter of Abū 'Ubaida, the Arab general of Khalīfah 'Umar, who ordered the governors of the conquered cities of Syria to return the sums collected as Jeziah, and on this occasion he wrote to the people thus, 'We give you back the money that we took from you as we have received news that a strong force (army of Heraclius, the Roman Emperor) is advancing

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[1] For the context of this *Surah Taubah*, consult Muhammad Ali's *Qur'ān*, pp. 191ff.

[2] The root of the word Muslim is س - ل - م meaning 'surrender'.

[3] *Al Kharasi*, p. 443.

[4] 'Geziah'—etymologically may be connected with Aramaic word 'Gazita' which was a poll-tax. The Persians after their conquest of Mesopotamia retained the tax. In Firdousi's *Shah-Namah* the word 'Gazit' occurs several times in the sense of tax (*vide* pp. 1497, 1541). In Persia it was pronounced as 'Gizyat'. Similarly 'Kharaj' has connection with Aramaic 'Kharaga' meaning land tax which was collected in conquered land by the Sassanians.

[5] Sarakhsi in *Mabsut* (Chap. X) has given a detailed narrative of Jeziah.

[6] Mawardi, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 246-47.

[7] *Chanch-namah*, Karachi Ed., 1090, pp. 168-69.

[8] Caetani, translation of Arnold, V, 5, p. 449.

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against us. The agreement between us was that we should protect you; and, as this is not in our power, we return you all that we took. But if we are victorious, we shall consider ourselves bound to you by the old terms of agreement.' Again when the people of Cyprus offered Jeziah to Khalīfah 'Umar, he refused the offer on the ground that his conquest was till then not final and that till then he could not guarantee their protection. Ṭabarī says, 'If non-Muslims render military service at their will, they are exempted from it during years of active service.' There is an instance when 'Umar exempted a Dhimmi from payment of Jeziah for whole life, because he had marked a spot where a well was sunk.[1]

Who are liable to pay the Jeziah?—According to the verse quoted in the beginning from the Surah Taubah, literally Jeziah was to be imposed on those who did not believe in Allāh, Last Day and in Muhammad, and who did not forbid what Allāh and Rasul have forbidden, and who do not follow the religion of Truth (Islam), even if 'they are from the receivers of scriptures'.

By receivers of scriptures are meant the Jews and Christians, and Prophet extended the term to include fire-worshippers. But here is no mention of the idolators amongst the list of the prospective contributors of the Jeziah. Imam Shafi'i actually said, 'The Jeziah may be accepted from Christians, Jews and fire-worshippers but not from idolators inasmuch as the above-mentioned verse refers only to the first two and the Prophet extended its scope to the fire-worshippers also; but the idolators are left out entirely. Really Arab idolators were not to pay the Jeziah on the ground that the Prophet was sent amongst them and miracles were performed before their eyes,'[2] though on the same ground the Jews and Christians who had witnessed the miracles of the Prophet were not exempted. But Abū Ḥanīfah says[3] that all non-Muslims are of one category اصل شرك ملته واحدة and therefore it was lawful to take Jeziah from all unbelievers.[4] Khalīfah 'Uthmān accepted Jeziah even from the Berbers in Africa and 'Abdul Mālik from Brahmins of India. Whatever might be the meaning of the revelation referred to above, the practices of the pious Khalīfas do clearly demonstrate that all non-Muslims who surrendered were tolerated as subjects and they had to pay the Jeziah.[5]

Persons exempted from imposition were: (1) Children, insane, old, sick, blind and cripple, because they were not physically fit to assist in the defence of the State. But Abū Yusūf says that the blind and cripple persons who possessed property might be required to pay the Jeziah, because that might assist the defence of the State by contributing wealth. (2) The indigent who were not engaged in any business were not subject to Jeziah. (3) The recluse who had retired from the world and were living in churches and monasteries need not pay. (4) According to Abū Ḥanīfah and Abū Yusūf monks were subject to payment if they could work; but Imam Shafi'i[6] says that any 'Dhimmi who is of age, of sound mind and of free status; the priests, the saints, old people, paralytics included'. As regards the indigent one extreme view pleaded that he had no right to stay in a Muslim country because he could neither work for the State nor pay the Jeziah for the defence of the State. Why should the State permit such a drone to eat upon the labour of the Muslims? Slaves were exempt from payment of Jeziah, because they had no legal status, nor was Jeziah paid by their masters on their behalf. But indirectly the owners of slaves paid

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[1] Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of the State*, p. 65.

[2] Kharashi, p. 442; Abū Yusūf, *Kitab-ul-Kharaj*, p. 73; *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library, 1926.

[3] Abū Ḥanīfah went so far as to say that renegades need not pay the Jeziah because 'they have turned into unbelief after having once believed in the beauties of Islam'. Aghnides, *Muhammad Theories ofFin ance*, p. 40.

[4] Shaibani, الاصل, Vol. II, pp. 141-42.

[5] Hadith, Ibn Mādah, *Sunf'a*, bab 41. Tirmidi, *Siyar*, bab 31.

[6] *Kitab-ul-lun*, Vol. IV, p. 98. Hasan-al-Basri said, 'Monks pay no Jeziah because they are poor and have left the world'. In the treaty of 'Isnoyabah it was agreed that 'the priests and monks shall not pay tribute'. Ibn 'Abd-al-Hakam says, 'Monks pay no taxes, for the Dhimmis have to bear the tribute of those of them who turn monks.' Hakam, *Futuh Misr*, p. 156.

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Jeziah because the rate of the imposition increased on account of their possessing slaves. The jurists did not discuss the problem whether the retention of a Muslim slave by a Dhimmi or a Dhimmi slave by a Muslim would increase the rates of Jeziah. Probably the question did not arise in Arabia, though it was a common occurrence in many other Muslim countries.

Different kinds of Jeziah:—

(1) Jeziah by agreement;
(2) Jeziah by force of arms.

Jeziah by agreement: The Prophet set example of imposing the Jeziah by agreement when he made arrangement with the people of Najran that they should pay annually by two instalments two thousand dresses of two pieces each whose value was eighty thousand dirhams. The Prophet was very particular about contract and he always insisted upon his followers to respect covenants. Imām Shafi'i [1] held that Jeziah once fixed by a treaty could never be changed except that the rate *per capita* must on no account be less than one dinar per head. (12 dirhams = 1 dinar.)

Jeziah by force of arms: The Muslim conqueror after the conquest of a place by force of arms had a right to impose Jeziah upon the non-Muslim population.[2] Khalīfas like 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī imposed such contributions upon the non-Muslim population of newly conquered territories. The rate fixed by them was approved by the Ṣaḥābis by Ijmā (concensus of opinion).

Rate of imposition.—This was a knotty problem. Jeziah might be imposed on the whole community of the Dhimmis *per capita*, individually or collectively. It might be on land in lieu of Kharaj, collectively on all lands or on each portion of land to be realized from the holder of the land individually. The imposition might be redeemed either by payment of cash or by payment in kind.

Regarding payment by cash: The rate was fixed by Khalīfah 'Umar at 48 dirhams for the rich, 24 for the middle class and 12 for the poor who could earn their living by personal labour. In the commentary of Tahawi there is a classification of Dhimmis according to wealth.[3] He who had ten thousand dirhams or more was rich; owner of two hundred to ten thousand dirhams was classed middle; and people who earned living by their own labour but possessed less than two hundred dirhams were said to be poor. There is another classification where the rich were those who had enough and who could afford to be idle. He that had enough for the family and for himself was called middle class. He that worked for his bread was reckoned as poor. Imām Shafi'i is of opinion that one dinar should be minimum per head while Minhaj [4] permitted the conqueror to bargain for a better rate. Ordinarily the rate once fixed could not be altered. Khalīl says that reductions were permissible to meet reductions of income.

The amount of Jeziah might be consolidated into a lump sum money or goods to be paid by the Dhimmis separately on lands they possessed or collectively by the whole population or *per capita.* If the number of heads disappeared by death or conversion or emigration, the amount was reduced proportionately; if the heads subsequently increased the payment was resumed.

But on the whole our information on the rates of Jeziah is conflicting. In the lands where currency was in gold, the rate was 48, 24 and 12 dirhams; in silver standard countries like Syria and Egypt the rate was 25% higher. The views of four legists differ fundamentally:—

Abū Ḥanīfah fixed Jeziah at 48, 24, 12 dirhams according to wealth.

Aḥmad bin Hanbal left the rates to the discretion of the ruler though he fixed the minimum at 12 dirhams.

Malik fixed the highest rate at 40 to 48 dirhams according to the standard of currency.

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[1] Quoted by Mawardi, *Muqaddimah*, pp. 249, 250.
[2] Kharashi, p. 443.
[3] Aghnides, *op. cit.*, p. 403. One dirham is equivalent to 3 annas approximately.
[4] *Minaj*, Vol. III, p. 279.

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Shafi'i fixed the rate at 12 dirhams on the rich and poor alike.

Why is this difference in rates? Possibly, these differences are due to the facts that Imāms take into account the conditions prevailing in the countries in which they live.

Shafi'i recommended the banishment of those Dhimmis who are too poor to pay even the minimum rate. Sha'irani says that they should be excused payment.[1] Yahya pleaded for relief should be given to those who cannot bear the graded tax.[2]

Payment in kind: The conqueror might make a provision in the terms of payment of Jeziah for entertainment of Muslim travellers who might stop in the city or village of the Dhimmis. They were to be entertained by the Dhimmis at their cost. In the provision for number of guests or horses the period of stay was specified. Rich or poor, everyone was bound to maintain Muslim guests, but medical relief or bath were not provided for. On no condidion could a Dhimmi be turned out of his home to make room for a Muslim guest. Consolidated payment might also be made in kind by the community of the Dhimmis of a particular locality as the Prophet himself allowed the people of Najran to pay yearly 2,000 *hullas* of two pieces each, each *hulla* being worth 40 dirhams. 'Alī accepted ropes and needles. Carcases, wine and pigs were not accepted though they might be sold by the Dhimmi to pay the tax.[3]

Mode of collection and payment.—According to Abū Ḥanīfah Jeziah fell due at the beginning of the year though it should be collected two or three days before the year wore out, preferably on the eve of Ramaḍan. Abū Yusūf maintained that the amount should be collected by instalments every two months, while Muhammad Ibn Ḥasan held that it should be collected every month while the Dhimmis might be relieved of the burden of paying a big amount at a time, on the other hand Muslims might be benefited by receiving regular contributions. Both Imām Shafi'i and Mālik opined that according to lunar year there should be single payment annually.[4] While Jeziah would be collected the Dhimmi was allowed to stand and the collector to sit. The Dhimmi must wear a distinctive dress which might distinguish him from a Muslim. Aghnides[5] says, 'During the process of payment the Dhimmi is seized by the collar and vigorously shaken and pulled about in order to show him his degradation; and he is rebuked, 'Oh Dhimmi, or Oh ! enemy of God, pay the Jeziah.' He is not allowed to pay the Jeziah by proxy for in this he might avoid humiliation behind the imposition and thus defeat one of the prime objects of Jeziah. But both Abū Yusūf and Muhammad Ibn Ḥasan agreed that payment by proxy might be allowed. Tradition says that 'Umar sent two men, 'Uthmān bin Hunaif and Hudhaifa, to Iraq to assess the Jeziah and 'they sealed the necks of the Dhimmis'. Abū Yusūf says that the sealing of necks was done at the time of collection of tribute. After collection the seals were broken.[6]

In every country conquered by the Muslims, Jeziah was a part of its administrative process, for reasons psychological, religious and economic. Psychologically speaking, it gave the Muslim a satisfaction that he has vindicated the superiority of his arms and the acceptance of Jeziah was a permanent mark of recognition of his conquest by the conquered. Religiously speaking, the imposition was regarded as a part of the fulfilment of his duty as a Muslim because it was revealed in the Qur'ān, it was sanctioned by the tradition of the Prophet and it was scrupulously followed by the pious Khalifas and their successors. Financially, the very existence of the State depended on what the Muslim received by way of contribution from the non-Muslim subjects because at the beginning Muslims would not pay anything but the Zahat which, too, was utilized for the relief of the poor, and payment of Kharaj by the

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[1] Sha'irani, *Kitab-ul-Mizan*, II, 161.

[2] Yahya, *Kitab-ul-Kharāj*, p. 9.
Payment was made by halves and quarters. Rainer quoted from Papyri that in 195 A.H. a baker in Egypt paid ½ dinar (670); 5 men paid 7½ dinar; 44 men paid 108⅔ dinars.

[3] As Suli, *Adab-ul-Kuttab*, A.H. 1341, p. 215.

[4] *Mabsut*, X, p. 82.

[5] Aghnides, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

[6] Abū Yusūf, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

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Muslims came much later. An idea may be from the lists given below of the amount which came from the non-Muslims:—

About 250 A.H. Baghdad paid approximately .. 120,000 dirhams.
,, 254 A.H. Egypt ,, ,, .. 48,000,000 dirhams.[1]

These figures indicate the huge amount that the Muslim treasury received from the non-Muslim contribution and they could ill afford to be charitable to lose it. Occasional acts of grace on the part of individual rulers are also on record. Khalifah Mamun was kind to the people of Edessa, and remitted all their contribution. In India Muhammad bin Qasim remitted Jeziah on all Brahmans because they helped him discovering Ladi, wife of Dahir of Sind, and his two daughters, Parimal Devi and Surji Devi.[2] Further, as a community they rendered immense service in popularizing Arab rule in Sind by accepting service under the Arab conqueror.[3] Akbar's remission of Jeziah is a classical example of remission on the whole population as much as Aurangzeb's re-imposition of the same.

M. L. Roy Choudhury Sastri.

SOME MORE POPULAR MAXIMS

The *Handful of Popular Maxims* (लौकिकन्यायाञ्जलि in three parts) collected and explained by the late Col. G. A. Jacob is only too well known to scholars. That compilation is sufficiently exhaustive and it is very difficult to come across any altogether new maxim which has not been noticed in that interesting compilation or which has not its substance echoed in some or other of the numerous maxims occurring therein. But, fortunately, I have met with a few more popular maxims in course of my studies which seem to be quite novel. The substance, I am forced to confess, of some of these maxims has not at all appeared clear to me and I have not been able even after long reflection to make out the significance and bearing of these *nyāyas* in the context in which they occur. In this paper I propose to record those maxims along with the passages in which they appear in the hope that scholars would come forth with their suggestions that might help to arrive at the true meaning of those maxims.

I. कर्कटीकण्टकन्याय—This *nyāya* occurs in Caṇḍīdāsa's gloss on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Chap. IV. We cite the text in full so that the context might appear clear to all: "एवं व्यञ्जकाख्यामधिकां शब्दार्थयोः शक्तिमुपपाद्य तदुपयोगं ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यविभागपराभ्यां चतुर्थपञ्चमोल्लासाभ्यां सूचकत्वेन दर्शितवान्। तत्र केचित् शब्दार्थनिरूपणार्थमेव वृत्तिविवेकः कृतो न स्वातन्त्र्येण, ततश्च तदनन्तरमेव तद्धर्माणां दोषादीनां निर्णयः सुकरो भवति इति स एव कार्य्यः, ध्वन्यादिविभागस्तु पूर्वं पश्चाद् वा कार्य्य इति प्रत्यवतिष्ठते। तन्निराकुर्वन्नाह वृत्तिकृत्—यद्यपीति—निर्णयविभागव्यवस्थायाम्। धर्मिणीति—न खलु शब्दार्थमात्रधर्मा दोषा एव निरूप्याः, किन्तु काव्याङ्गरूपतद्विशेषगताः। एते च रसाद्याश्रयेणैव व्यवतिष्ठन्ते इति रसादि-ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यौ तावत् निरूपणीयौ। तत्प्रसङ्गेन तत्सजातीयानां वस्तुध्वन्यादीनां कर्कटीकण्टकन्यायेन पूर्वं पश्चाच्च स्वावेशनया तन्निरूपणम् इति भावः॥"
—*Op. cit.*, Pt. I, pp. 88-89 (edited by Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in the *Princess of Wales Series*, Benares). कर्कटीकण्टक means the two pincer-like fangs of a crab at the end of each of its four legs. The present maxim might thus be regarded as another version of the more frequent सन्दंशन्याय—'*the maxim of a pair of tongs*'.

II. जातीपलाण्डुन्याय—The '*maxim of the jasmine and the onion*'. It is found in Rūyyaka's commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka*. Rūyyaka here justifies the व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभाव as subsisting between the *expressed* (वाच्य) and the *implied* (प्रतीयमान) senses against the adverse criticism of Mahimabhaṭṭa who endeavours

[1] Ibn Khurdadbeg, *Kitab-ul-Mamālik Walmasalik*, p. 83.
[2] *Chach-namah*, Karachi Ed. of Kalichbeg, p. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.

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to demolish the theory of *Suggestion* (व्यञ्जना) and substitutes for it the process of *Inference* (अनुमान). The text in which the *nyāya* occurs runs as follows:

"...यत् पुनर्वस्त्वलंकारयो-र्नियमेन वाच्यानन्तरकालभावित्वेन प्रतीते-र्व्यङ्ग्यत्वमसमञ्जसं भवतीत्युक्तम्, तत्र प्रतिविधीयते। इह शब्दस्य अभिधा-लक्षणाभेदेन द्विविधो व्यापारश्चिरन्तनैरभ्युपगतः। न स तृतीयकक्षा-निक्षिप्तेऽर्थे प्रगल्भते इति तत्र व्यापारान्तरमभ्युपेयम्। रसादौ च तत्तुल्यकक्ष्ये व्यञ्जनमुपपादितम् इतीहापि तदेव संस्मर्यितुं युक्तम्। तत् तत्र वाच्यव्यङ्ग्ययोः सह प्रतीतिर्नास्तीति उक्तं तदपि न युक्तम्, रसादिन्यायेन व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीतिकाले वाच्यस्यापि प्रकाशकस्य प्रतीतेः। वाच्यकाले तु यद्यङ्ग्यस्य न प्रतीतिरस्तु न दूषणम् इत्युक्तमेव। ननु, अविरोधि व्यङ्ग्यप्रतीतिकाले वाच्यस्य कथंचित्प्रतीतिरस्तु। 'भस धम्मिच्च'-इत्यादौ तु विरोधिव्यङ्ग्य-प्रतीतिकाले वाच्यस्य कथं प्रतीतिः? नैष दोषः। तत्रापि प्रकाशकतया (?)। (यत्र तु?) ततोऽसत्येनापि प्रतीतिसद्भावात् व्यङ्ग्यत्वं नासमञ्जसं किञ्चित्। यतः काव्यार्थो गोण्यमानत्वेन प्रतिपत्तृमात्रस्याप्रतिभातः सहृदय-स्यैव भासते, जातीपलाण्डुन्यायेन निकुम्बितस्य प्रकटनात्"—इति व्यक्तिवाचो युक्तिरेव लौकिकी समीचीनेति तत्र व्यञ्जकत्वमेव साधीयः इति॥—Rūyyaka's व्यक्तिविवेकव्याख्यान, p. 59 (*Haridas Sanskrit Granthamālā*, Benares, 1936).

III. विचोरभाण्डागारिकन्याय—At first sight this maxim seems to have its parallel in the well-known proverb—"पाटच्चरलुण्ठिते वेश्मनि यामिकजागरणम्" already noticed by Col. Jacob in his *First Handful of Popular Maxims*. But that sense does not satisfactorily fit in with the context. It is found in Rūyyaka's व्यक्तिविवेकव्याख्यानः—"...सर्वस्यैव काव्यस्य रसमयत्वं न गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यादिसद्भाव इति चेत्, न। अस्फुटरसस्य अङ्गभूतरसस्य वा काव्यस्य विद्यमानत्वात्। यत्र हि प्राधान्येन स्फुटोऽङ्गी रसः प्रतीयते तत्र ध्वनित्वम्, अन्यत्र तु काव्यान्तरत्वम् इति। रसस्य च विस्रान्तिसारत्वात् अङ्गभावो नोपपन्न इति चेत्, न। स्वापेक्षया तद्रूपत्वात्। व्यापक-रसान्तरापेक्षया तु न्यग्भावेनाङ्गत्वात्। विचोरभाण्डागारिकवत्॥"—*Op. cit.*, p. 103.

IV. तालतलबन्धनन्याय—This maxim is found to occur in Varadarāja's scholium, styled कुसुमाञ्जलिबोधनी on Udayana's *Kusumāñjali*. The text is: ननु यद्ययम् आप्तकाव्याचारः प्रमाणमूलः स्यात् ततस्तन्मूलवेदस्य इदानीमनुपलम्भाद् उच्छेदः कल्पेत। अयन्तु अप्रामाणिक एव। "गतानु-गतिको लोको न लोकस्तत्त्वचिन्तक" इति तालतलबन्धनन्यायेन प्रवर्त्तते—इत्याह—गतानुगतिक इति।—*Op. cit.*, p. 88 (edited by MM. Gopinath Kaviraj, 1922).

V. सिद्धरसन्याय—सिद्धरस is the Sanskrit equivalent for *alchemy*. The maxim occurs in Jayaratha's विमर्शिनी on Rūyyaka's अलंकारसर्वस्व. The passage is here quoted: तस्मादभिधा-तात्पर्य-लक्षणाव्यतिरिक्तश्चतुर्थकक्षानिक्षिप्तो व्यङ्ग्यनिष्ठो व्यञ्जनाव्यापारोऽभिहितान्वयवादिना अवश्याभ्युपगन्तव्यः। अन्विताभिधानवादिनाऽपि "यत्परः शब्दः स शब्दार्थः" इति शरवदभिधाव्यापारमेव दीर्घदीर्घमिच्छताऽपि "नैमित्तिकार्थानुसारेण निमित्तानि कल्प्यन्ते"—इति निमित्तपरिकल्पनेऽपि समग्रैवेयं प्रक्रियाऽनुसरणीयैव—इत्युभयथाऽपि सिद्ध एव व्यञ्जनव्यापारः। एतच्च गहनगहनमिति मनागेव सिद्धरसन्यायेन इहोक्तम्।—*Op. cit.*, p. 10 (*Nirnaya Sagar Press Edn.*, 1893).

VI. सुगन्धिबन्धूकबोधन्याय—This *nyāya* too occurs in Jayaratha's विमर्शिनी under the section dealing with the figure of speech संसृष्टि. संसृष्टि or *Commixture* can arise through the juxtaposition of two or more independent *alaṃkāras*—pertaining to शब्द or अर्थ or both. Now a question might arise: How can there be a juxtaposition of two *alaṃkāras*—one belonging to शब्द and the other to अर्थ—inasmuch as they cannot be simultaneously the objects of the self-same cognitions? Jayaratha answers that it is possible on the analogy of the सुगन्धिबन्धूकबोधन्याय. The passage in which it occurs runs as follows: ननु समग्रताप्रत्यये चिरज्ञाने वा स्याद्यादीनां चैकेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वेन समानजातीयानामेकबुद्ध्यधिरूढत्वात् उपपद्यत एव सामग्र्यादेरेकस्य वस्तुनोऽवगमः। इह तु भिन्नेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वेन भिन्नजातीययोः शब्दार्थयोरेक-बुद्ध्यधिरूढत्वाभावात् तदलंकाराणां युगपत् प्रतीतिरेव नास्तीति कथम् एकस्य संसर्गादेर्वस्तुनोऽवभासो यस्यापि संसृष्ट्याद्यलंकारान्तरव्यपदेशार्हत्वं स्यात्? अत्रोच्यते—श्रोत्रकरणत्वात् शब्दावगमस्य एकेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् तदलंकारयोः सजातीयत्वे तावदविवादः। अतएव च तयोरेकबुद्ध्यधिरोहात् युगपत्प्रतीतेः संसर्गावगमः। सति च संशये चारुतातिशयोपसर्जन इत्यत्र संसृष्ट्याद्यलंकारत्वम्। एवमर्थावगमस्यापि शब्दकरणत्वात् समान-

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जातीययोः संसृष्टत्वेन प्रतीयमानयोरलंकारयोरपि ज्ञेयम्। शब्दार्थयोः पुनरुपायभेदेऽपि तदलंकाराणां सुगन्धिबन्धूकबोधन्यायेन मानसबोधन्यायेन मानसज्ञानविषयत्वात् युगपदवभासः सिध्यति इति लौकिकालंकारवदेव शब्दार्थोभयालंकाराणां संसर्गे लब्धपरभागतयाऽवभासत एव चारुत्वान्तरमिति न्यायप्राप्तमेव संसृष्ट्याद्यलंकारत्वम्॥—*Op. cit.*, p. 194. The *nyāya* possibly signifies the following idea: When we perceive from a distance a *bandhūka*-flower we are used to say—'We *see* the fragrant flower.' But the quality of fragrance cannot be *seen*, it can be *smelt* only, though the flower itself is certainly perceived with eyes. Nonetheless, the cognition is a unitary and indivisible *visual perception*. The '*fragrance*' too is visually perceived through ज्ञानलक्षणसन्निकर्ष according to the Naiyāyikas. Thus the *nyāya* conveys the same idea as the expression—"सुगन्धि चन्दनं पश्यामि", which is the patent illustration of ज्ञानलक्षणसन्निकर्ष with the Naiyāyikas. Scholars are to judge if this interpretation fits in with the topic under discussion.

VII. चन्द्रगोमितन्त्रकारन्याय—This maxim has been employed by Medhātithi in his *Bhāṣya* on *Manu*, V. 111—"तैजसानां मणीनाञ्च सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च। भस्मनाऽद्भिर्मृदा चैव शुद्धिरुक्ता मनीषिभिः॥" The passage reads as follows: "....यद्यप्यन्यद् अस्पृश्यं पुरुषस्य पतितचाण्डालादि तथा लशुनपलाण्डु-सुरा-मांसादि तदपि द्रव्याणाम् उपघातकम्। तत्र कस्मिन् उपघाते का शुद्धिरिति स्मृत्यन्तर-समाचारौ अन्वेषणीयौ। उक्तश्च विशेषो हारीतापस्तम्ब-पराशरमुनिभिः। तानि तु वचनानि अस्माभिरिह सर्वाणि न परिवर्त्तितानि। लेखकविशेषप्रसङ्गात्, चन्द्रगोमितन्त्रकारवत्॥"—Is it a reference to the grammarian Candragomin whose *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* is nothing but a compilation based on older grammatical systems like *Pāṇini*, *Śākaṭāyana*, *Aindra*, etc.?

VIII. व्याघ्रीपोतापहारन्याय—This maxim occurs in a citation in Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā* on Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha*—a work on Buddhist Philosophy. We quote here the following extract from the *Pañjikā*: यद्येवं यदि पुद्गलो नास्त्येव कस्माद् भगवता "स जीवस्तच्छरीरम्, अन्यो जीवोऽन्यच्छरीरम्" इति दृष्टेनोक्तमव्याकृतमेतदिति, याकृतावास्त्वेवेति कस्मान्नोक्तम् इत्याह—"आगमार्थविरोधे तु" इत्यादि।

आगमार्थविरोधे तु पराक्रान्तं महात्मभिः।
नास्तिक्यप्रतिषेधाय चित्रा वाचो दयावतः॥—तत्त्वसंग्रहकारिका २४८।

यदि हि पुद्गलो धर्मी सिद्धो भवेत् तदा तस्य तत्त्वान्यत्वादिधर्मोऽव्याकृतमर्हेत्। यावता स एव धर्मी न सिद्धस्तत्कथमसतस्तस्य धर्मो निर्दिश्येत। न हि असतः खरविषाणादे-स्तीक्ष्णतादि संभवति येनासौ व्याक्रियते। अतः प्रज्ञप्तिसत्त्वमेव ख्यापयन् पुद्गलस्य अव्याकृतमेतदिति अभावाभिनिवेशपरिहारार्थं शून्यतादेशनायाम् अभव्यविनेयजनाशयापेक्षया नास्तीत्येव नोक्तम्। यचोक्तम्—"दंष्ट्रिदंष्ट्रावभेदं च भंगं चावेक्ष्य कर्मणाम्। देशयन्ति जिना धर्मं व्याघ्रीपोतापहारवत्॥"—इत्येवमाचार्यवसुबन्धुप्रभृतिभिः कोश-परमार्थसप्ततिकादिषु अभिप्रायप्रकाशनात् पराक्रान्तम्, अतस्त एवावगन्तव्यम्। इह तु अतिग्रहविस्तरभिया न लिख्यत इति भावः॥—*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 129 (*Gaekwad Oriental Series*). The maxim refers to the peculiar practice of a tigress as she carries her sleeping whelp from one place to another holding it between her sharp claws without causing the least hurt thereby. In the extant *Pāṇinīya Śikṣā*, too, this maxim is found to be employed. Compare: व्याघ्री यथा हरेत् पुत्रान् दंष्ट्राभ्यां न च पीडयेत्। भीता पतनभेदाभ्यां तद्वद्वर्णान् प्रयोजयेत्॥—*Kārikā*. 25. I have been able to trace the maxim in the *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan*, under the section dealing with राजधर्म. Compare: मधुदोहं दुहेद् राष्ट्रं भ्रमरा इव पादपम्। वत्सापेक्षी दुहेच्चैव स्तनांश्च न विकृष्येत्॥ जलौकावत् पिबेद्राष्ट्रं मृदुनैव नराधिपः। व्याघ्रीव च हरेत् पुत्रान् सन्दशेत् न च पीडयेत्॥—*Op. cit.*, Chap. 88, vv. 4-5 (*Bangabasi Edition*, Calcutta).

IX. गर्दभीदोहनन्याय—'*Milking a she-ass*'. The *nyāya* probably signifies '*a fruitless endeavour*', and thus has a parallel in the maxim—काकदन्तपरीक्षान्याय, so frequently met with. It occurs in the *Locana* commentary of Abhinavagupta on

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Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*, I. The text is quoted below: "....यत् तु विवरणकृत्—दीपकस्य सर्वत्रोपमान्वयो नास्तीति बहुनोदाहरणप्रपञ्चेन विचारितवांस्तदनुपयोगि निःसार सुप्रतिक्षेपञ्च।

मदो जनयति प्रीतिं साऽनन्दं मानभञ्जनम्।

स प्रियासङ्गमोत्कण्ठां साऽसह्यां मनसः शुचम्॥—इति।

अत्रापि उत्तरोत्तरजन्यत्वेऽपि उपमानोपमेयभावस्य सुकल्पत्वात्। न हि क्रमिकाणां नोपमानोपमेयभावः। तथाहि—

राम इव दशरथोऽभूत् दशरथ इव रघु-रजोऽपि रघुसदृशः।

अज इव दिलीपवंश-स्त्रिवं रामस्य कीर्त्तिरियम्॥—इति न न भवति। तस्मात् क्रमिकत्वं समं वा प्राकरणिकत्वमुपमां निरुणद्धीति कोऽयं वाम इत्यलं गर्दभीदोहानुवर्त्तनेन॥—*Op. cit.*, pp. 120-21 (*Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series Edn.*).

X. मणिप्रवालन्याय—Sāyaṇa makes use of this maxim in his commentary on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, XXX. 2: "या षट्त्रिंशदक्षरा सतोबृहती वालखिल्यसूक्तेषु प्रथमा बृहती द्वितीया सतोबृहती तृतीया बृहती चतुर्थी सतोबृहतीत्येवं मणिप्रवालन्यायेन एकान्तरिताः पठितास्तत्र प्रथमाद्ययुजो बृहत्यो द्वितीयया चतुर्थ्यादियुजः सतोबृहत्यः।"—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 769 (*Ānandāśram Edition*, Poona). Does it refer to the process of stringing together gems of different types in the form of a necklace in which they are arranged alternately?

XI. राजनिकटव्यवस्थापितानतायिद्वयन्याय—This maxim which can be rendered in English as '*the maxim of two adversaries seated together near the king's throne*' is found in Abhinavagupta's *Locana*. It is employed to illustrate how two mutually antagonistic emotions like शृङ्गार and करुण, normally in conflict, can be reconciled if they are subordinated to a third emotion, which is principal to each of them. Compare: "....क्रीडाङ्गत्वेन ह्यत्र विरुद्धानामर्थानामभिधानम् इति राजनिकट-व्यवस्थितानतायिद्वयन्यायेन विरुद्धानामपि अन्यसुखप्रेक्षितापरतन्त्रीकृतानां औतेन क्रमेण स्वात्मपरामर्शेऽपि अविश्राम्यताम् का कथा परस्परूपचिन्तायां येन विरोधः स्यात्।"—*Op. cit.*, p. 371. Govinda, too, in his *Pradīpa* commentary makes use of this maxim: अत्र चाटुके या राजविषया रतिस्तत्र करुणशृङ्गारौ उभावपि साक्षादङ्गमिति तन्निर्वाहणैकव्याकुलयोस्तयोरेव राजकार्य्योद्यतयोरिव भटयोः सहजतो विरोधोऽपि न दोषाय।—*Op. cit.*, p. 272 (*N.S.P. Edn.*).

XII. आपाततः क्रीडया कपालं विपाट्य पुनः सन्धानायौषधनिर्लेपः—This interesting maxim has been used by Caṇḍīdāsa in his gloss on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* text: द्विमपयः-शुक्लाद्याश्रयेषु परमार्थतो भिन्नेषु शुक्लादिषु यद्वर्णेन शुक्लः शुक्ल इत्याद्यभिन्नाभिधानप्रत्ययोत्पत्तिस्तत् शुक्लत्वादि सामान्यम् on which he comments as follows: "....एतेन गुणक्रियेत्यादिवृत्तेरपि जातिरेवेति पक्षनिक्षेपविक्षिप्तः श्रीधरसान्निध्यदृष्टिकोऽपि समपास्तो बोद्धव्यः। गुणादिषु कालपनिकभेदवत्सु अकाल्पनिकमेव सामान्यमिति हि तस्य परं रहस्यम्। तच्च जातिवादिभि-र्नानुमतम्। परमार्थतो भिन्नेषु इति वदता ग्रन्थ-कृतैवापास्तं च। न चाभिन्नेषु इति नञ्निक्षेपो युक्तः, तद्वान् इत्युत्तरग्रन्थाननुगुणत्वात्। को हि नाम अनुन्मत्त एकस्मिन् वस्तुनि वस्तुवृत्त्यैव उपपद्यमानाम् एकाभिधानप्रत्ययोत्पत्तिमनादृत्य प्रमाणीकृतमिथ्याभेदः पुनस्तदुपपत्त्यर्थम् एकार्थमुपाधिकमनुसरेत्—इत्यापाततः क्रीडया कपालं विपाट्य पुनः सन्धानायौषधनिर्लेपः॥"—*Op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

XIII. यष्टिलग्नन्याय—This too is found in Caṇḍīdāsa's commentary. The passage in which it occurs runs as follows: ननु कथं करुणो रसः, तस्य शोकमयत्वात्, रसस्य च सान्द्रानन्दमयत्वात्। सत्यं, महाभारतादौ प्राक् पर्वाद्यनुभवे (?) तावदस्ति स्तनमर्दन-गाढालिङ्गनादौ सुरताङ्ग इव सूक्ष्मपीडानुवेधः। पश्चात् सान्द्रतरानन्दस्यमत्कारः स्वसंवित्तिसाक्षिकः। ततश्च कुतः करुणस्य न रसत्वम्? अग्रिचिन्तास्तु तत्प्रतिबद्धे भूयोभूयः स्वहृदयप्रवृत्ते-र्दुःखैकमयत्वे सत्यन्यथानुपपत्त्या यष्टिलग्नवत् अकामेनापि अङ्गीकार्य्याः।—*Op. cit.*, p. 124. The meaning is obscure.

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XIV. पुण्ड्रेक्षुभक्षणाद् वेतनवित्तलाभन्याय—The maxim is to be found in an extract from the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi*, a gloss on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* by Bhaṭṭagopāla, as cited in the commentary *Kāmadhuma* on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti*. Compare: " . . . . शास्त्रकाव्ययोरियान् विशेषो यत् प्रभुसम्मिततया दुर्लभोऽनुप्रवेशः शास्त्रे, कान्तासम्मिततया सुलभोऽनुप्रवेशः काव्य-इति।" यदाहः— "कटुकौषधवत् शास्त्रमविद्याव्याधिनाशनम्। आह्लाद्यमृतवत् काव्यमविवेकगदापहम्" इति। साहित्यचूडामणावप्युक्तम्— "तदिदं पुण्ड्रेक्षुभक्षणाद् वेतनवित्तलाभो यत् काव्यश्रवणाद् व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धिरिति"॥[1]—*Op. cit.*, p. 6 (*Benares Sanskrit Series Edition*). The *nyāya* is obscure. "पुण्ड्रेक्षु", however, is a 'particular species of sugarcane'.[2]

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA.

PADAKĀRA—A FORGOTTEN GRAMMARIAN?

Sanskrit grammatical tradition is unanimous as to the Trinitarian authority in respect of the Pāninean system.[3] Pāṇini—the eponymous Sūtrakāra, Kātyāyana—the Vārttikakāra, and Patañjali—the Bhāṣyakāra, are regarded as constituting the highest court of appeal with regard to the validity of any grammatical form.[4] But it seems that tradition has somewhat mysteriously forgotten another great authority of the Pāninean school—the fourth of the above big three. He is the Padakāra, whose real name has not been recorded in any grammatical treatise as far as my knowledge goes. The references to this forgotten author that I have been able to trace, all cite him as Padakāra. It is probable that *Pada°* was the name, or part thereof, of the treatise of which he was the author.

The earliest reference, perhaps, to this treatise, viz. *Pada*, is to be traced in a verse of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where it is mentioned side by side with other grammatical works of repute like the *Vṛtti*—probably the one composed by Kuṇi, and the *Saṁgraha* of Vyāḍi—the prototype of the extant *Mahābhāṣya*.[5]

The next positive reference to Padakāra, as one of the highest grammatical authorities, and the *Pada* as an independent treatise on grammar is traceable in the following two verses of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, the earliest systematic treatise on Sanskrit poetics:

sūtrārambhasam padāvarttam pārāyaṇa-rasātalam /
dhātūṇādigaṇagrāham dhyānagrahabṛhatphalam //—VI. 1.

sūtrakṛt-padakāre'ṣṭa-prayogād yo'nyathā bhavet /
tam āpta-śrāvakā'siddheḥ śabdahīnaṃ vidur yathā //—IV. 22.[6]

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[1] It is actually found in the edition of the *Sāhityacūḍāmaṇi* as published in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, Pt. I, p. 11.

[2] Comp. "अनुभवसिद्धौ तावत् पुण्ड्रकादीक्षुरसेषु इव ध्वनिष्वपि हृद्यत्वातिशयानुशयौ"—Govinda's *Pradīpa*, p. 131. Also—"क्षण्णेक्षूणां पुण्ड्रकाणाञ्च गर्भे माधुर्य्यस्त्री-र्जायते चाप्यपूर्वा"—Hemcandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 132 (*N.S.P. Edn.*).

[3] Cf. trimuni vyākaraṇam. *Vide* also: vākyakāram Vararucim bhāṣyakāram Patañjalim/ Pāṇinim sūtrakārañ ca praṇato'smi munitrayam/

[4] nahi Bhāṣyakāra-Vārttikakārābhyām abhiyuktatarah kaścid asti.—Kaiyyata in his *Pradīpa* on the *Bhāṣya* on P. IV. 2. 100. *Vide* NSP. Edition, Vol. IV, p. 186.

[5] sasūtravṛttyarthapadam/sasangraham siddhyati vai kapīndrah—*Uttarakāṇḍa*, LXI. 55.

[6] It is curious to note that T. V. Naganatha Shastry, the translator and annotator of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, construes *Padakāra* as being a reference to the author of the *Padapāṭha*—most probably the celebrated Śākalya. But the interpretation is fanciful, as Śākalya—the *Padakāra*—cannot be regarded as a grammarian in the strictest sense of the term. *Vide*: na lakṣaṇena padakārā anuvarttyāh, padakārair nāma lakṣaṇam anuvarttyam.—*Mahābhāṣya*.

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It is probable that a similar reference to the self-same Padakāra and his work is covertly hinted at by means of *double entendre* in the oft-quoted stanza of the *Śiśupālavadha*:

anutsūtra-padanyāsā sadvṛttiḥ sannibandhanā /
Śabdavidyeva no bhāti rājanītir apaspaśā //—II. 112.

though Mallinātha fails to grasp the hint due to the obvious loss of tradition and consequently falls upon a tortuous course of interpretation.[1]

Vamana-Jayāditya in their *Kāśikāvṛtti* on P. VIII. 2. 58 refer to one Padaśeṣakāra.[2] Whether this Padaśeṣakāra is identical with the Padakāra noted above is a dubious question. Most probably, *Padaśeṣa* was in the nature of an appendix to the original treatise, viz. the *Pada*, of the above-mentioned Padakāra.

A still more positive reference to the Padakāra is to be found in Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on Amara's *Lexicon*, where he teaches the etymology of the term *vāvadūka*. The form cannot be derived strictly according to Pāṇini's aphorism, for in P. III. 2. 166 Pāṇini has enjoined the suffix *ūka* only in the case of three radical stems, viz. √*yaj-*, √*jap-* and √*daś-*, when the frequentative suffix *-yaṅ* has been elided thereafter. He has not mentioned √*vad-* in that aphorism. So how can the form *vāvadūka* be grammatically correct? As a solution of this question Kṣīrasvāmin quotes an *iṣṭi* of the Padakāra wherein the suffix *ūka* is specially taught in the case of the radical stem √*vad-* after the elision of the frequentative suffix.[3]

The last reference to Padakāra that I have been able to trace is found in Skandasvāmin's commentary on Yāska's *Nirukta* I. 3, where in connection with the discussion about the independent significance of prepositional particles like *pra-*, *parā-*, etc. the commentator quotes the view of Padakāra in corroboration of the view of Gārgya who upholds the significance of prepositions even though used independently of any verbal form.[4]

The cumulative evidence of all these citations and references go to prove the existence of a Padakāra—a great authority on the Pāṇinean system but now absolutely forgotten due to a break in the continuity of the older tradition.

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[1] anyatra/ anutsūtrapadanyāsā anutsūtraksarā iṣṭyupasaṃkhyānanairapekṣyeṇa sūtrākṣarair eva sarvārthapratipadako nyāso vṛtti-vyākhyāna-granthaviśeṣo yeṣām sā tathoktā.—*loc. cit.*

[2] Cp. gamer iṭ parasmāipadeṣu: . . . . *Padaśeṣakārasya* punar idam darśanam . . . . gamyupalakṣaṇārthaṃ parasmaipadagrahaṇam/parasmai-padesu yo gamir upalaksitastasmat sakārāder ārdhadhātukasya iḍ bhavati/tanmatena saṃjigaṃsitā adhijigaṃsitā vyākaraṇasya-ityeva bhavitavyam. Haradatta in his *Padamañjarī* thereon remarks: *Padaśeṣo* nāma granthaviśeṣaḥ.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 777.

[3] *Vide*: vāvadyate/ tacchīlo vāvadūkaḥ/ 'yaja-japa . . . ' (P. III. 2. 166)—ityatra vader upadeśaḥ kāryaḥ—iti Padakāravākyād ūkaḥ/—Kṣīrasvāmin on *Amarakośa*, III. 1. 35. It should be noted that this view of Padakāra has not been referred to either in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* or in the *Padamañjarī*. Thus, the possibility that Kṣirasvāmin might be quoting from Haradatta's *Padamañjarī* and that it is the latter that is referred to as the *Pada* in an abbreviated way is ruled out *ipso facto*. We should note here *en passant* that Haradatta was the author of a larger work called *Mahāpadamañjarī*, besides the one already extant which is but an abridgement of the former as is evident from a comparison of the names. Cf. Bhāṣya-Vārttikavirodhastu *Mahāpadamañjaryām* asmābhiḥ prapañcitaḥ.—*Padamañjarī* on P. I. 1. 20, Vol. I, p. 72.

[4] Cf.: ' . . . . na tvetāvatā'narthakyam eva adhyavasātum yuktam/ apica yatra kevalādapi arthapratītir dṛśyate tatra kevalasyāpi prayogaḥ/ "yad udvato nivato yāsi" "niṣkāuśāmbir"-iti/ ānarthakye hi sati taddhita-samāsāu na syātam/ abhyupagamyaitat sāmarthyam *Padakāra* āha—"upasargāś ca punar evam-ātmakāḥ yatra kriyāvācī śabdaḥ prayujyate tatra kriyā-viśeṣam āhuḥ/ yatra tu na prayujyate tatra sasādhanāṃ kriyām āhuḥ"—iti ato Vaiyākaraṇā api pārtha-garthyaṃ naiva nihnuvate'.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 35 (edited by L. Sarup). The passage ascribed to Padakāra in the above text is found *verbatim* in Haradatta's *Padamañjarī* on P. V. 1 118: 'upasargāḥ punar evamātmakāḥ yad uta śrutāyāṃ kriyāyāṃ tam eva viśiṃṣanti-yathā, āgacchatīti/ yatra tu na śrūyate tatra kriyāviśiṣṭaṃ sādhanam āhuḥ—niṣkāuśambiḥ-iti.'—Vol. II, p. 271. Yet it is *prima facie* impossible that Skandasvāmin should be citing from Haradatta's *Padamañjarī*, as the former preceded the latter by several centuries.

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A NOTE ON THE *SĀRATTHAPPAKĀSINĪ*

The *Sāratthappakāsinī* is a commentary on the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* of the Sutta Piṭaka written by Buddhaghosa, a celebrated commentator of the Theravāda Buddhism, who lived in the fifth century A.D., at the request of a thera named Jotipāla. The Pali Text Society of England founded by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids has published this work in three volumes under the capable editorship of F. L. Woodward. The first volume deals with the commentary on the *Sagāthavagga*. The second volume contains meanings and explanations of the contents of the *Nidānavagga, Khandhavagga* and *Saḷāyatanavagga*. The third volume gives a lucid explanation of the contents of the *Saḷāyatanavagga* and *Mahāvagga*. The P.T.S. edition contains a very exhaustive and useful index. There are palm-leaf MSS. and incomplete Sinhalese editions of this important commentary.[1] This book can be had in print also in Burma. This work is rich in historical and geographical information and throws a flood of light on the social, political, moral, ethical and religious history of India. Aṅga and Magadha are described as having plenty of food.[2] Jetavana was the forest of Prince Jeta who made, improved and looked after it. In it a hermitage was built by Anāthapiṇḍika, a householder, at a cost of fifty-four *koṭis* of wealth, which was made a gift to the congregation of bhikkhus headed by the Blessed One.[3] Sāvatthī was the place where Buddha used to go on alms and Jetavana was the place where he lived.[4] As regards Tapodārāma,[5] the *ārāma* was so called because it had a lake the water of which was hot. At the foot of the Vebhāra hill there was an abode of the *nāgas* which looked like a *devaloka* for its splendour. In the playground of the *nāgas* there was a big lake. According to Buddhaghosa, there were two *lohakumbhī hells* round Rājagaha and as the river flowed through these hells, the water became hot. Tapoda is the name of the stream which flowed into and fed the Tapoda lake. Buddhaghosa explains the Pāli Giribbaja as meaning 'an enclosure of hills' (II, 159). Giribbaja or Girivraja may, therefore, be taken to simply mean a 'hill-girt city'. Buddhaghosa speaks of *antonagara* and *bahinagara*, 'the inner city' and 'outer city' of Rājagṛha, each of which contained a large population, nine crores of people, as he estimated (I, 313). The figure given is obviously an exaggerated one.

Sītavana was the name of a *susānavana* or cemetery grove.[6] The site was used for a *sivathikā* or charnel field where the dead bodies were thrown or left to undergo a natural process of decay. Nearby was the Sappasaṇḍikappabhāra, a snake-hood-like declivity of the neighbouring rock.[7]

The deer-park at Maddakucchī was an important site in or about Rājagṛha. Buddhaghosa takes Maddakucchī to be the actual name of the park where the antelopes were allowed to live freely, without fear, and offers the following fanciful explanation for the origin of the name. The park came to acquire the name Maddakucchī or 'Rubbed-belly' from the circumstance that here Bimbisāra's queen, mother of Ajātasattu, tried to cause abortion with a view to killing the inimical child in the womb by getting her belly rubbed (I, 177). Maddakucchī must have been very close to Gijjhakūṭa, otherwise there is no reason why the bhikkhus should think of carrying the master in a stretcher to it after he had got hurt by a piece of stone.[8] Paṭibhāṇakūṭa was only a boundary rock which looked like a large mountain. The Pali scholiast may be so far right when he suggests that the *kūṭa* marked a boundary, but he has altogether missed the significance of its name Paṭibhāṇa (the echoing). No other meaning can be reasonably made out of the word *Paṭibhāṇa*.[9] Indakūṭa hill which is in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha derived its name

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1 B. C. Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, II, 439. 2 *Sāratthappakāsinī* (P.T.S.), I, 15.
3 *Ibid.*, I, 13. 4 *Ibid.*, I, 13. 5 *Ibid.*, I, 38.
6 *S.P.*, Siamese edn., III, 17: *Sītavane ti evaṃ nāmake susānavane.*
7 *Ibid.*, III, 17: *Sappasaṇḍikappabhāre ti sappāphaṇa-sadisatāya evamladdhanāme pabbhāre.*
8 I, 78: *te Tathāgataṃ mañcasivikāya maddakucchiṃ nayiṃsu.*
9 Siamese edn., III, 413: *Paṭibhāṇa-Kūṭo ti eko mahanto pabbatasadiso mariyādāpāsāṇo.*

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from the Yakkha or the Yakkha derived his name from the hill.[1] The Sanskrit *'Indraka'* is an architectural term, meaning 'a council hall'. It might be that the abode of the yakkha concerned was just a hall-like stone structure marked by the presence of a sacred tree. Sappinī occurs as the name of a river or rivulet in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha. It, as its name implies, was a stream with a winding course, Buddha used to sojourn occasionally on its bank.[2] A Buddhist establishment was founded at Ekanālā in Dakkhiṇagiri. Ekanālā was a brahmin village in Dakkhiṇagiri, an important locality which lay to the south of the hills of Rājagaha.[3] Buddhaghosa points out that the period covered by the evolution of invertebrates is much longer than that of the evolution of vertebrates. The history of the Vepulla mountain is to be traced from an intermediate period when the vertebrates proper had not appeared in this earth (II, 158). Mahāvana was a natural forest, the trees of which grew up naturally and they were not planted. This big forest stretched in a line with the Himalayas without any break (I, p. 67). Aggāḷava cetiya was the chief shrine of Āḷavi. Before the advent of the Buddha, the Aggāḷava and Gotamaka shrines were inhabited by the yakkhas and nāgas. When the Buddha was born they were driven out by men who built many monasteries there (I, p. 268). The Mandākinī pond lay in the Chaddantavana and was fifty yojanas in extent. The half of this pond contained transparent water and the water of the other half was waist deep and was full of white lotuses (I, pp. 280ff). Gayā has been described as a village (I, p. 302). Gaṅgā and Yamunā are referred to as great rivers (II, p. 54). The city of Suṃsumāragiri in the territory of the Bhaggas was so named because when it was being built, an alligator made a sound and after the voice of the alligator the city got its name (II, p. 249). Badarikārāma stood at a distance of one *gāvuta*[4] from the Gositārāma (II, p. 316). The mango-grove of Ambapālī, a famous courtesan of Vaiśālī, contained a monastery built by Ambapālī who dedicated it to the Buddha whose doctrine she adopted when she heard the Master preaching it (III, p. 177). In the city of Nālandā there was a mango-grove called *Pāvārika-ambavana*. A merchant who was the owner of this grove became devoted to the Buddha when he heard the latter preaching Dhamma. The mango-grove was handed over to the Buddha for the use of the *saṅgha* (III, p. 207). Añjanavana was so called because the flowers of the garden were collyrium-coloured (III, p. 247). The way to *upavattana*, the sāla grove of the Mallas, lay on the other side of the river Hiraññavati (I, p. 222). The people of Ayujjhanagara built for the Buddha a *vihāra* in a spot surrounded by a forest near the curve of the river Sarajū (II, 233-4). Sukarakhata was a cave. It was made during the time of Kassapa Buddha. In course of time it was buried in the earth. A pig dug the earth near it. After a shower of rain the earth was washed out and the cave became exposed. A forester (*vanacaraka*) saw it and removed the earth round it. He cleaned the cave, fenced it, built its doors and windows and furnished it with all the requisites. He then handed it over to the Buddha for his residence (III, p. 249). The Salaḷāgāra hermitage was so named because it was full of sweet scented salaḷa trees. According to the commentator it got its name from the fact that salaḷa tree stood at its gate (III, p. 263). The city of Vaiśālī was so named because it grew big in size by the walls which went round the city thrice.[5] The Rajakārāma monastery was so called because it was built by the king Pasenadi of Kosala. The heretics being jealous of the popularity of Buddha intended to build a monastery for themselves near the Jetavana. They made a present of a hundred thousand Kahāpaṇas to Pasenadi so that he might not raise any objection. When Buddha learnt of the evil intention of the heretics because of the great uproar they made while preparing the preliminaries of the building, he sent Ānanda to Pasenadi to have the construction stopped. But

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[1] I, 300: *Indakassa 'ti Indakūṭanivāsino yakkhassa yakkhato hi kūṭena kūṭato ca yakkhena nāmam laddham.*

[2] I, 219: *Sappinī-nāmikāya nadiyā tīre.*

[3] I, 242: *Dakkhiṇagirimiva ti Rājagahaṃ parivāretva ṭhitassa girino dakkhiṇabhāge janapado atthi. Tasmim janapade, tattha vihārassāpi tad eva naman . . . Ekanālā ti tassa gāmassa nāmam.*

[4] A little less than two miles.

[5] *S.P.*, III, p. 265.

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Pasenadi refused to see Ānanda or even Sāriputta or Moggallāna as he was already bribed by the heretics. Thereupon the Buddha with a large number of bhikkhus went to Pasenadi who received him and the monks very cordially entertained them to a meal. At the end of the meal Buddha gave a discourse on the evil of bribery and of creating an opportunity for the virtuous people to quarrel among themselves. Listening to the discourse Pasenadi filled with remorse had the heretics expelled from that place and built a monastery for his own use at the spot where the heretics intended to build one for themselves and with the same materials which the latter had collected.[1] Isipatana was so called because the sages on their way through the air got down here or started from this place. On their aerial journey, on the Gandhamādanapabbata, paccekabuddhas having spent seven days in contemplation bathed in the Anotatta lake and came to human habitations through the air.[2]

Mallikā was the chief queen of Udena of Kosambī. She was the daughter of a poor garland-maker. One day while returning home after purchasing a cake from a shop she found the Blessed One going on alms surrounded by the bhikkhus. She instead of taking the cake offered it to the Master who accepted it. When Ānanda asked him about the merit of this gift, Buddha replied that she would be the chief queen of Kosala on that very day. On that day Udena being defeated by his nephew Ajātasattu at Kāsīgāma, on his way back to Kosala stopped in front of the shop of Mallikā's father waiting for the army. Mallikā did her service. The king being pleased with her service took her to the royal palace and made her the chief queen.[3]

Migāramātā was born as the daughter of a banker named Dhanañjaya, son of Meṇḍaka of the Bhaddiya city. She was named Visākhā. She was married to Puṇṇavaḍḍhana, the son of a Sāvatthian banker named Migara who used to call his daughter-in-law as mother. So she was named Migāramātā (p. 148).

Kisāgotamī.—Her name was Gotami. As she was very lean and thin she was known as Kisa. It is said that once in Sāvatthī treasure amounting to 80 koṭis belonging to a merchant appeared to have turned into a charcoal. The owner thinking that certainly there must be a virtuous man present here by whose virtue this treasure would get back its original appearance, filled the jars with those pieces of charcoal, and kept them in a shop. He took his seat by their side. A poor girl with a piece of half *māsaka* came to the shop to bring fuel. Seeing gold in the jars she asked him, 'When you have got so much treasure in the shop, how much do you possess in your house?' The merchant seeing gold in the jars was astonished and thought that she must be a virtuous one. Her very presence was the cause of turning the charcoal into gold. He then requested the father of the girl to give her in marriage to his son. His request was complied with.[4]

Akkosaka Bhāradvāja.—He was so called by the saṅgītikāras as he is said to have reviled the Tathāgata with 500 verses.[5]

Sundarika Bhāradvāja.—Bhāradvāja was called Sundarika as he is said to have made fire oblation (aggi-juhaṇa) on the bank of the river Sundarikā.[6]

Vaṅgīsa.—This thera, in his previous birth, during the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, seeing an intelligent disciple, gave him some charities and after fulfilling the *pāramitas* (perfections) for hundred thousand kalpas was born at the time of Buddha Gautama as the son of a female wanderer. He went round the whole of Jambudvīpa with the branch of a jack fruit tree in his hand. He had many theories of his own. He in the course of his wanderings with a retinue of 500 disciples reached Sāvatthī. He then came to the Blessed One with his disciples. The Lord knew about his powers through his supernatural vision, gave him the skull of an arahant and asked him the whereabouts of its owner. But Vaṅgīsa could not make anything out of this skull and joined the order to learn the secret from the Master, who pointed out to him the 32 processes of meditation (*Kammaṭṭhānas*), by practising which he attained arahantship.[7]

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[1] *S.P.*, III, p. 283. [2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 296. [3] I, p. 140. [4] I, p. 190.
[5] I, p. 229. [6] I, p. 233. [7] I, pp. 285-86.

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The Śākyas and the Koliyas used to draw water from the river Rohiṇī which formed the boundary between their territories. Once in the month of Jaiṣṭha when the crop was withering, the cultivators of the two territories met together. Thereupon the Koliyas said, 'If both of us use the water of this river, it will not serve the purpose of either of us. So you better allow us to use this water'. At this the Śākyas retorted, 'You shall have your treasuries filled and the granaries full by using this water. We shall have to go to your doors for grains with bags in the hands and money in the pockets. No, we shall not be able to do that.' The Koliyas disagreed and a quarrel ensued. The Koliyan cultivators said, 'You go away with your own men. You, of late, carried on sexual intercourse with your own sisters like dogs and jackals.' The Śākyas replied, 'You go away with your diseased children. You lived on a jujube tree (*Kolarukkha*) like helpless and wretched animals.' In this way the quarrel continued.[1] A rich householder of Rājagaha had a seven-storied house fitted with gates.[2] The commentator points out that *Saṅthāgāra* is a hall where any art or craft is learnt and taught.[3]

The Brahmalokas which are the abodes of the anāgāmis and the Arahats (Khīnāsavas) are designated as pure residences.[4] Restraint of the senses, *dhutaṅga* practices, patience and self-torment—all these are involved in the practices of morality.[5] Saddhamma is explained in the commentary as the term which includes the five *sīlas*, ten *sīlas* and four objects of recollection or mindfulness.[6]

As regards the heretical teachers, Pūraṇa was his name and Kassapa was the *gotta* to which he belonged. Mokkhali was called Gosāla as he was born in a cow-shed. Pakudha belonged to the lineage of Kātyāyana. Ajita was called Kesakambala as he used to wear blankets made of fur.[7]

There was a class of Brahmin teachers called Saṅkhyāpāsaṇḍa brāhmaṇas who roamed about in the country instructing the masses in the law of *karma* by means of pictures of happy life in heavens and miserable life in hells that were labelled with appropriate inscriptions.[8]

Māra was called *pāpimā* or the sinful one because he engaged himself in committing sins and led others to adopt the sinful path. He had many other names such as *kaṇha* (the black one), *adhipati* (the ruler), *vasavattī* (the domineering), *antaka* (the bringer of an end), *namuci*, and *pamattabandhu* (friend of the slothful).[9]

There are various kinds of *loka* (world): (1) the world of sensory aggregates (*khandhaloka*), (2) the world of elements (*dhātuloka*), (3) the world of the sphere of perception (*āyatana loka*), (4) the world of prosperity and splendour (*sampattibhava loka*), and (5) the world of failures and misfortunes (*vipattibhava loka*).

One world	: all beings live on food.
Two worlds	: mind and matter (*nāma* and *rūpa*).
Three worlds	: threefold feeling (*tisso vedanā*).
Four worlds	: four kinds of nutriments (*cattāro āhārā*).
Five worlds	: the factors of the fivefold clinging to existence.
Six worlds	: the sixfold inward spheres of perception.
Seven worlds	: sevenfold phases of mental life.
Eight worlds	: the eight worldly conditions.
Nine worlds	: ninefold abode of sentient beings.
Ten worlds	: the ten spheres of perception.
Twelve worlds	: the twelve spheres of perception.[10]

Buddhaghosa refers to the five kinds of seeds: *mūla bīja, khandha bīja, phalu bīja, agga-bīja, bīja-bīja* or plants propagated by roots, cuttings and joints, buddings, shoots and seeds. They are called seeds because they have the characteristic of germinating.[11]

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1 I, p. 68. 2 I, p. 313. 3 Saṅthāgāre ti sippaganhanasālāyaṃ—III, 301; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 19. 4 I, p. 75. 5 I, p. 94. 6 I, p. 55. 7 I, p. 130. 8 II, p. 327; cf. Expositor, I, 85 (*Atthasālinī*). 9 I, p. 169. 10 I, p. 201. 11 I, p. 250.

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According to Buddhaghosa, there is no hell known by the name of *Pahāsa niraya*. This name is given to one of the closed apartments of the Avīci hell where beings sing and dance.[1] In the Roruva hell beings were burnt by fire.[2]

The commentator refers to the four kinds of Buddha: (1) *Sabbaññubuddha*, the Buddha who has attained *sambodhi* (enlightenment) by practising pāramitā, (2) *Paccekabuddha*, self-dependent Buddha; he is so called because he has attained perfection by practising *pāramitās* for hundreds and thousands of kalpas; (3) *Catusacca Buddha*, the master of the four truths; and (4) *Suta Buddha* who has heard much, i.e. learned (*bahussuta*).[3]

Oghas (floods of ignorance and vain desires which sweep a man down—he is far away from the security of emancipation) are four in number: (i) *kāma-ogha*, sensuality—the exciting desire for five kinds of pleasurable attachment; it takes its birth in the eight kinds of intention which are accompanied by greed; (ii) *bhava-ogha*, the desire and longing for birth in the form and formless worlds; it takes its birth in the four kinds of desires; there are two other floods, e.g. *diṭṭhi-ogha* (speculation) and *avijjā-ogha* (ignorance).[4]

Gods while coming down to the human world give up their natural complexion and power and approach human beings well-adorned, taking a coarse and material appearance and endowed with supernatural power.[5]

Once many sea-faring merchants sailed in a boat on the sea. While proceeding at a great speed waves dashed against the boat and filled it with water. While the boat was sinking, the merchants remembered the names of the gods for rescue. One of them sat crosslegged like a saint pondering over his own moral virtues. Others asked him why he remained patient and unafraid of. He replied that he had taken refuge in the three gems. Others expressed their desire to take refuge in them. He then divided them into seven batches, each containing 100, and taught them five moral precepts. Seven hundred merchants were drowned and after death were reborn in Tāvatiṃsa heaven on account of their accepting the moral precepts while dying. The merchant who played the rôle of the preceptor was reborn in the Golden-Vimāna.[6]

Kokālika bhikkhu was the son of the merchant Kokālika who belonged to the city of Kokālika. He after renunciation used to live in the monastery built by his father. Once when the Buddha was living in Sāvatthī, two senior monks reached the city and came to the monastery of Kokālika who offered them his services. They asked him not to make public the fact of their presence in his monastery. At the end of the rainy season when those monks wished to go away, Kokālika requested them to wait for a day more. He then entered the city and informed people of their presence in his monastery. People began to come in batches with gifts for them. They did not accept the gifts. They at first showed that they were not at all avaricious, but they afterwards became greedy. This was the opinion of Kokālika about them.[7]

Buddhaghosa refers to the wind of the belly, i.e. the stomach-aching. The stomach-aching of the Buddha was due to the bad food which the Lord used to take during six years of extreme penances prior to the attainment of his enlightenment. This disease often gave him troubles even after his Buddhahood.[8]

The Buddha is known as *Dasabala* because he is possessed of ten powers which may be classified under two heads: physical strength (*kāyabala*) and the strength of wisdom (*jñāṇabala*). The physical strength of the Blessed One is to be compared with that of the elephant. One cannot be a Buddha only by physical strength because it forms only the outward strength of a man which is considered insignificant. This strength cannot help a man for full comprehension of suffering, for abandoning the origin of suffering, for the cultivation of the path, and for the realization of the fruit. There are other ten powers which help one to become a

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[1] III, p. 103. [2] I, p. 81. [3] I, 25. [4] I, p. 17.
[5] I, p. 14. [6] I, p. 54. [7] I, p. 216. [8] I, p. 258.

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Tathāgata (i.e. the Buddha). These powers are characterized by stability and support which are really the forces of wisdom.[1]

The commentator gives an explanation why the Buddha roared liked a lion. A contrast has been made between the lion and the Tathāgata. The Tathāgata is described as the lion because he possesses the capacity of restraining himself from the worldly powers. He has also the powers of putting down the views and theories propounded by other teachers. The Tathāgata like the lion was not afraid of anything in this world and he was the most skilful amongst the members of eight assemblies of human and divine beings.[2]

Buddhaghosa refers to two kinds of measure, *nāḷi* and *doṇa*, but he has not explained them.[3] He says that the sandal of Benares (*kāsīka candana*) was very smooth.[4] He also refers to the cow-killer (*goghātaka*) who not only kills cows but severs flesh from the bones and sells it; thus he earns his living.[5] He mentions four kinds of lions: (1) grass-eating lion (*tiṇasīha*), (2) black lion (*kāḷasīha*), (3) light yellow lion (*paṇḍusīha*), and (4) lion with mane (*kesara sīha*). The lion which lives on grass has the colour of its skin like that of a greyish blue cow. The black lion also lives on grass. The third one which lives on flesh has its body as big as a cow and the colour of its skin is like that of a withered leaf. The last one has got a red face, a tail and 4 feet, three red stripes running from above its head down to the middle of the back, and then turning towards the right come to an end between the thighs. On the shoulders lie the manes spread there like valuable blankets. The rest of the body is as white as the crushed *sālī* seed or the conchshell dust or the cotton.[6] He also mentions four kinds of snakes: (1) wooden-mouthed (*kaṭṭhamukha*), (2) putrid-mouthed (*pūti-mukha*), (3) fire-mouthed (*aggī-mukha*), and (4) weapon mouthed (*sattha-mukha*). The body of a man bitten by a wooden-mouthed snake becomes stiff like a piece of dry wood. The body of one bitten by a putrid-mouthed snake becomes festered and flows down like a rotten ripe jack fruit. If a human body is bitten by a fire-faced snake, it becomes burnt and strewn over in the air like ashes. If a weapon-faced serpent bites a man, his body is destroyed like a place struck by a thunder.[7]

According to the commentator there are four kinds of lying down (1) of those human beings who indulge in sensual pleasures (*kāmabhogīseyyā*), (2) of the departed spirits (*petaseyyā*), (3) of those beings lying like a lion (*sīhaseyyā*), and (4) of those beings lying like that of the *Tathāgata* (*Tathāgataseyyā*). Those who indulge in sensual pleasures lie on the left side and cannot lie on the right. The departed spirits on account of their bony constitution and want of flesh and blood lie down on the back. The lion putting the tail between the thighs lies down on the right. It sleeps placing the two front legs together and keeping the tail between the thighs. Sleeping throughout the whole day, it awakes. Finding no disturbance it gets up, shakes its manes and roars loudly three times and then goes in quest of food.[8]

B. C. LAW.

BUDDHAGHOSA'S PAPAÑCASŪDANĪ

(COMMENTARY ON THE MAJJHIMA NIKĀYA.)

The *Papañcasūdanī* is a commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka written by Buddhaghosa at the request of a thera named Buddhamitta in the style more or less of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, which is a commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka, written by the same commentator who flourished in the fifth century A.D. This voluminous commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya has been

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[1] II, p. 43.
[2] II, p. 46; cf. *Papañcasūdanī* (P.T.S.), II, 27.
[3] I, pp. 152-53.
[4] I, p. 149.
[5] II, p. 218.
[6] II, p. 283.
[7] III, p. 6.
[8] III, p. 27.

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edited for the Pali Text Society of England by J. H. Woods, D. Kosambī, and I. B. Horner and published in five parts with an exhaustive index. The Sinhalese and Burmese manuscripts of this commentary are available along with the printed editions in Sinhalese, Burmese and Siamese. This work is full of interesting information of varied nature, historical, geographical, ethical, moral and religious.

According to Buddhaghosa the city of Ukkaṭṭhā was so named because it was built by the light of the torches at night, so that it could be completed within the auspicious time.[1]

Subhagavana at Ukkaṭṭhā was a beautiful wood. People went there for festivities on account of the romantic nature of its surroundings.[2]

There were two kinds of forest: one in which the trees and plants were planted and another in which they grew up spontaneously. *Jetavana* and *Veluvana* were the groves in which trees grew up spontaneously. *Andhavana*, *Mahāvana*, and *Añjanavana* were groves in which trees were planted. In the Subhagavana trees were planted.[3]

According to Buddhaghosa the city of Sāvatthī was so called because it contained the abode of the sage of Savattha. Buddhaghosa records another tradition according to which there was a caravan there and the people who assembled there asked each other what they had. The reply was that everything was there and hence the name of the city was Sāvatthī (*sabbaṃ-atthi*).[4] Girivraja was so called because it stood like a *vaja* (cattle fold) surrounded on all sides by mountains.[5]

Adhikakkā was so called because it contained bathing requisites. It was a well-known bathing ghat.[6] Buddhaghosa refers to Payāga as a ghat of the Ganges. Here the palace occupied by king Mahapanāda was submerged.[7] Bāhukā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī and Bāhumatī are described as four rivers. Buddhaghosa says that none of them was of any use for internal purification.[8]

The region where the people of Pubbavideha lived in former times came to be known as the Videha kingdom. The regions where the people of Aparayogāna and Uttarakuru formerly lived, came to be known as the kingdoms of Aparānta and Kuru respectively.[9] Kammāsadhamma was a town of the Kurus According to Buddhaghosa this town was spelt differently, *Kammāsadhamma* and *Kammāsadamma*. It was called Kammāsadamma because an ogre named Kammāsapāda was subdued by the Bodhisatta. Buddhaghosa offers an explanation for the name of the ogre Kammāsa who was also called Kammāsapāda. According to him Kammāsa was the actual name. The element *pāda* was added to his name because of a wound he once received, which, when healed up, left a scar like a piece of well-grained timber. The Kurus had a code of honour called the *Kuruvattadhamma*. It was here that Kammāsa was converted and made to accept this code; hence the name of the place was such.[10]

Buddhaghosa describes the Himalayan regions to be 3,000 yojanas in extent.[11] Vesālī was so named because of the successive increase in its size. Buddhaghosa gives an account of the origin of this name.[12] The Vajji territory was thrice increased by one *gāvuta* each time. As it was increased again and again, the city came to be known as Vesālī.[13]

The territory of the Śākyas was called Sakka as it had been the residence of the Sakyan princes. Kapilavatthu was so named because the sage Kapila lived here. The Śākyas are said to have built their city and named it after the sage Kapila. A Sakyan prince named Nigrodha had a monastery built in his own pleasure garden and then he handed it over to the Buddha with the garden.[14]

The Gijjhakūṭa mountain was so called because the shape of its peak was like that of a vulture. Buddhaghosa gives another explanation. The mountain was so called because the peak was the abode of the vultures. The ridge of a black rock stood by the side of the Isigili mountain.[15]

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[1] I, p. 10. [2] I, p. 11. [3] I, p. 11. [4] I, p. 59.
[5] I, p. 151. [6] I, p. 178. [7] I, p. 178. [8] I, p. 178.
[9] I, p. 225. [10] I, p. 225. [11] II, p. 6. [12] II, pp. 19ff.
[13] II, pp. 19ff. [14] II, p. 61. [15] II, p. 63.

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Sumsumāragiri was a city in the Bhagga country and its capital was so called because, on the very first day of its construction, a crocodile made a noise in a lake near by.[1]

According to Buddhaghosa Migadāya was so called because it stood at the place where assurance of fearlessness and safety was given to beasts and birds.[2]

Rājagaha (lit. the abode of kings) was so called because it was the residence of the kings like Mandhātā, Mahāgovinda. According to another tradition it was a human habitation during the time of the Buddhas while at other times the city was deserted and turned into an abode of the demons.[3] Rājagaha stood at a distance of 60 yojanas from Kapilavatthu and 15 yojanas from Sāvatthī.[4] Kalandakanivāpa was a woodland at Veluvana. It was so called because food was regularly given here to the squirrels. It is said that an ancient king once came here for sports and being overdrunk fell asleep. Seeing him asleep his followers went out in search of fruit. A cobra being attracted by the smell of liquor began to approach the king. Seeing the imminent danger of the king, a tree spirit assumed the form of a squirrel, and roused the king by its chirping. The king awoke and saw how his life was saved by a squirrel. He then gave orders that henceforth the squirrels of that locality would be regularly fed. The place therefore came to be known as Kalandakanivāpa.[5]

Before the advent of the Buddha, the Paccekabuddhas spent a week on the Gandhamādana mountain in meditation. Rising up from meditation they washed their faces at Anotatta lake, took their garments and almsbowls and then they came through the sky and got down at Isipatana. They then went back to Gandhamādana mountain after taking their food which they received on begging. The place was called Isipatana because the sages on their way through the air came down here and left this place for their Himalayan abode.[6]

The distance from Buddhagayā to Gayā was three *gāvutas*.[7]

Nādikā is described as a pond near which stood a village known by the same name.[8] Gosiṅgasālavana was a forest tract near Nādikā. According to Buddhaghosa, the forest was so called because the branches grew up, like the horns of a cow, from the trunk of a big *sāla* tree which stood in this forest.[9] Mahāvana was a big natural wood at Vaisālī. It stretched in a line from Kapilavatthu to the Himalayan region and therefrom to the sea. It was marked by a boundary.[10] The territory of Aṅga was named after its princes who were also known as the Aṅgas.[11] The country of Kosala was the abode of Kosalan princes. Buddhaghosa gives a curious explanation of the origin of its name. It is said that when nothing could make the prince Mahāpanāda smile, his father offered a handsome reward for him who could do this. People came to the king's palace and tried in vain to please Mahāpanāda. After seven long years Sakka sent a celestial actor who was successful in making him smile. After this men started going back to their respective homes and on the way meeting friends and relations began to ask, 'How do you do? Are you all right?' The place where this took place came to be called Kosala on account of the repetition of the word '*Kusala*'.[12]

Buddhaghosa offers two explanations for the name of Kosambī: (1) it was so called because Kosamba trees grew in plenty in and around the country; and (2) the city was so called because it was built near the hermitage of the saint Kusāmba.[13] Ghositārāma was built by a banker named Ghosita. Jambudīpa has been described as a forest (*vana*) while Pubbavideha as an island (*dīpa*).[14] According to Buddhaghosa, Campaka trees were in abundance in the city of Campā. The lake Gaggarā was near the city. It was dug by the queen Gaggarā. On its banks there was a large grove of Campaka trees famous for their sweetly scented flowers. Buddha stayed here on many occasions.[15] The small village of Beluva stood near Vesālī

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[1] II, p. 65. [2] II, p. 65. [3] II, p. 134.
[4] II, p. 152. [5] II, p. 134. [6] II, p. 188.
[7] II, p. 188—One gāvuta = a little more than two miles. [8] II, p. 235.
[9] II, p. 235. [10] II, p. 267. [11] II, p. 312.
[12] II, 326. [13] *Ibid.*, pp. 389-390. [14] *Ibid.*, 423.
[15] III, p. 1.

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towards the south of this city.[1] Uttarāpa was the region which lay to the north of the river Mahī. This region was also known as Aṅguttarāpa, because it formed a part of Aṅgadesa on the other side of the river Mahī. Jambudīpa was 10,000 yojanas in area. Of this vast area, 4,000 yojanas were covered with water and in the area of 3,000 yojanas people used to live. On an area of 3,000 yojanas stood the Himalaya mountain which was 5 yojanas in breadth and adorned with 84,000 peaks and 500 rivers. In the Himalaya region lay seven big lakes, covering an area of more than 2,000 yojanas. The lakes were Kaṇṇamuṇḍa, Anotatta, Rathakāra, Chaddanta, Kuṇāla, Mandākinī and Sīhappapāta. Of these the Anotatta was surrounded by five hills and mountains, e.g. Sudassana, Citrakūṭa, Kālakūṭa, Gandhamādana and Kailāsa. Sudassanakūṭa, which was of golden colour, stood covering the Anotatta lake. The Citrakūṭa was covered with all kinds of jewels; while the Kālakūṭa was as black as collyrium. The Gandhamādana range was crowned with a table-land and its colour was green. It contained many kinds of medicinal herbs (III, 34).

Pāvārika-ambavana was a mango grove belonging to a banker named Pāvārika of Nālandā, which was used as a pleasure grove. Pāvārika built a monastery here, being pleased with the Master, after listening to his discourse. He dedicated it to the congregation of monks headed by the Buddha (III, 52).

Koliya was so called because it was the abode of the Koliyan princes (III, 100). The town of Haliddavasana was so called because at the time when it was being built, men in yellow dress observed the *nakkhatta* festival which was a ceremony held to observe a particular auspicious star or stars (III, 100). Makhādeva-ambavana was made by king Makhādeva of Videha (III, 309). The palace of the prince Bodhi called Kokanada was built in the design of a hanging lotus (III, 321). There was a monastery in the Nigrodhārāma surrounded by a wall and fitted with doors and windows and adorned with a dining hall, a pavilion, etc. (IV, 155).

Majjhimadesa which belonged to the Jambudīpa was 300 yojanas in length, 250 yojanas in breadth and 900 yojanas in circumference. It was the abode of the Buddhas, Paccekabuddhas, senior disciples, 80 great disciples of the Buddha, paramount sovereigns, and many eminent brahmin and khatriya householders (IV, 172). Tapodārāma was so called because of the hot water lake situated in it. At the foot of the Vebhāra hill there was a big abode of serpents comprising an area of 500 yojanas. At that place there was a big lake in which serpents indulged in sportive amusements. From that lake flowed the river Tapodā, the water of which was hot (V, 4-5). The rivers named Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū and Mahī take their rise from the Anotatta lake (II, 586—Sinhalese Ed.).

The chieftains from Kuru country were known as the Kurus and the country was later named after them.[2]

King Mahāmandhātā was a *Cakravarttirājā*, a title which he had acquired for having had a *Cakra-ratana* with the help of which he could go to any place he liked. He conquered Pubba-Videha, Aparagoyāna, and Uttarakuru. While returning from Uttarakuru a large number of inhabitants of that country followed Mahāmandhātā, and the place in Jambudīpa where they settled came to be known as *Kururaṭṭhaṃ*.[3]

Sundarika Bhāradvāja was a brahmin belonging to *Bhāradvāja gotra*. He was of opinion that a dip in the river Sundarikā would remove all sins committed by a man.[4]

Bimbisāra was called Māgadha because he was the king of Magadha. He was called Bimbisāra because he was possessed of the beauty and prosperity of the body.[5] According to some he was of golden colour. King Pukkusāta of Gandhāra was his contemporary (II, 982).

The celebrated physician in Buddha's time, named Jīvaka, was born as the son of a courtesan of Rājagaha named Sālavatī. Wrapped up in rags he was thrown into a dust heap. Seeing the baby the crows began to cry and the prince Abhaya

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[1] *Ibid.*, 12. [2] I, 225. [3] I, 225-226.
[4] I, 177. [5] I, 65.

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enquired of it. He being informed of the real state of things sent for the child and got him reared up. As he was found living in the dust heap, he was called Jīvaka. He was called Komārabhacca because he was brought up by the prince. He, out of devotion towards the Blessed One, built a monastery with all its necessary halls, private chambers, etc., and presented it to the *Saṅgha*, headed by the Buddha.[1]

Kassapa was his personal name. Buddha asked his followers to call Kassapa. They asked him as to which Kassapa the Master wanted to see; the Blessed One then named him as Kumārakassapa, and this name continued till his death.[2]

According to Buddhaghosa Pūraṇa Kassapa was so named because with his birth the number of slaves in the family reached hundred. He fled from his master's house and on the way was robbed of his clothes by thieves. He entered a village being naked where he was considered by the people as virtuous and offered food. He afterwards renounced the household-life.[3]

Makkhali Gosāla.—Makkhali was his personal name and Gosāla was his epithet. Buddhaghosa takes Gosala as his second name because he was born in a cowshed.[4]

Ajita Kesakambalī.—Ajita was his personal name. He was given the epithet of Kesakambalī as he used blanket made of human hair.[5]

Pakudha Kaccāyana.—Pakudha was his personal name and Kaccāyana was his family name. He always used hot or tepid water. He considered it a sin to cross a river. According to Buddhaghosa his teaching has been described as *nissirikaladdhi*, i.e. the view which has lost its grandeur or splendour.[6]

Buddhaghosa mentions four kinds of slave: (1) a born slave; (2) one purchased for slavery; (3) one captured by the enemy and employed as a slave; and (4) one who has taken up slavery as his profession. The commentator also refers to a messenger (*pesanakāra*) and to one maintained by food and salary (*bhattavetanabhattā*).[7]

Buddhaghosa refers to *Saṅthāgāra* which was a big hall. Before the hall was built, the chiefs stood discussing with one another such topics as 'Let here be the elephant-shed, let here be the horse-shed, let charity be made here'. As they had such discussions the hall was called *Saṅthāgāra*. Returning back to their respective houses, they found that the floors of their abodes were being plastered with mud and cowdung. They went back to the place where the *Saṅthāgāra* was built and they carried on their discussions there for two or three days. In this hall the chiefs discussed about their own welfare. As the chiefs were simply tribal chiefs they could not do anything without taking the opinions of other fellow chiefs. So they all used to meet together in order to discuss various matters including even the time for ploughing, sowing, etc.[8]

Buddhaghosa refers to the languages of Damiḷa and Andhaka (Damiḷabhāsā-Andhabhāsā). The languages of the Tamils and Andhras may roughly be said to be almost akin to the Telegu language.[9]

Buddhaghosa refers to 21 kinds of professional people, e.g. medical man, gambler, money-lender, trader in arms, trader in slaves, seller of spirits and liquor, butcher, traders in poison, etc.[10]

Buddhaghosa refers to Māra as Pajāpati because he lords over a large assembly.[11] According to the scholiast there are three kinds of gods: (1) *Sammati-devā*, conventional gods, i.e. kings, queens, princes, etc.; (2) *Upapatti-devā*, beings in a heavenly state, divine beings beginning with the *Cātummahārājikadevas*; and (3) *Visuddhi-devā*, divine beings of great religious merit, such as arahats, Buddhas.[12] The commentator refers to four kinds of *āsavas* (sins and depravities): (1) *kāmāsava* (sensuality), (2) *bhavāsava* (lust of life), (3) *diṭṭhāsava* (speculation), and (4) *avijjāsava* (ignorance). These sins have been destroyed and given up by the arahats and there is no chance for them to grow again as they have been burnt by the fire of wisdom.[13]

Buddhaghosa gives eight reasons for calling the Buddha a Tathāgata. As the previous Buddhas came for the welfare of all beings, so the Blessed Gotama came.

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[1] III, 45-46. [2] III, 65. [3] II, p. 233. [4] II, p. 233.
[5] II, p. 233. [6] II, pp. 233-234. [7] III, p. 1. [8] III, p. 16.
[9] I, 137-38. [10] I, pp. 115 and 136. [11] I, 33. [12] I, 33. [13] I, 42.

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As the previous Buddhas attained enlightenment by fulfilling the ten *pāramitās*, so the Buddha did. Just after his birth Buddha Gotama walked seven steps towards the north as the previous Buddhas did. Taking his seat under a white umbrella he looked all around and said: 'in this world I am the foremost and the best'. He destroyed desires for sensual pleasures by renunciation, malevolence by non-injurious desire, sloth and torpor by his right vision, doubt by the analysis and exposition of *Dhamma* and ignorance by his knowledge. He fully realized the true characteristics of the four elements. He also realized the Four Noble Truths and Dependent Origination. He heard, knew, touched, tasted, and thought of all that was in existence in the human world as well as in the world of gods. He took the rôle of a preacher. What he preached and taught was complete, correct and perfect in meaning and exposition and to the point. His action was in agreement with his speech and *vice versa*. He overcame everything commencing from the highest *Brahmaloka* to the Avīci hell.[1] The goal of the Brāhmaṇas is *Brahmaloka*; that of the Tāpasas is *Ābhassaraloka*; that of the Paribbājakas is *Subhakiṇṇaraloka*; and that of the Ājīvikas is *Anantamānasa* (II, pp. 1 foll.).

Buddhaghosa divides the right view into *lokiya* and *lokuttara*. The knowledge of a work done and the knowledge of a matter which leads to truth come under the first category; while wisdom which comes under the Noble Eightfold Path falls under the second category.[2]

According to Buddhaghosa slaughtering or killing of beings should be avoided. Pāṇātipātā is applied to the bodily and vocal doors of one who is conscious that the being is alive and who produces an effort to cut off the living force in that being.[3] As regards theft, the intention of stealing and producing the effort to take something with the consciousness that it belongs to others comes within the definition of theft. The five constituent factors in theft are the following: (1) taking of other's property, (2) consciousness of doing so, (3) intention to steal, (4) effort to steal, and (5) the actual theft.[4]

According to the commentator men have got no right to approach ten classes of unmarried and ten classes of married women. The ten kinds of unmarried women are: a woman under the guardianship of her mother, father, parents, brother, sister, relative, clan, religious belief, a woman under engagement and a woman undergoing punishment. The ten kinds of married women are as follows: one bought by wealth, one becoming a wife through her free will, through love of property, through love of dress, one lawfully wedded by her parents, one who is taken from the poor classes, a slave-wife, a servant-wife, a woman captured in war and a mistress kept for the time being.[5]

Buddhaghosa points out that the characteristic of falsehood is the volition of one desirous of representing to others an untrue thing as true.[6]

As regards covetousness Buddhaghosa explains it as the process of inclining towards another's property when confronted with it. It has got two constituent factors: (1) another's property and (2) the desire to have another's property.[7]

Ill-will is that which destroys welfare and happiness. Wrong view is that which sees wrongly. It has the characteristic of purported views and the offence varies according to the permanency and impermanency of the wrong views taken.[8]

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[1] I, pp. 45–51. [2] I, 196. [3] I, 198. [4] I, pp. 198-199.
[5] I, 199. [6] I, 200. [7] I, 201. [8] I, 202.

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KOKĀMUKHA

How epigraphy is progressing at present may be seen from the two of the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions where mention is made of Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin (*E.I.*, Vol. XV, pp. 139 and 143). How the views of two of the great scholars of Bengal differ may be seen from the articles of Dr. D. C. Sircar published in *I.C.*, Vol. V, pp. 432-33 and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 56–60; and that of Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri in *B. C. Law Vol.*, Pt. I, pp. 88–91. It is interesting to note that how in the interest of history the Professor casts doubt on a conclusion of his friend and pupil Dr. Sircar. In the present case it is the conclusion that Ādya Kokāmukha is a form of Śiva. It is based first upon *Ādyā* and *Kokāmukha* being appellations of Durgā, consort of Śiva, and secondly upon the term *nāma-liṅga*, which, according to Dr. Sircar, means 'a *Linga* established after some one's name', pointing to Kokāmukhasvāmin as Śiva. Further, the land donated in favour of the deity was situated on the Himavacchikhara, which though it means 'a peak or summit of the Himālayas' is taken by Dr. Sircar to refer to a territorial unit not far from Dāmodarpur, called *araṇya* or forest in line 8 of Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription No. V.

The above conclusions of Dr. Sircar are not accepted by Prof. Raychaudhuri on the strength of chapters 219 and 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* which 'prove beyond doubt that like Śvetavarāhasvāmin with whom he is associated in the record, Kokāmukha is a form of the varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu and that the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* was in the Himālayan region on the northern fringe of Bengal'. From the second of his articles it appears that Dr. Sircar's attention had been drawn by Prof. Raychaudhuri to these chapters from the *Brahma Purāṇa*. But this Purāṇa, says he, does not help us at all in determining the exact location of the temple of Varāha at Kokāmukha in the Himālayas. He therefore draws the attention of the scholars to chapter 140 of the *Varāha Purāṇa* styled *Kokāmukha-māhātmyavarṇanā*, whether his quotations from this Purāṇa render the point quite clear or not need not trouble us here. What we have to note is that it is not one, but two Purāṇas that describe the Kokāmukha *tīrtha*, namely, the *Brahma Purāṇa* and the *Varāha Purāṇa*. It was Prof. Raychaudhuri who first drew our attention only to the first of these Purāṇas. And it is Dr. Sircar who now draws our attention to both. I had a talk with a scholar in Calcutta, on the subject, and from what he has pointed out it is most surprising that attention to these two Purāṇas was drawn not very long ago by a Bengali scholar and in a well-known learned Journal. How this was not known to Prof. Raychaudhuri and Dr. Sircar is inexplicable. If we turn to pages 241-42 of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Vol. XXVI, we find that Jogendra Chandra Ghosh refers to both the Purāṇas and quotes practically the same verses for the location of Kokāmukha.

Three points now remain to be disposed of. They are both connected with the line *Doṅgā-grāme pūrvvaṁ maya apradā atisṛṣṭakās=tad=ahañ=tat-kshetrasāmīpya-bhumau tayor=Ādya-Kokāmukhasvāmi-Śvetavarāhasvāminor=nāmalliṅgamēkaṁ de-vakuladvayam=etat-koshṭhikādvayañ=cha kārayitum=icchāmi*, etc. (ll. 6–8, p. 139, *E.I.*, Vol. XV). The first point is: what is meant by *nāmalliṅgamekaṁ*? Dr. Sircar's interpretation of this phrase has already been given, as far as possible, in the language of Prof. Raychaudhuri. It at first meant 'a *Linga* established after some one's name', pointing to Kokāmukhasvāmin as Śiva. But later on Dr. Sircar took Kokāmukhasvāmin as a form of Viṣṇu, that is, Varāha. Thereafter he somehow drops the phrase and gives no new interpretation. The second point is: how to interpret the words following it, namely: *devakuladvayam=etat-koshṭhikādvayañ-ca*? The third point is: where were the donated lands situated? The village called Doṅgāgrāma, where the lands were situated, says Dr. Sircar, does not appear to be far from Dāmodarpur, where the five copper-plate inscriptions were found. It was not quite easy for Ribhu Pāla to send the income accruing regularly to distant Nepāl. He therefore made two temples of the same gods near the lands originally granted together with two store-houses. In these he installed two imitation-gods of the *himavacchikhara* which have been styled *ādya*, 'original'. About half

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a century later Amritadeva granted lands to the temple of Śvetavarāha. This is no doubt one of the two founded by Ribhu Pāla in the Dāmodarpur region, because here there is no reference to *himavacchikhara*, but to *atr=āraṇya*, 'here in this forest', which no doubt, according to Dr. Sircar, formed part of the Koṭivarsha vishaya. Sanskrit language is elastic so that this *araṇya* may be taken to refer to some part of the Koṭivarsha *vishaya* instead of to that part of Nepāl which contains the Kokāmukha *tīrtha*, as seems natural. What we, however, cannot understand is that when a Hindu speaks of erecting temples over two specific gods at one specific place, he builds those temples not over those two gods but over 'imitation-gods of the same names', not at the original *tīrtha*, but at a place far distant from it. What further we do not understand is that he should not erect those structures at or near Koṭivarsha but in a jungle comprised in that district.

But what about *nāmalliṅgamekaṁ*? I had occasion to discuss this point with the Calcutta scholar referred to above. In his opinion these words have not been properly read either by Dr. Basak or Dr. Sircar. Will they or any other epigraphist oblige us with a more plausible reading?

S. C. SIRCAR.

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REVIEWS

JAINA BIBLIOGRAPHY by Chhote Lal Jain with a Foreword by Dr. Kalidas Nag (Jaina Bibliography Series No. 1 published by Mr. Satish Chandra Seal, Hony. Secretary, Bhāratī Jaina Parisat, 1 Gour Laha Street, Calcutta, 1945).

Much has not yet been done in the field of Jainism which is still an unharvested one. A careful study of the Jain texts and commentaries will help a good deal towards a better understanding of Jainism and Jain thought. The more we have useful works of this kind, the better for those interested in ancient Indian culture and civilization. Guerinot has left a valuable Jain Bibliography which is no doubt an indispensable guide. Mr. Chhote Lal Jain has recently published this Bibliography in which he has referred to the books quoted by other scholars in their works up to the year 1925. The author's method of treatment does not seem to be good. It is not at all an exhaustive bibliography. I think it my duty as a reviewer to point out some of the important omissions. The author has not made any mention of the important books published during this period by the *Āgamodaya Samiti*, *Jainadharma Prasāraka Sabhā*, *Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā* and those published in the *Sacred Books of the Jainas Series*. They are as follows: *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (*Āgamodaya Samiti*, I–III, Bombay, 1918–21), *Aupapātika Sūtra with commentary* (*ibid.*, 1916), *Jñātā-Dharma-Kathāṅga* (*ibid.*, 1919), *Niryāvalika Sūtra with commentary* (*ibid.*, 1922), *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* (*ibid.*, 1916-17), *Rājapraśnīya-Upāṅga* (*ibid.*, 1925), *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (*ibid.*, 1916), *Sūtrakritāṅga* (*ibid.*, 1917), *Upadeśamālā* and *Trisaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (*Jainadharma Prasāraka Sabhā*, 1908-09), *Dravyasaṃgraha* (*Sacred Books of the Jainas edited by Sarat Chandra Ghosal*, 1917) and *Kevalayamālākathā* (*Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā*, 1916). It is a pity that the author has failed to mention such important Jain works as J. Charpentier's edition of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Hoernle's edition of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, Jacobi's edition of the *Sthavirāvalicarita*, Dhanpat Singh's edition of the *Uttarādhyayanadīpikā* and S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Nyāyāvatāra* (Arrah, 1915). I am at a loss to understand why such books as the *Bhāvasaṃgrahadih* published in the *Manikchandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, *Kalpasūtra*, *Subodhikāṭīkā* (Devchand Lalbhai), *Śāntinātha Mahākāvyam* by Munibhadra Suri (Benares, 1911), *Darśanasāra* of Devasena (1918), *Mallināthacaritram* (Benares, 1912), *Viśeṣavāśyakabhāṣya* (Benares, 1918), *Pārśvanāthcaritram* (Benares, 1916) and *Jambudivapaṇṇatti* have escaped the attention of the author. Latthe's *Introduction to Jainism* published in 1905, P. K. Shah's *Jain Dharma Nirūpaṇa* written in Gujarati and Rev. J. Stevenson's *Navatatva* ought to have been noticed by the author. However, the author has done some amount of useful work for which he deserves credit. In the next edition we hope he will try his best to make it more exhaustive and useful.

B. C. Law.

STUDIES IN INDIAN SOCIAL POLITY by Dr. Bhupendranath Datta, A.M. (Brown), Dr. Phil. (Hamburg), 1944.

This book which consists of 16 chapters is mainly devoted to the vexed problem of caste-system in ancient and modern India. The author has fully discussed the position of the śūdras. His treatment of other important castes is not so exhaustive. He has shown by reference to many places in his chapter on historical parallels that race distinction gave rise to social stratifications. In his opinion class-interests rather than race-interests are to be looked for. He has discussed the question of slaves. His chapter on racial elements in caste is interesting and informative. He has dealt with the town guilds and craft guilds and has compared the condition of Indian guilds with that of the European guild system in the middle ages. Such topics as the land legislation in ancient India, caste-system in present-day India, have not escaped his attention. The book is, on the whole, readable, although the author has drawn materials mainly from the English translations of the original texts and commentaries. He has not utilized many important and up-to-date books in order to make his study complete and comprehensive. He has not used diacritical marks throughout in his book which is not free from errors (see pages, 59, 113, 115, 145, etc., etc.). The author ought to have given a serviceable Index at the end.

S. C. Seal.

THE RGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PREHISTORIC INDUS, Vol. II. By Swami Sankarananda. With a Foreword by Swami Pratyagatmananda. Pp. li+140. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta, 1944.

Ever since the epoch-making discoveries of the ruined cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, Indologists have been confronted with a host of problems concerning the relation of the Indus civilization to that of the Vedas, the decipherment of the mysterious script of the Indus seals and sealings and so forth. The present work, which is introduced to its readers with a long and learned Foreword from the pen of a well-known Sanskrit scholar, is a bold and strikingly original

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attempt to solve these problems. Continuing the chain of evidence provided in the earlier volume, the author claims to have proved that the Vedic *Āryas* had their original abode in the prehistoric cities of the Indus valley from which in course of time they radiated to the east and south and subsequently spread over the whole Indian sub-continent (pp. 1–4). What constitutes, according to the author, the special feature of the present volume, is his introduction of 'a new system', viz. that of the Tantras, for the decipherment of all the pictographic and alphabetic scripts of the ancient world, including the script of the Indus valley seals. (Preface.) It is evident that if the author's conclusions could be accepted, they would revolutionize our ideas of the ancient history not only of India, but also of other civilized lands of the eastern world.

The present work is divided into chapters bearing the titles The Vedas (ch. i), The Tantras (chs. ii-iii), The Tantric Deities and their relation with the Vedic gods (ch. iv), Egyptian hieroglyphics (ch. v), and Conclusion. The first chapter analyses various Vedic concepts of deities and forces of nature. In the course of this analysis it is sought to be proved, by citations of appropriate texts both in the original and in translation, that the Vedic *aśva* means not 'the horse', but 'the sun', while the *Aśvamedha* was not a horse-sacrifice at all, but a rite of propitiation of the sun for rain (pp. 21–27 and App.). The point of this novel interpretation is brought out in the concluding chapter where we are told that it cuts at the root of the theories of Aryan immigration, the absence of the horse in the prehistoric Indus cities being itself 'a strong proof of the *Ārya* or the Vedic origin of civilization' (p. 125).

The second chapter describes the evolution of sounds, scripts and dialects from the Vedic times onwards, and is frequently illustrated with appropriate charts. We may here summarize some of the author's main conclusions. The Vedic *Āryas* at first used two sounds to which they afterwards added a third, a fourth and a fifth note (pp. 45-46). Pāṇini mentions the Vedic division into three sounds according to pitch, while introducing new divisions according to place of utterance and nature (p. 47). The musicians divided the sounds into seven groups called after as many animals which the author explains in the light of 'the Tantric code' to represent the five Vedic gods (pp. 48–50). The Tantras, coming last in the process of evolution, systematized the existing scripts on the principle of the five-fold division of sounds named after the five Vedic deities (pp. 52-3). Finally, 'the language created with these alphabets was called *Sanskrit* because the prevailing dialects were reformed to create the same' (p. 63).

In the third chapter the author claims to have come across a system of Tantric 'picture alphabets' 'with no less than 5,400 characters' which he applies to the interpretation of five groups of 'pictographic alphabets'. These are 'the Jaipurean', the Egyptian, the Cuneiform, the Indus and the Chinese scripts (pp. 66–68). Parenthetically, it may be remarked, that the so-called 'Jaipurean script' is a complete misnomer, as it consists of nothing else but the well-known series of symbols on punch-marked coins which have been found almost all over India. This singularly inappropriate title is derived from the accident that a hoard of such coins bearing the characteristic symbols has been recently unearthed at Rairh in Jaipur Sate. The results of the author's investigation are sufficiently startling. 'The Jaipurean script', according to him, 'represented the early Tantric pictograms and did not evolve', while 'the early Egyptian script shows a much evolved stage of pictographic symbols'. This leads to the assumption that 'the civilization of Egypt was post-Tantric in origin' and further that 'it was actually the Vedic people that built the early Egyptian civilization' (p. 71). The Indus script is in a further stage of development than the Egyptian or 'the Jaipurean script': it was 'awaiting as it were to develop itself into alphabetic form' (p. 72). The Chinese picture-words come next to the Indus scripts in the process of historical evolution (p. 74). The Cuneiform script can also be deciphered with the help of the Tantric codes (pp. 75-76). Proceeding with his theme, the author attempts with the help of a series of five charts to prove that not only 'the Jaipurean', the Egyptian, the Indus and Chinese pictograms, but also the *Brāhmī*, the *Kharoṣṭhī*, the Ethiopic, the Himyarite, the Moabite stone, the Phoenician, the Greek, the Latin, the Galgolithic and the Hebrew scripts, originated from the Tantras (pp. 77–94). Next, applying the Tantric code to the Indus and 'the Jaipur' scripts, the author discovers that the language of the former is Sanskrit, while the latter consists of a series of names (pp. 94–101).

In the fourth chapter the author concludes from his analysis of a number of Tantric concepts that the Tantras are of post-Vedic origin. From this he draws the novel inference that 'the presence of the Tantric deities and the Tantric script in the Indus cities prove once for all that the Indus civilization was post-Vedic, and not pre-Vedic, in origin' (p. 101). In the fifth chapter he gives it as his opinion that 'the Tāntric Code is the only clue' to the decipherment of all Egyptian pictograms and illustrates some striking coincidences of Tāntric and Egyptian nomenclature of the pictures in question.

From the above brief analysis it appears that the author can well claim the credit of extensive reading and deep thinking as well as an independent outlook in dealing with problems of paramount importance for the interpretation of the most Ancient Indian civilization. Praise is also due to the author for bringing to light a hitherto unknown source-book, viz. 'the Tantric code' of pictograms which, in the interests of scholarship, should be published in book-form as early as possible. To say all this is not to admit the correctness of all, or even a majority of the author's conclusions. Before this could be done, it would be necessary for the author to investigate the subjects afresh in the light of a more rigorous application of logical processes. The paper, print and get-up of the book are good for the present times, but it is disfigured by numerous misprints and mistakes in transliteration which are unworthy of a work of high scholarship.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

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RULES

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DID THE BHĀRAŚIVAS OVERTHROW THE KUSHĀNAS?

By A. S. Altekar

The late Dr. Jayaswal has advocated the view that it was the Bhāraśiva Nāgas who drove out the Kushānas from the Gangetic valley.[1] He mainly relies upon a passage in the Vākāṭaka plates which states that the Bhāraśivas, to whose line king Bhavanāga, the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I belonged, had performed ten Aśvamedhas (horse-sacrifices) and been coronated with the Ganges water, which the Bhāraśivas had obtained by their valour.[2] Dr. Jayaswal has identified the Bhāraśivas with the dynasty of Nava-Nāgas mentioned by the Purāṇas as ruling before the Guptas. It is contended that the Nava-Nāgas[3] of the Puraṇas did not constitute a dynasty of *nine* (*nava*) Nāga rulers but of *new* (*nava*) Nāga rulers; it was so called because its founder's proper name was Nava. This ruler, who is so far known to us from his coins only, ruled from *c.* 140 to *c.* 170 A.D. and drove out the Kushānas from Mirzapur and Benares districts; he could thus get the Ganges water for his coronation by his valour. He made Kāntīpurī, Kantit in Mirzapur district, his capital. Nava was succeeded by king Vīrasena, also known to us mainly from coins. He was the real founder of the Nāga greatness, for he drove out the Kushānas beyond Mathurā right up to Sirhind in the Punjab in *c.* 185 A.D. Vīrasena, who ruled from *c.* 170 to 210 A.D., was the founder of three Nāga families, which ruled at Mathurā, Padmāvatī and Kāntīpurī. The main Nāga line, known as the Bhāraśiva line, ruled at the last mentioned place in Mirzapur district; Hayanāga, Trayanāga, Barhinanāga, Chharaganāga and Bhavanāga belonged to it and ruled in the stated order from *c.* 210 to 310 A.D. During the reigns of Hayanāga and Trayanāga, the Kushānas were so hard pressed by the Bhāraśivas that they ultimately sought the protection of the Sassanian emperor Shapur, sometime between 238 and 269 A.D. From *c.* 260 A.D., however, the Bhāraśivas passed under the Vākāṭaka sovereignty. It was the emperor Pravarasena I of that house who ousted the Kushānas from the Punjab and compelled them to seek shelter in Afghanistan under the aegis of the Sassanians.

The above theory, though brilliantly put forth, does not carry conviction. The claim put forth on behalf of the Bhāraśivas in the Vākāṭaka records is simply to the effect that they had acquired the holy Ganges water by means of their valour. This may be due to a successful raid into and not necessarily a conquest of the Gangetic valley. The Kushānas were so great an imperial power that if the Bhāraśivas had really driven them beyond the Sutlej, a phrase like *parākramavidhvasta-Kushānānām*, 'who had destroyed the Kushānas by their valour' would certainly have been added to their achievements even in the Vākāṭaka records. The performance of the ten horse sacrifices can prove the independence and power of the

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[1] Jayaswal, History of India, 150–350 A.D., pp. 19-20, 35, 50, 90.

[2] शंभुभारसंनिहितशिवलिंगोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमल-जलमूर्धाभिषिक्तानां भारशिवानाम् । —*E.I.*, XXII, 171.

[3] Cf. the verse

नव नागास्तु भोक्ष्यंति पुरीं पद्मावतीं नृपाः ।
मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यंति सप्त वै ॥

If the second line of the above verse refers to seven Nāgas ruling at Mathurā, it is clear that the first must be referring to *nine* and not *new* Nāga rulers governing at Padmāvatī.

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Bhāraśivas; it need not necessarily prove that the enemies defeated by them were the Kushānas.

There is no evidence to show that the Bhāraśivas were identical with the New (Nava)-Nāgas of Kāntīpurī [1] mentioned in the Purāṇas. The Nava-Nāgas of the Purāṇas did not constitute a dynasty of new Nāgas, but were so called because there were nine rulers in the dynasty. Nor can it be maintained that the dynasty was so called because it was found by king Nava, known to us from coins. There is not the slightest evidence that king Nava of the coins was a Nāga ruler, he does not assume the epithet of Nāga on his coins nor do they bear any resemblance to the known coinage of any Nāga family. His coins are not found at Kantit, which is said to have been his capital, but at Kauśāmbī. Their findspot therefore does not support the view that he was ruling either at Kantit or at Mathurā or at Padmāvatī, all of which were the Nāga capitals at this time. His coin type suggests that he ruled in the third rather than in the second century A.D.; he therefore could not have been the founder of a Nāga family starting its career in *c.* 150 A.D.

There is also no evidence to show that Vīrasena, who is said to have been the successor of Nava, was a Nāga ruler and the founder of the Nāga families at Kāntīpurī, Mathurā and Padmāvatī. The Naga rulers of the last mentioned place invariably attach the epithet Nāga to their proper names in their coin legends even on their tiny pieces; Vīrasena, however, never does so on his coins, though they are much larger in size. His coins bear no resemblance to any known Nāga pieces nor are they found among the hoards of Nāga coins.[2] Since his coins are found in Mathurā there is no doubt that he was ruling there as an independent king, but there is no evidence to show that he had ousted the Kushānas from the eastern Punjab, for his coins are but rarely found beyond the Jamuna. The view that the successors of Vīrasena pressed the Kushānas so hard that they were eventually compelled to seek the protection of the Sassanian emperor Shapur between 238 and 269 A.D. has no shred of evidence to support it. According to Dr. Jayaswal, Hayanāga and Trayanāga were on the Bhāraśiva throne during the period, but he has adduced absolutely no evidence to show that the Punjab was the scene of the military or diplomatic activities of either of them. The coins of these rulers are never found in the Punjab; nay, it is extremely doubtful if we have got their coins at all, for the coin legends on the coins attributed to them are hopelessly blurred and cannot be read with any certainty.[3] There is no evidence whatsoever to support the view that the Kushānas welcomed the Sassanian sovereignty in order to secure protection against any attack from the east; they were conquered by the Sassanians in the normal course of their imperial expansion.

The weakest point in Jayaswal's theory is his identification of the Bhāraśivas with the Nāga family at Kāntīpurī or Kantit in Mirzapur district. Only one Purāṇa, —the *Vishṇupurāṇa*—refers to a Nāga family ruling at this place [4]; the rest of the Purāṇas enumerate the Nāga families ruling at Mathurā, Padmāvatī and even Champāvatī, but are unaware of any branch at Kāntīpurī. The coins of kings Nava and Vīrasena, who were the first two rulers of the dynasty, are found at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, but never at Kāntīpurī or in the adjoining districts of Mirzapur or Benares. As for their alleged successors, Hayanāga, Trayanāga, Barhinanāga nothing whatsoever is known about the findspots of their coins; it is even doubtful whether we have their coins at all, for most of the readings of the legends are extremely doubtful. There are thus no traces of any powerful Nāga dynasty having flourished at Kāntīpurī or in the districts of Benares and Mirzapur;

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[1] See *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 118–21 for a detailed examination of the numismatic evidence to disprove the view that Nava of the coins was a Nāga ruler of Kāntīpurī.

[2] *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 121–24.

[3] Smith, *I.M.C.*, Vol. I, p. 191; *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. V, pp. 124–29.

[4] Pargiter, *D.K.A.*, p. 53.

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we cannot, therefore, identify it with the Bhāraśivas of the Vākāṭaka records. Nāga families no doubt ruled at Padmāvatī and Mathurā; they did reassert their independence and secure the possession of the holy Ganges water by defeating and ousting the Kushānas from the United Provinces. The recent discovery of the present writer of the coins of Bhavanāga in the Nāga series of Padmāvatī shows almost conclusively that this Nāga family was the Bhāraśiva family of the Vākāṭaka records. But there is absolutely no evidence to support the view that the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī organized a powerful federation to oust the Kushāna power. Jayaswal has suggested that the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇindas recognized the Nāga suzerainty and worked under their leadership, but this view is untenable. In the first place it must be remembered that no inscriptions have been found in the territories of these republics suggesting Nāga overlordship, nor is it hinted by the Purāṇas or literary traditions or any other evidence. Nāga coins also are never found in the homelands of the Yaudheyas or Kuṇindas. It is inconceivable that the Yaudheyas who had the reputation of being the Kshattriyas *par excellence*, who were continuously proclaiming their victory even on their coin legends, and who were so uniformly successful in their military ventures that they were believed to have a mystic formula ensuring victory against all odds, would ever have recognized the overlordship of the Nāgas, whose kingdom, power and resources were much smaller than those of their own. The only evidence that Dr. Jayaswal has adduced to support his theory of the Nāga overlordship over the Yaudheyas is the alleged presence of Nāga symbols on their coins. There are no Nāga symbols on the Yaudheya coins nor do they bear the slightest or remotest resemblance to any recognized Nāga coinage.[1] The coinage of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī bears a striking resemblance to that of the Mālavas, who were their western neighbours. But the Mālava coin type is a continuation of the type in vogue in that republic since the second century B.C. The Nāgas therefore were the borrowers, and if the theory of Dr. Jayaswal is to be accepted, the resemblance will show the overlordship of the Mālavas over the Nāgas and not *vice versa*. The fact, however, is that the resemblance of the coin type does not prove any overlordship in ancient India, it only points to a chronological or territorial connection. If we accept Jayaswal's theory, the close resemblance between the silver coinage of the Kshatraps and the Guptas will show that the latter were the feudatories of the former. It is well known that the Guptas had conquered the Kshatraps and were never their feudatories.

To conclude, there is no evidence whatsoever of the Mālavas having ever recognized Nāga overlordship. They gloried in their victory and independence as is shown by their coin legend, 'victory of the Mālavas'. They would never have recognized the suzerainty of any outside power.

The theory of the Nāga leadership in the movement against the Kushāna rule towards the beginning of the third century has therefore to be abandoned. In the

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[1] The only Nāga symbol specifically referred to by Jayaswal as occurring on Yaudheya coins is that of Tree with side designs. It is only on the coins of Nava and Vīrasena that this symbol occurs and there is no evidence to show that these were Nāga rulers. The coins of the rulers of Padmāvatī, who specifically describe themselves as Nāgas on their coins, do not bear this symbol at all. Even if we assume that this tree symbol is a Nāga symbol, we have to note that it is quite dissimilar to the tree symbol that occurs only very rarely on some Yaudheya coins. The Yaudheya coins are quite dissimilar to the Nāga coins in weight, fabric and type. The average weight of the Yaudheya coins is about 163 grams. The weight of the coins of Nava and Vīrasena is about 65 grains and that of the rulers of Padmāvatī varies between 18 to 54 grains. The bull, which is a constant symbol on the coins of Nava, is but rarely seen on the coins of the Yaudheyas. Most of the coins of Vīrasena, who was, according to Jayaswal, the leader of the anti-Kushāna movement, are rectangular in shape; the Yaudheyas never adopted it for their coinage. If the numismatic evidence proves anything, it is the *utter absence of any connection* between the Yaudheyas and the Nāgas, and not the overlordship of the latter over the former.

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course of Indian history sanguinary and decisive battles against a northern power have been usually fought in the Delhi ridge. The same must have been the case when the Kushānas were overthrown and driven to the western Punjab. The brunt of this struggle must have been borne by the Yaudheyas, whose homeland lay in this territory, whose resources were considerable and whose extraordinary bravery was acknowledged even by their opponents.

How the numismatic evidence shows that the Yaudheyas must have been the power which expelled the Kushānas from the eastern Punjab has been already shown by the present writer elsewhere.[1] The part of the Nāgas must have been relatively less important.

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1 *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol. XVI, 52–57.

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YĀSKA AND ŚĀKALYA

By BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARJEE

It is very interesting to investigate how far Yāska follows Śākalya—the author of the *Pada* Text of the *Ṛgveda*, regarding the interpretation of Vedic verses. That Śākalya preceded the author of the Nirukta and that the latter was quite aware of Śākalya's text are plain, since Yāska mentions Śākalya by name in Nir. VI. 28. The text runs thus:

'*vane na vāyo nyadhāyi cākan*' (ṚV. X 29.1; AV. XX. 76. 1)/ vana iva/ vāyok veḥ putraḥ/ cāyanniti vā/ kāmyamāna iti vā/ veti ca ya iti ca cakāra Śākalyaḥ/ udāttaṃ tvevam ākhyātam abhaviṣyat/ asusamāptaś cārthaḥ/'

Here Yāska criticizes Śākalya for wrongly splitting up the single word *vāyo* into *vā* and *yaḥ*, for then the verb would be accented though it is actually enclitic being in a subordinate clause. What more the sense of the passage would then be incomplete. Śaunaka—the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, alludes to this interpretation of Yāska and seems to suggest that the author of the *Nirukta* had an erroneous conception regarding the accent of the verb *adhāyi*,[1] thus defending Śākalya against Yāska's attack. Professor Macdonell has been at a loss to make out from what standpoint Śaunaka was criticizing Yāska. As he states: 'If our author is criticizing Yāska, it does not appear what he means here by a misunderstanding of the accent.'[2] But Skandaswāmin, whose gloss on the Nirukta has been edited by Professor L. Sarup, appears to defend Śākalya. According to him in the verse quoted above, viz. ṚV. X. 29. 1, the word *cākan* is a verb and not an inflexional form in the nominative, which as it is construed with the subject *yaḥ* becomes unaccented, being in the principal clause. Thus there is nothing wrong even if we accept Śākalya's view and split up *vāyaḥ* as *vā* and *yaḥ*. Śaunaka, in the verse referred to, might have the same interpretation in view and thus it becomes quite evident why he should be criticizing Yāska, who completely misunderstood Śākalya.[3] Professor Sköld in his treatise, however, interprets the text of the *Bṛhaddevatā* in quite a different way, which is not at all convincing. He remarks: 'BD accuses Yāska of misunderstanding the accent. Professor Macdonell, *l.c.*, p. 63, seems not to have caught the point of the criticism, which probably is, that, if *vāyo* (*vāyas*) were one word, meaning "bird", it would not have been stressed in that way, as the similar word for "bird" *vāyas*, is differently accentuated.'[4]

In the *Bṛhaddevatā* Śaunaka refers to another mistake on the part of the author of the Nirukta in the splitting up of the Saṃhitā text.[5] Here Yāska is accused

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[1] Cp. 'svarānavagamo' dhāyi vane netyṛci darśitaḥ'—*Bṛhaddevatā* II. 114. (Macdonell's Edition.)

[2] *Bṛhaddevatā*. Translation and Notes. *Ibid.*

[3] We quote here the commentary of Skandaswāmin: 'ya iti somasya uddeśaḥ, cākanniti cākhyātaṃ na nāmaśabdaḥ/ api sampratyarthe(?)/ tenāyam (iti) arthaḥ/ tataś cāyaṃ yaḥ somaḥ ātmanaḥ pānaṃ kāmayate/ yacchabdaśruteḥ tacchabdo' dhyāhāryaḥ/ sa vane vanavikārabhūte grahacamasādau sū-(pū?)-tabhṛtkalaśādau vānyadhāyi ṛtvigbhir nihito yataś cāyate . . . . cākanniti cākhyataṃ kathaṃ gamyate iti cet "agnir varūthaṃ mama tasya cākan" (RV. I. 148. 2) iti mantrāntare darśanāt/ ataścaitad evaṃrūpam ākhyātam—"ā no bhara suvitaṃ yasya cākan" (RV. X. 148. 1) iti yadvṛttāt (ovṛtta—?) sambandhāt nighātapratiṣedhe sati udāttaśrutir na(?) bhavati/'—The text is extremely corrupt. Durga commenting on the above text of the Nirukta observes: 'evam etasmin padadvaye sati yadetad ākhyātam—nyadhāyīti etad udāttam abhaviṣyat/ yadvṛttāt parasya nityam ākhyātasya nighāto na bhavatīti lakṣaṇavido manyante (cf. Pāṇini VIII. 1. 66 *yadvṛttānnityam*)/ na cedam udāttam/ tasmād yaḥ—iti nedam yadvṛttam/ kiṃ tarhi/ vāyaḥ ityekam eva padam/'.

[4] *The Nirukta: Its place in Old Indian Literature*, p. 99.

[5] padaṃ ekaṃ samādāya dvidhā kṛtvā niruktavān/ pūruṣādaḥpadaṃ Yāsko vṛkṣe iti tvṛci/—*Op. cit.*, II. 111.

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of dividing the word *pūruṣādaḥ* (RV. X. 27. 22) as *pūruṣān adanāya* (i.e. *pūruṣa/adaḥ*). But Śākalya in his Padapāṭha has done the same thing and it is difficult to guess why Śaunaka should be attacking Yāska. Neither Durga nor Skandaswāmin has referred to the view of the author of the *Bṛhaddevatā*. Thus Professor Macdonell observes: 'Yāska, in Nirukta II. 6, explains *pūruṣādaḥ* as *pūruṣān adanāya*, "in order to devour men", but there is nothing in this to justify the criticism that he took *pūruṣādaḥ* as two words.'[1]

Yāska, in his explanation of the Ṛk verse I. 195. 18—'*aruṇo māsakṛt vṛkaḥ*'—also, goes against the Padapāṭha. Yāska explains *māsakṛt* as *māsānāṃ kartā* thus treating it as a compound of the two words *māsa/kṛt*, while Śākalya shows them as two separate and uncompounded words *mā* and *sakṛt*.[2] Skandaswāmin in his commentary on Nirukta V. 21 observes that Yāska here followed some other authority in whose opinion the word *māsakṛt* is a compound and not Śākalya who views them as two distinct terms.[3] Who this authority was it is not possible to find out. There might have been some other authors of Pada Texts besides Śākalya whose Padapāṭha alone is now extant. Professor Bhagavaddatta in his *History of Vedic Literature* quotes a verse from the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* I. 2. 34 in which Rathītara (Śākapūṇi) and Bharadvāja Bāṣkali are mentioned as redactors of different recensions of the Ṛgveda besides Śākalya.[4] Thus Yāska might have been following any of these recensions.

Skandaswāmin, in his commentary on the Nirukta, makes some observations in a few more cases where Yāska and Śākalya either differ or agree. We might refer to these instances in order to bring into clear light the dependence of Yāska on Śākalya's Pada Text.

I. In deriving *āditya* in Nirukta II. 13 Yāska proposes several alternative etymologies. The text runs as: '*ādityaḥ kasmāt? ādatte rasān, ādatte bhāsaṃ jyotiṣām/ ādīpto bhāsā iti vā/ aditeḥ putra iti vā/*'. Thus according to the first three etymologies the word should be treated as a compound of the preposition *ā-* with *ditya* derived either from √*dā* or from √*dīp*, and as such should be shown in the Padapāṭha divided by an *avagraha*. But if the last etymology be accepted, there need be no *avagraha* at all. Skandaswāmin remarks that Yāska here follows Śākalya and Ātreya on the one hand and Gārgya on the other—all authors of Pada Texts, the first two teachers regarding the word as uncompounded and the last, viz. Gārgya, dividing it by an *avagraha* thus indicating his acceptance of any one of the first three etymologies as proposed in the Nirukta.[5]

II. In explaining the Nighaṇṭu word *mehanā* (Ngh. IV. 1. 4) which occurs in RV. V. 39. 1: '*yad indra citra mehanāsti tvādātam adrivaḥ*', Yāska refers to the two conflicting views of Śākalya and Gārgya, the authors of the Pada Texts of the Ṛk-Saṃhitā and the Sāma-Saṃhitā respectively. According to the former *mehanā* is a single indivisible word meaning *maṃhanīyam*, while in Gārgya's opinion there is no such word, but as a result of the euphonic combination of the three words *ma-*

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[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] anekaṃ sat tathā cānyad ekam eva niruktavān/ aruṇo māsakṛn-mantre māsakṛdvigraheṇa tu/—*Op. cit.*, II. 112.

[3] māsakṛditi yasya etad ekaṃ padaṃ tadabhiprāyeṇa etad evaṃ Bhāṣyakāreṇa vyākhyātam/ Śākalyasya tu dve eva pade/—Skandaswāmin, Vol. II, p. 366. Durga too seems to suggest that in some recensions the expression *māsakṛt* was treated as a compound, in others as two separate words. Compare: yeṣāṃ tu śākhināṃ mā sakṛt—ityetat padadvayaṃ bhavati teṣāṃ sakṛt mā dadarśa candramāḥ . . . ityādi yojyam/

[4] Śākalyaḥ prathamas teṣāṃ tasmād anyo Rathītaraḥ/ Bāṣkaliś ca Bharadvāja iti śākhāpravarttakāḥ/—Cited in Prof. Bhagavadatta's *Vaidik Vāṅmay kā Itihās*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 145.

[5] Comp. 'etadvyutpattyabhiprāyeṇa Śākalyātreyaprabhṛtibhir nāvagṛhītam/ pūrvanirvacanābhiprāyeṇa Gārgyaprabhṛtibhir avagṛhītam . . *vicitrāḥ padakārāṇām abhiprāyāḥ*/kvacid upasargaviṣaye' pi nāvagṛhṇanti/ yathā Śākalyena "adhivāsam" iti nāvagṛhītam/ Ātreyeṇa tu "adhi-vāsam" ityavagṛnītam/ tasmād avagraho 'navagraha iti'—Skandaswāmin.

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iha-na we get *mehana*.[1] Thus we find that Yāska refers to both the views as equally authoritative. A comparison of the different Padapāṭhas with Yāska's exegesis would yield a good idea as to how far Yāska's interpretations were conditioned by the varying methods of division of the Saṃhitā followed by the authors of the Pada Texts.[2]

III. Another instance where Yāska seems to go against Śākalya is to be found in Nirukta IV. 25. Yāska here deals with the accent of the two words *asyāḥ* and *asya*. When they are used to stand for some principal word in the sentence, they retain their usual accent, but if they are used in a subordinate sense or anaphorically, they become enclitic. To illustrate the use of *asyāḥ* where it is usually accented, Yāska quotes RV. I. 138. 4: *asyā ū ṣu ṇa upa sātaye bhuvo'helamāno rarivā ajāśva*, and explains it as *asyai naḥ sātaye upabhava*, thus suggesting that the correct Padapāṭha would be *asyai/u* and not *asyāḥ/u* as Śākalya has it. But Skandaswāmin in his commentary remarks that this is not a proper procedure as this would be violating the Pada Text which expressly reads *asyāḥ* in the genitive singular. So the proper reading of the Nirukta would be *asyāḥ naḥ sātaye*, the reading *asyai naḥ sātaye* being spurious and unjustifiable.[3]

IV. Yāska in Nir. V. 15 explains *āritaḥ* (Ngh.) as *pratyṛtaḥ*. Durga observes that in the word *āritaḥ*, *ā* is the preposition used in the sense of *prati* and so Yāska explains it by *pratyṛtaḥ* (*prati-ṛtaḥ*).[4] But contrary to this Śākalya shows no *avagraha* between *ā* and *ritaḥ* which ought to have been infixed had Yāska's explanation been endorsed by Śākalya too. But we are to note that Skandaswāmin here offers a different interpretation. In his opinion, *āritaḥ* according to Yāska is the past participle derived from the frequentative stem of the root √*ṛ*- 'to go'. That Yāska explains it by *pratyṛtaḥ* should not lead us to think that in *āritaḥ ā* is the preposition used in lieu of *prati*, as some have been led to think. Thus Skandaswāmin sees no divergence in the views of Yāska and Śākalya.[5]

V. In Nirukta XI. 16 Yāska quotes RV. V. 57. 1, the last foot of which reads *tṛṣṇaje na diva utsā udanyave*. Yāska explains it as: '*tṛṣṇaja iva diva utsā udanyave iti. tṛṣṇak tṛṣyateḥ, udanyur udanyateḥ.*' Thus it becomes evident that in Yāska's opinion *tṛṣṇaje* occurring in the verse-foot already cited is in the dative of the stem *tṛṣṇak* which is a derivative of the root √*tṛṣ*-. But this is not the opinion of Śākalya, for in the Padapāṭha of the above verse *tṛṣṇaje* is divided by an *avagraha*, which indicates its composite character.[6] Śākalya, thus, thought the word to be a

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[1] yad indra citraṃ cāyanīyaṃ maṃhanīyaṃ dhanam asti/ yan ma iha nāstīti yā trīṇi madhyamāni padāni—Nir. IV. 4. Comp. ekam iti Śākalyaḥ/ trīṇīti Gārgyaḥ/ . . . . Śākalya-pakṣe maṃhanīyaṃ dānārham/ . . Chandogānāṃ tu mehanāśabdo naivāsti—Skandaswāmin.

[2] Durga expressly states that in the case of doubtful words we must consult the views of different Padakāras. Comp. 'tadubhayaṃ paśyatā Bhāṣyakāreṇa ubhayoḥ Śākalya-Gārgyayoḥ abhiprāyau atrānuvihitau evaṃjātīyanirvacanopapradarśanārtham/ . . ubhayośca prāmāṇya-khyāpanārtham/ . . evam atra viśeṣaliṅgābhāvāt vipratipattiḥ/ evam anyeṣvapi śākhāntara-padavikalpeṣu anuvidhānam arthāvirodhena karttavyam.'

[3] atra bhāṣye kecit *asyā ū ṣu ṇa*—iti caturthyāḥ ṣaṣṭhyāś ca api upabhuva—ityetena na sambadhyate/ (The reading is corrupt.) sātaye ityetena vyavadhānāt/ nahi anantarasam-bandhakalpanāyāṃ satyāṃ vyavahitasambandhakalpanā nyāyyā/ ataḥ sātaye ityetenaiva sambadhyate/ asyāḥ iti ṣaṣṭhyantaṃ na caturthyantam/ tathā ca *padakāraḥ* ṣaṣṭhyantateva (-otvatvena) avadhṛtavān asyāḥ iti sthitiḥ/ sātaye ityetattu aṅgatvāt vyatyayena ṣaṣṭhyarthe kalpitacaturthīkam asyā-ityetasya samānādhikaraṇaṃ viśeṣaṇaṃ caitat/ sāmānādhikaraṇyena balena asyā—ityetasya caturthyantata (otva-)—kalpanā ayuktā/ tasmāt *asyāḥ naḥ sātaye* iti pāṭhaḥ/ *asyai naḥ sātaye*—ityapapāṭhaḥ/—Skandaswāmin, Vol. II, p. 277. Durga, however, makes no comment regarding the reading of the text.

[4] ārita-ityanavagatam/ prati-ityasya sthāne *āṅ*/pratyṛtaḥ-ityar thapratītiḥ/—*loc. cit.*

[5] Cf. ārita ityanavagatam/'ṛ' gatau itayasya/ ṛśater āṅpūrvasya niṣṭhāyām idaṃ rūpam iti kecit/ *Yāska-Padakārau* tu pratyṛta iti vivaraṇāt avagrahākaraṇācca arter yaṅlugantasya idaṃ rūpam iti manyete . . . . tenānavagama ārita iti/ṛta ityavagamaḥ/ pratyṛta iti dhātu-pratyayayoḥ pradarśanamātram/—*ibid.*, p. 353.

[6] Compare Skandaswāmin's comments: 'athavā utsā iti prathamā, udanyava-iti caturthīś-ruter vyavahitasya āgamanasyedam upamānam/ yathā grīṣmānte divo dyulokāt utsā meghā udanyave udakakāmasya janasyārthāya āgacchanti tadvad āgaccahata/ *tṛṣṇak-śabda-nirvacanāt*

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compound of *tṛṣṇa-ja*, the last member being evidently derived from √*jan*. Accordingly, Yāska and Śākalya are at variance on this point too.

VI. Yāska in Nir. XI. 25 cites RV. X. 108. 1: '*kim icchantī saramā predam ānaṭ dūre hyadhvā jaguriḥ parācaiḥ/ kāsmehitiḥ kā paritamyāsīt kathaṃ rasāyā ataraḥ payāṃsi/*'. In explaining the last foot Yāska states: '*katham sasāyāḥ ataraḥ payāṃsīti. rasā nadī, rasateḥ śabdakarmaṇaḥ/ kathaṃrasāni tāni udakānīti vā.*' In the first explanation Yāska takes *rasā* to refer to a 'stream', and the last foot would then mean: 'How did you cross the waters of the Rasā?' Thus here *rasāyāḥ* is one indivisible word used in the genitive. This is also the view of Śākalya who splits up the words as: *katham/ rasāyāḥ/ ataraḥ/ payāṃsi*. But the second explanation offered by Yāska cannot proceed from Śākalya's Padapāṭha. Yāska now takes *kathaṃ-rasā* as a compound form referring to *payāṃsi*. *yā* now would refer to *payāṃsi* with the accusative plural ending *-ni* dropped.[1] The Padapāṭha in this view would be as follows: *katham rasā/ yā/ ataraḥ/ payāṃsi*. The hiatus in *yā ataraḥ* has to be accounted for by the optional character of euphonic combination in the Vedas. Skandaswāmin here remarks that the second explanation of the *Bhāṣyakāra* (viz. Yāska) might have been in accordance with a different recension of the Ṛk-Saṃhitā.[2]

VII. Yāska in Nir. XII. 46 explains *rodasī* as *rudrasya patnī* in the verse: '*uta gnā vyantu devapatnīr indrāṇyagnāyyaśvinī rāṭ/ā rodasī varuṇānī sṛṇotu vyantu devīr ya ṛtur janīnām*'—RV. V. 46. 8. But in the Padapāṭha it is followed by *iti* and treated as a *pragṛhya* word which shows that according to Śākalya *rodasī* has the dual case-ending and refers to *dyāvāpṛthivī*. Durga comments that Yāska follows the Atharvaveda, in which this verse occurs (cp. AV. VII. 49. 2), where *rodasī* is not treated as a *pragṛhya* word.[3] Thus here evidently Yāska follows the Atharvaveda tradition against Śākalya's decree. Skandaswāmin does not fail to point out Yāska's error, for *rodasī* accented as it is on the first syllable can refer only to 'heaven and earth' as Śākalya's Padapāṭha justly suggests.[4]

VIII. In RV. IV. 32. 23: '*kanīnakeva vidradhe nave drupade arbhake/babhrū yāmeṣu śobhete*', which is cited by Yāska in Nir. IV. 1, all the four words *vidradhe, nave, drupade* and *arbhake* are according to Śākapūṇi locative singulars, which is also the opinion of Śākalya since in the Pada Text they are not followed by *iti* which is put after dual forms ending in *ī, ū* and *ē*. But Yāska does not concur with this view of Śākapūṇi. According to him the two words *nave* and *arbhake* are dual

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tṛṣṇaje-śabdaś caturthyantaḥ. (The published text reads *catulyaḥ* which makes no sense at all.) udanyave ityanena samānādhikaraṇam/ pipāsāśīlasya udakakāmasya janasyārthāya yathā utsā āgaccheyus tadvat āgaccahata iti bhāṣyakārābhiprāyaḥ/ evam tu vyākhyāmāne . . . Śākalyasya tṛṣṇopapadasya janer adhikaraṇasādhanaḥ kartṛsādhano vā ḍa-pratyayaḥ/ kuta etad-avagrahāt.' It should be noted, however, that Durga in his commentary omits the etymologies of both *tṛṣṇaḥ* and *udanyu*: Pāṇini, however, in his aphorism: '*svapi-tṛṣor najiṅ*' (III. 2. 172) derives *tṛṣṇak*—from the root √tṛṣ-, thus falling in with Yāska against Śākalya, vide Śāyaṇa's Comm. on the Ṛk.

[1] Cp. 'śeś chandasi vahulam'—Pāṇini, VI. 1. 70.

[2] 'athavā katham-rasā ityetāvad ekaṃ padaṃ prathamā-bahuvacanāntam/ ya ityedad api padāntaraṃ dvitīyā-bahuvacanāntam/ katham-rasāni kiṃprakārarasāni yāni tvam ataraḥ udakānīti *śākhāntarāpekṣam etad Bhāṣyakārasya vyākhyānaṃ draṣṭavyam*.'—It is strange that Durga has no comment on this divergence of Yāska from Śākalya's Padapāṭha, though in explaining *kahaṃ-rasāni* he takes it as a compounded form.

[3] Cp. 'ātharvaṇe rodasītyapragṛhyaṃ padam. tadapakṣya ekavacanena Bhāṣyakāro nirāha—"rodasī rudrasya patnī"—ti'—*ibid.*

[4] rodasīti rudrasya patnīvacano vyākhyātaḥ/ tat kila nopapadyate yato 'ntodātto rodasī-śabdo rudrapatnīvacano dṛṣṭaḥ/ 'viṣitastukā rodasī' (RV. VI. 50. 5)—ityādau antodāttasya darśanāt/ ādyudāttas tu—'atapyamāne avasāvantī anu ṣyāma rodasī devaputre' (RV. I. 185. 4)—ityādau sarvatra dyāvāpṛthivīvacanaḥ/ tathā ca *padakāreṇa* dvivacanāntatvaṃ pradarśitam iti/ . . . . . *Bhāṣyakārastu* devapatnīprakaraṇānuvidhānena *padakāram anavekṣya* rodasī-śabdaṃ rudrapatnī-vacanam udājahāreti—*Op. cit.* Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* II. 143 refers to the Atharvaveda tradition where *rodasī* is treated as a singular form meaning *rudrapatnī*. Cp. 'rodasī devapatnīnām atharvāṅgirase yathā.'

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forms as they qualify *kanīnake* which is in the dual and not *drupade* as Śākalya and Śākapūṇi contend. So in Yāska's view these two words should be treated as *pragṛhya* in the Padapāṭha—i.e., they should be followed by the particle *iti* to denote their dual character. Thus, here too, Yāska differs from Śākalya.[1]

IX. Yāska in his Nir. IV. 12 quotes RV. I. 6. 7: '*indreṇa saṃ hi dṛkṣase saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā/ mandū samānavarcasā*' and explains *mandū* as *madiṣṇū*—nominative dual or instrumental singular, the first view being that of Śākalya as it is treated as *pragṛhya* in the Padapāṭha and the second of some other Vedic teacher, a Padakāra perhaps, who did not put *iti* after it, thus indicating that it was a singular form and not a dual one.[2]

It is highly probable that in Yāska's time more than one Pada Text of the Ṛgveda existed and that Yāska consulted them in recording the different interpretations to which a Vedic stanza might be subjected.

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[1] Cp. 'kanyayor adhiṣṭhānapravacanāni saptamyā ekavacanānīti Śākapūṇiḥ/ . . . nave navajāte arbhake avṛddhe te yathā tadadhiṣṭhāneṣu śobhete evaṃ babhrū yāmeṣu śobhete. babhrvor aśvayoḥ saṃstavaḥ'—Nir. IV. 15. 'evam etāni kanyayor adhiṣṭhānapravacanāni saptamībahuvacanasya sthāne ekavacanānīti Śākapūṇir manyate. Yāskastu kanīnakevo iti kanyayor dṛṣṭāntatvena upanyāsāt arthasāmarthyāt nave arbhake ityete dve kanyayor viśeṣaṇe/ saptamyekavacane prathamādvivacanānte iti manyate'—Skandaswāmin. Śaunaka in his *Bṛhaddevatā* endorses the view of Śākapūṇi, which is the view of Śākalya also, though he does not refer to Yāska's opinion. Cp. 'kanīnakā sūktaśeṣo haryoḥ stutir ihocyate/ catvāryataś ca vijñeyānyapragṛyāṇi vidradhe'—*Op. cit.*, IV. 144. Professor Macdonell too in his notes on this verse makes no comment as to the opposite view held by Yāska.

[2] Śaunaka, too, notices this twofold explanation of the term *mandū*. Cp. 'mandū iti pragṛhṇanti yeṣām eva dvidevataḥ/ ekadevatyam āśrāvyo vijñāyādhyayanāt padam'—*Op. cit.*, II. 142.

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THE SUBHĀṢITĀVALĪ OF ŚRĪVARA

By J. B. CHAUDHURI

I had recently an occasion to inspect a MS. of the Subhāṣitāvalī, attributed to Śrīvara and owing to the deceiving nature of this attribution, much time and money were wasted. So I consider it my duty to write a note on this MS. belonging at present to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, No. 204 of 1875-1876, in order that my fellow-workers may not similarly be misled or deceived.

The MS. is nothing but the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva, edited by Peterson and the ascription of the work to Śrīvara is due to the following verse found at the end of this MS.:—

श्रीमत्क्षत्ति(?) रक्षति क्षितिमिमां साक्षात्सहस्राक्षव-
क्क्रीजोनाख्य-महीपतिक्षतरिपौ वर्षेऽक्षिनेत्राङ्किते ।
ग्रन्थान् वीक्ष्य सुभाषितावलिमिमां नानारसोत्पादिनीं
सर्वेषां विदुषामयोजयमहं प्रीत्यै बुधः श्रीवरः ॥

Whereas the printed edition has no colophon at the end or under any section, the MS. has colophons throughout, at the end of almost every section. These colophons do not, however, bear the name of Vallabhadeva anywhere else except at the end, i.e. after verse 3504 according to our own enumeration [1]:—

समाप्तेयं श्रीमद्वल्लभविरचिता सुभाषितावलिरिति भद्रम् ॥

The following verse appears to be added by Śrīvara or his scribe:—

मया वाणी विलासेन लिखिता ह्यावलिः शुभा ।
सुभाषितानां श्लोकानां नारायण-पदाप्तये ॥

And it is certain that the following list of Contents reproduced here is the insertion of Śrīvara:—

अतिपद्यसप्ततिपद्धतीनां निर्णयः । आदौ नमस्कारपद्धतिः १; आशीर्वचनानि २; वक्रोक्तयः ३; कविकाव्यप्रशंसा ४; सज्जनवर्णनम् ५; दुर्जनवर्णनम् ६; कदर्याः ७; उदाराः ८; अन्यापदेशाः ९; तत्रादौ सूर्येन्दुवर्णनम् १०; अथ प्राणिनः १०(?); तत्रादौ सिंहाः गजाः ११; उष्ट्राः १२। अथ खगाः १३; तत्रादौ मयूरा हंसाः १४; कोकिलाः १५; काकाः १६; भ्रमराः १७; कीटमशयः १८। वृक्षाः १९; मेघाः २०; समुद्राः २१; मशयः २२; पृङ्खाः २३; पद्माः २४; मरुः २५। अथ संकीर्णम् २६; तत्र षट्कारवर्णनं तत्रादौ विप्रलम्भः; तत्र प्रथमं दयितगमनं २७; विरहिण्यवस्था २८; सखीप्रश्नाः २९; विरहिणी-प्रलापाः ३०; सखीवाच्यता ३१; दूतीप्रेषणम् ३२; विरहिणां प्रलापाः [३३]; दूत्युक्तयः ३४; सखीप्रश्नाः ३५; उपहासाः ३६; स्त्र्यवलोकनम् ३७; स्त्रीरूपवर्णनम् ३८; केशा ललाटं

[1] The MS. has no continuous numbering of verses. The numbering as noted here in this article is our own.

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भ्रुवौ चक्षुषी कर्णौ अधरः मुखं चिबुकं करणः बाहू स्तनौ मध्यभागः रोमराजिः जघनमण्डलं ऊरू पादौ मानः ३९; अनुनयः ४०; उक्तिप्रत्युक्ती ४१। अथ सम्भोगशृङ्गारः, तत्र ऋतुवर्णनं तत्रादौ वसन्तः ४२; ग्रीष्मः ४३; प्रावृट् ४४; शरत् ४५; हेमन्तः ४६; शिशिरः ४७; पुष्पोच्चयः ४८; जलकेलिः ४९; अस्तमयः ५०; अभिसारिका ५१; चन्द्रोदयः ५२; पानकेलिः ५३। चाटवः ५४; प्रियविषये चाटवः ५५। सुरतारम्भः ५६; सुरतकेलिः ५७; विपरीतसुरतम् ५८; प्रभातवर्णनम् ५९। संकीर्णम् ६०। वीरः ६१, हास्यम् ६२। जातिः ६३। राजविषये चाटवः ६४। नीतिः ६५। अथ वैराग्यम् ६६; तत्रादौ धर्मः शीलं ६७; कलिः ६८; कर्म ६९; दैवं ७०; आपत् ७१; सेवा ७२; तृष्णा ७३; अनित्यता ७४; विषयोपहासाः ७५; परिदेवना ७६; मनोरथाः ७७; संकीर्णम् ७८; श्रीभगवद्वर्णनम् ७९।

This list is, however, palpably defective. In the list of अन्यापदेशाः, "मृगाः" has altogether been omitted after गजाः; चातकाः and सारसाः after मयूराः हंसाः respectively; "वकाः" after भ्रमराः and "काकाः" should have been mentioned after भ्रमराः and वकाः and before कीटमणयः। Similarly, "नासा" has been dropped from the list of the limbs of women as described here. In the section on चाटुs, too, "प्रियाविषये चाटवः" has altogether been omitted and in the section on सुरत, सुरतनिवृत्तिः। Again, the numbering of sections is without any principle; there is no reason why all the limbs of a woman should be kept under the same number ३९ and the items under other sections should be sharply demarcated.

In the MS. in question, after the list of Contents, there are a few verses which were, no doubt, very much liked by Śrīvara, viz.

व्योमान्ते न घनावली प्रथमगा राज्ञां ध्वजश्रौर्नवा
शैलान्ते न नदी च वादिमुखगा नो न्यायरत्नावली।
हर्म्याग्रस्थितिशालिनी च न सुधा नाकेन्द्रमूर्धोर्ध्वगा
नो शेषापि च काव्यसौ सुविमला भूयात् परं रामके॥
राजते या परा माररामारामहरामरा।
रामं वा मूर्त्तिबालं वा बालं राताच्च ते जरा॥
.....माश्रितो-
ऽन्धकालयमनो महादृषद्धृतोत्सवो भूतिभृत्।
विनायकधृतोऽरिभृद्भुजगभोगशोभी वशी
सुभोगरतिकृद्दृषा कपिरिवास्तु वो जोनकः॥
इते श्रीमत्पण्डितसाहिचरस्य॥

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Then follows the verse with reference to Śrīvara which we have quoted before.

In between the list of Contents and the above verses, there are two verses which are very corrupt. They are not, therefore, reproduced here. From the first verse, however, it is absolutely clear that the MS. was written by the scribe at Śrīnagara.

The first indiscrepancy between the printed edition of the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva and the MS. in question is that the serial number of verses differs materially between the two as is shown below. The only one section in the body of the book that has been added by the scribe, probably, in accordance with the wishes of Śrīvara himself, is Cibuka-varṇana; there are only two verses in it, viz.

(1) विलोकिता स्यान्मुखमुन्नमय्य
किं वेधसेयं सुषमासमाप्तौ ।
धृत्युद्भवा यच्चिबुके चकास्ति
निम्ने मनागङ्गुलियन्त्रणेव ॥ श्रीहर्षस्य ॥ १५१५ ॥

(2) कामिन्या मुखनिर्मितौ व्ययवशाल्लावण्यकोशं क्षयं
मत्वा चन्द्रविधित्सया विधिरथ व्यग्राशयः किञ्चन ।
एकं तच्चिबुकोदराद्उदहरल्लावण्यबिन्दुं यत-
स्तद्बिन्दुद्वयसौ चकास्ति चिबुके कापि स्फुटं निम्नता ॥ १५१६ ॥

Subjects.	No. of verses in the printed ed.	No. of verses in the MS.
मङ्गलाचरणम्	1–2	1–2
नमस्कार-पद्धतिः	3–27	3–27
आशीर्वादः	28–102	28–103
वक्रोक्तिः	103–132	104–124
कविकाव्यप्रशंसा	133–197	125–189
सज्जनवर्णनपद्धतिः	198–325	190–317
दुर्जनपद्धतिः	326–466	318–459
कदर्याः	467–494	460–487
उदाराः	495–544	488–538
सूर्येन्दुवर्णनम्	545–580	539–573
अन्यापदेशाः		
(a) प्राणिनः		
सिंहाः	581–621	574–615
गजाः	622–645	616–639
मृगाः	646–663	640–657
करभाः	664–673	658–667

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Subjects.	No. of verses in the printed ed.	No. of verses in the MS.
(*b*) खगाः		
मयूरास्चातकास्च	674–688	668–682
हंसाः सारसास्च	689–717	683–711
कोकिलाः	718–723	712–717
भ्रमराः	724–756	718–750
वकाः	757–763	751–757
काकाः	764–776	758–771
कीटमणयः	777–783	772–778
(*c*) वृक्षाः	784–831	779–824
(*d*) मेघः	832–852	825–844
(*e*) समुद्रः	853–891	845–883
(*f*) मणयः	892–911	884–903
(*g*) शृङ्गः	912–918	904–910
(*h*) पद्माः	919–937	911–929
(*i*) मरुः	938–950	930–942
(*j*) सङ्कीर्णवस्तुपद्धतिः	951–1037	943–1021
षट्ङ्गारपद्धतिः		
मङ्गलाचरणम्	1038–1039	1022–1023
दयितगमनपद्धतिः	1040–1064	1024–1038
विरहिण्यवस्था	1065–1094	1039–1078
सखीप्रश्नाः	1095–1104	1079–1089
विरहिणीप्रलापाः	1105–1165	1090–1150
सखीवाच्यता	1166–1178	1151–1163
दूतीप्रेषणम्	1179–1189	1164–1174
विरहिणां प्रलापाः	1190–1380	1175–1365
दूत्युक्तयः	1381–1415	1366–1401
सखीप्रश्नाः	1416–1424	1402–1410
उपहासाः	1425–1448	1411–1434
स्त्रीविलोकनम्	1449–1475	1435–1461
स्त्रीप्रशंसा	1476–1479	1462–1465
केशाः	1480–1486	1466–1473
ललाटम्	1487–1489	1474–1477

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Subjects.	No. of verses in the printed ed.	No. of verses in the MS.
भ्रुवौ	1490–1491	1478–1479
चक्षुषी	1492–1500	1480–1488
कर्णौ	1501	1489
नासा	1502–1506	1490–1494
अधरवर्णनम्	1507–1512	1495–1500
मुखम्	1513–1526	1501–1514
[चिबुकवर्णना]	(not found in the Subhāṣitāvalī)	1515–1516
कण्ठः	1527–1528	1517–1518
बाहू	1529–1532	1519–1522
स्तनौ	1533–1547	1523–1538
मध्यभागः	1548–1553	1539–1544
रोमराजिः	1554–1558	1545–1549
जघनमण्डलम्	1559–1563	1550–1554
ऊरू	1564–1566	1555–1557
जङ्घे	1567–1569	1558–1560
पादौ	1570–1572	1561–1563
मानः	1573–1592	1564–1583
अनुनयः	1593–1613	1584–1604
उक्तिप्रत्युक्ती	1614–1641	1605–1632
सम्भोगशृङ्गारः		
तत्र षड्ऋतुवर्णनम्		
तत्र—		
वसन्तः	1642–1692	1633–1683
ग्रीष्मः	1693–1717	1684–1708
प्रावृट्	1718–1790	1709–1779
शरत्	1791–1826	1780–1815
हेमन्तः	1827–1846	1816–1835
शिशिरः	1847–1857	1836–1846
कुसुमोच्चयः	1858–1869	1847–1858
जलकेलिः	1870–1885	1859–1874
अस्तमयः	1886–1935	1875–1924

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Subjects.	No. of verses in the printed ed.	No. of verses in the MS.
अभिसारिका	1936–1954	1925–1943
चन्द्रोदयः	1955–2006	1944–1996
पानकेलिः	2007–2023	1997–2013
चाटवः		
(*a*) प्रियाविषये	2024–2037	2013–2027
(*b*) प्रियविषये	2038–2041	2028–2031
सुरतारम्भः	2042–2085	2032–2074
सुरतकेलिः	2086–2118	2075–2107
विपरीतरतकेलिः	2119–2138	2108–2127
सुरतनिवृत्तिः	2139–2152	2128–2140
प्रभातवर्णनम्	2153–2223	2141–2211
सङ्कीर्णम्	2224–2251	2212–2239
वीरः	2252–2290	2240–2277
हास्यम्	2291–2406	2278–2393
जातिः	2407–2425	2394–2412
राजविषये चाटवः	2426–2640	2413–2629
नीतिपद्धतिः	2641–2949	2630–2932
अथ वैराग्यम्		
तत्र धर्मकथा	2950–3046	2933–3029
शीलम्	3047–3055	3030–3038
कलिकालः	3056–3078	3039–3062
कर्म	3079–3105	3063–3085
दैवम्	3106–3156	3086–3135
आपत्पद्धतिः	3157–3206	3136–3185
सेवापद्धतिः	3207–3240	3186–3220
तृष्णापद्धतिः	3241–3264	3221–3244
अनित्यतापद्धतिः	3265–3331	3245–3312
विषयोपहासः	3332–3392	3313–3373
परिदेवना	3393–3400	3374–3381
मनोरथः	3401–3424	3382–3405
संकीर्णवस्तुवर्णनम्	3425–3485	3406–3462
श्रीभगवत्स्वरूपवर्णनपद्धतिः	3486–3527	3463–3504

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The above discrepancy in numbering is due to (*a*) some additional verses in the MS. not traced in the printed edition; (*b*) some verses of the printed edition not found in the MS.

(*a*) *Additional verses in the MS.*

[अथ काकाः]

1. अचस्थः सखि लक्ष्ययोजनगतस्यास्य प्रियस्यागमं
वेत्त्याख्याति च धिङ्मुधैव पठितान् सर्वान्च्छुकादीन्च्छठान् ।
सत्कान्तोग्रवियोगदुःखदहनज्वालावलीचन्दनं
काकस्तेन गुणेन काञ्चनमये व्यापारितः पञ्जरे ॥

MS. No. 770 (between vv. 775 and 776 of the printed edition).[1]

[अथ दूत्युक्तयः]

2. कामिन्या स्मरसंज्वरः करतलस्पर्शैः परीक्ष्यो नवः
स्निग्धेनापि जनेन दाहभयतः प्रस्थम्पचः पाथसाम् ।
नीवीसत्कृतचन्दनौषधिविधौ तस्मिंस्तदुत्कारिणो
लाजस्फोटममी स्फुटन्ति मणयो विश्वेऽपि हारस्रजाम् ॥
राजशेखरस्य ॥

MS. No. 1397 (between vv. 1411 and 1412 of the printed edition).

[अथ स्त्रीरूपवर्णनम् । तत्रादौ केशाः]

3. किं लावण्यसरोरुहोद्भवमिदं ग्रैवालजालं ग्रसि-
भ्रान्त्या क्रान्तमुपागतं मुखमुत स्वर्भानवीयं महः ।
रोद्धुं कामिमनांसि तन्तुनिवहः किं क्षणपट्टस्य वा
सज्जो मारवनेचरेण निहितस्तन्व्याः कचानां भरः ॥

MS. No. 1466 (between vv. 1479 and 1480 of the printed edition).

[अथ ललाटम्]

4. वक्त्राम्भोरुहलग्नषट्पदतुलाव्यामोहमापादयन्
ग्रङ्गामङ्गुरयन् कलङ्कजनितां चन्द्रे मुखे रङ्गिणः ।
भ्रूकोदण्डलताभ्रमनीलगुलिकभ्रान्तिं स्मरस्याश्रयन्
कस्तूरीतिलकः करोतु भवतां कल्याणपारंपरीम् ॥

MS. No. 1476 (between vv. 1488 and 1489 of the printed edition).

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1 The order of lines in the previous two verses has been altered in the MS.

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5-6. Vv. 1515 and 1516 on चिबुकवर्णन have been quoted before.

[अथ स्तनौ]

7. मनोरमं सर्वमनोरमेषु
स्तनद्वयं चञ्चललोचनायाः ।
इतीव दृग्दोषनिवारणाय
चक्रे विधिस्चुचुकच्छलाङ्कम् ॥

MS. No. 1531 (between vv. 1540 and 1541 of the printed edition).

[अथ चन्द्रोदयः]

8. बालेन नक्तंसमयेन मुक्तं
रौप्यं ललम्बिम्बमिवेन्दुबिम्बः ।
भ्रमिक्रमादुज्झितपट्टसूत्र-
नेत्राकृतिर्मुञ्चति प्रोणिमानम् ॥ श्रीहर्षस्य ॥

MS. No. 1992 (between vv. 2002-2003 of the printed edition).

[अथ हास्यपद्धतिः]

9. कन्या कौतुकमात्रकेण विधवा संमर्दमात्रार्थिनौ
वेश्या वित्तलवेच्छया खगृहिणी गत्यन्तरासम्भवात् ।
वाञ्छन्तीत्यमनेककारणवशात् पुंभिः स्त्रियः सङ्गमं
शुद्धस्नेहनिबन्धना परवधूः पुण्यैः परैः प्राप्यते ॥ कस्यापि ॥

MS. No. 2393 (between vv. 2406 and 2407 of the printed edition).

[अथ चाटवः]

10. भूमिपाल भुवो भारस्त्वद्भुजेऽस्तौति का स्तुतिः ।
शिरसा धृतशेषा यन्मूर्त्तिस्तव तदद्भुतम् ॥
पं क्षमाकस्य कस्यापि ॥

MS. No. 2482 (between vv. 2494 and 2495 of the printed edition).

11. छिद्रप्रसङ्गरहितोऽपि सदैव भूत्वा
योऽत्यन्तमेव गुणसङ्गतिमातनोषि ।
भूमण्डलाभरणमद्भुतवृत्तसुवंश-
मुक्तामणिः स जयतात्पुरुषोत्तमस्त्वम् ॥ एतौ लेखस्य ॥

MS. No. 2517 (between vv. 2528 and 2529 of the printed edition).

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The previous verse स्त्रीसंनिधानविलसद्रुचि, etc. is, however, attributed to कपिलदामोदर in the printed edition.

[अथ सेवापद्धतिः]

12. न सेवया न वलिना पौरुषेण धनेन च ।
वेतालाः क्षितिपालाश्च दैवात्सिध्यन्ति कस्यचित् ॥

MS. No. 3220 (between vv. 3240 and 3241 of the printed edition).

[अथ संकीर्णवस्तुवर्णनम्]

13. एकामिषप्रभवमेव सहोदराणां
संजायते जगति वैरमिति प्रसिद्धम् ।
एष्वौनिमित्तमभवत् कुरुपाण्डवाणां
तीव्रस्तथा हि भुवनक्षयकृद्विरोधः ॥ श्रीकृष्णमिश्रस्य ॥

MS. No. 3426 (between vv. 3446 and 3447 of the printed edition).

(*b*) The following verses of the printed edition are not found in the MS. : 90, 776, 790, 826, 835, 989, 990, 991–993, 996, 1195, 1260, 1274, 1732, 1740, 2142, 2283, 2861, 2884, 2923, 2963, 2982, 3104, 3131, 3353-54, 3421, 3439 and 3467.

Again, the following missing portions of some verses of the printed edition are found in the MS.; they are kept here within brackets :—

1. P. 1894 = MS. 1883 in the section on अस्तमयः

अंशुमानपि विपाकपिङ्गं
रूपमास परितो दिवसान्ते ।
कः परोक्ष न विकारमुपेया-
[द्भान्त]भीमपरिवेष्टितमूर्त्तिः ॥

2. P. 2332 = MS. No. 2318 in the section on हास्यम्

नीचेश्वरस्य यद्हास्यं [यद्हास्यं नीचकर्मणः] ।
तद्दुर्भरक्षतघ्नस्य जठरस्य विज्रम्भितम् ॥

3. P. 2333 = MS. No. 2319.

वैयाकरणसिंहेण योऽपशब्दमृगो हतः ।
नटैराग्निकैर्वैद्यैः पाण्डुराङ्गै स भक्षितः(?) ॥

4. The following verse P. 2334 = MS. No. 2320 is found in an extremely corrupt form and therefore, not reproduced here.

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5. P. 3478 = MS. 3457 in the section on संकीर्णवस्तुवर्णन :—

शूरं वैधव्यभीता बुधमपि च तथा विद्ययोत्पादितेर्ष्या
मा मां स्प्राक्षीज्जनोऽन्यः क्वचिदिति च सती मुक्तहस्तं विहाय।
क्लीवं मूर्खं कदर्यं यदि भवति नरं [संश्रिता श्रीर्वराङ्गी
तत् किं सा गर्हनीया क्व च न बजमतः कस्य न स्वार्थ इष्टः] ॥

The ascriptions of the following verses also differ:—

P.E. 284 / MS. 276 = Sītkāraratnasya / Sītkāraratnasya

P.E. 637 / MS. 631 = Bhaścḥ / Anonymous

P.E. 653 / MS. 647 = Sātalasya / Rasātalasya

P.E. 758 / MS. 752 = Vṛddheḥ / Anonymous

P.E. 984–88 / MS. 976–980 = Ete Bhallaṭasya / first four anon.; only last one attributed to Kalaśaka.

P.E. 1056 / MS. 1040 = Amarukasya / Anonymous

P.E. 1190–1196 / MS. 1175–1180 = Ete Bhagavad-Vālmīki-Muneḥ / Anonymous; v. 1195 not found in MS.

P.E. 1204 / MS. 1188 = Rairupakasya / Rūpyakasya

P.E. 1242 / MS. 1236 = Vinītadevasya / Vinītadattasya

P.E. 1312 / MS. 1297 = Harṣasya / Anonymous

P.E. 1447 / MS. 1443 = Anonymous / Bhāraveḥ

P.E. 1598 / MS. 1589 = Vidyāpateḥ / Vidyādhipateḥ

P.E. 1615 / MS. 1606 = Tārtyasya / Anonymous

P.E. 1779 / MS. 1768 = Pājakasya / Yājakasya

P.E. 1783 / MS. 1772 = Anonymous / Vidyādhipateḥ

P.E. 2117 / MS. 2106 = Anonymous / Jagaddharasya

P.E. 2528 / MS. 2516 = Kapiladāmodarasya / Lekhasya

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P.E. 2899 / MS. 2883 = Anonymous / Kṣemendrasya

P.E. 3130 / MS. 3110 = Vāsudevasya / Somasya

P.E. 3369 / MS. 3350 = Haribhaṭṭasya / Harabhaṭṭasya

P.E. 3383 / MS. 3365 = Anonymous / Aśvaghoṣasya

P.E. 3401-2 / MS. 3382-3 = Anonymous / Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇasya

P.E. 3446 / MS. 3425 = Anonymous / Rājaśekharasya

P.E. 3448-9 / MS. 3428-29 = Candragopinaḥ / first one, of Candrogopin; second one—anonymous.

Some verses are found in a changed order; thus, the first halves of vv. 774 and 775 make v. 768 of the MS. and their second halves form v. 769 of the latter. Again, the second line of v. 2301 of the printed edition is written as the first line of v. 2288 of the MS. and *vice versa*. The first half of 2710 and the second half of 2711 is combined to form v. 2699 of the MS. Vv. 2834-35, 2889–93 and 3083–98 of the printed edition are found in a different order—with lines interchanged, in the MS. And so on.

The variant readings between the two are so numerous that they will form a booklet, if minutely collected. So, no attempt is made here as to that. But some of the variant readings are most welcome and will be highly acclaimed by competent scholars.

In the year 1941, Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi published in No. 2, Vol. II of the *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati, some accounts he gleaned from three MSS. in Malayalam script, two of them collected by him for the G.O. MSS. library about 1921 and the third one by 1929. These, in addition to the materials at our disposal, confirm our belief that the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva, edited by Peterson, requires an early and thorough revision. It is only unfortunate that critical editions of such important works as the Śārṅgadharapaddhati and the Subhāṣitāvalī should not find the light of the day up till now. Sanskrit anthologies are very valuable records of the achievements of Sanskrit poets of Mediaeval India in particular and but for these, many champions of our Sanskritic learning would have been lost to us for ever. Experience shows that most ascriptions in these works to the names of poets are absolutely accurate and critical editing reveals that major portion of wrong attributions is due not to the carelessness of the compilers, but to scribes. Thousands of these verses I have been able to trace to their original sources and the ascriptions in the anthologies have been usually found accurate. Wrong attributions there are; but they are not very many, and even then, they are very useful in finding out the real sources of these quotations.

We have totally neglected a critical and exhaustive study of the Purāṇas, we have similarly neglected a critical and thorough study of our vast Kāvya, particularly anthological and historical literature. These two branches of Sanskritic study require the immediate and searching attention of all lovers of Sanskritic learning. And then, some of the works that have been edited require thorough revision, e.g. the Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa, edited by Dr. Haradatta Sharma. It is now high time for us to take these studies in right earnest.

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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DATA IN AŚOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

By PRADYUMNA KUMUD MOOKERJI

The inscriptions of Aśoka contain interesting social and economic facts and data which have not received the attention they deserve. They have been mainly studied as historical and religious documents, but they give glimpses of the social and economic background of which a separate picture may be given.

The inscriptions imply that Hindu society in those days was based upon what may be called Varṇāśramadharma, its traditional division into castes and Āśramas or stages of life. The different *Varṇas* are not explicitly mentioned in the edicts but are implied, as in the following passage: 'They are also employed among the soldiers and their chiefs (*Bhaṭamayeshu*), Brahmanical ascetics and householders (*Brahmaṇibhyeshu*) . . .' (R.E. V). The passage indicates the three upper castes of Hindu society, viz. the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas or the warrior caste, i.e. the soldiers and their chiefs and the *Ibhyas* or the Vaiśyas. The Śūdra or the fourth caste is indicated by the term *dāsa-bhaṭaka* (servants and hirelings) which occur in several edicts (cf. R.E. IX, XI, XIII and P.E. VII).

The edicts also refer in a similar way to the *Āśramas*. The first Āśrama, viz. that of the *Brahmachārī* is meant by the word Antevāsī occurring in Minor Rock Edict VI, the term for 'a pupil who dwells in the household of his teacher'. The *Grihastha* is referred to in Rock Edict XII and in Pillar Edict VII in contradistinction to the *Parajita* or the ascetic which points to the last two Āśramas. The term *pajārān* also implies the householder as the father of children.

Hindu society in Aśoka's time was based on the joint family which is very much appreciated by him, as he states in R.E. XIII. In contemplating the casualties of his bloody conquest of Kaliṅga, Aśoka feels that his inner anguish and remorse are aggravated by the fact that the affliction inflicted on the individual soldier in the field of battle became the common affliction of his whole family of which the members are knit together by ties of personal affection (*sneha* and *abhirata*). The joint family was constituted on a comprehensive scale, and was not based on mere relationship in blood. It included members described as follows in the edict: Elders by age or seniors in status (*agrabhuti* or *agrabhuṭi*), mother and father (*mātāpitā*), teacher (*guru*), friend (*mitra*), acquaintance (*saṁstuta*), help-mate (comrade) (*sahāya*), kinsman (*ñātika*), menials (*dāsa*), and paid servants (*bhṛitaka*). The joint family in this conception is expanded into the village community based on good neighbourliness which, in warmth, amounts almost to blood-relationship. In such a compact village society, the misfortune which befalls the individual villager is felt not merely by his own particular family but by the whole village as its common misfortune. Aśoka further holds that this institution of joint family is the foundation of Dharma or Moral Life as the field for the practice of those domestic virtues which make for universal brotherhood and non-violence. That is why he practically singles out the country of the Yonas (Yavanas) as lying outside the pale of Hindu civilization on account of its casteless society, in the Kalsi, Girnar, Mānsehrā texts of the same edict. This statement is really based on that of the Buddha made to Assalāyana in the canonical text *Majjhima Nikāya* (ii, 149, P.T.S.). The Buddha says '*sutante: Yona Kambojesu aññesu cha pacchchantimesu Janapadesu dveva vaṇṇā ayyoch' eva dāso cha; ayyohutrā dāso hoti dāso hutvā ayyo hotīti?*' 'Have you heard this: that in the Yona, Kamboja, and other border countries, there are only two varṇas or social classes, *ārya*, master, and *dāsa*, servant, that an *ārya* may become a *dāsa* and a *dāsa* may become an *ārya*?' This passage shows that as early as the time of the Buddha

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and Āśvalāyana, these peoples of the Indian frontier like the Yonas, Kambojas and others lacked the characteristic of Indian society, viz. its divisions into castes and religious groups. The only division they knew of were the economic ones, those between the class of employers and the employed, between master and servant. It may be noted that Aśoka uses a new term *Nikāya* to indicate the social divisions of India.

The edicts also show that society in Aśoka's time attached great importance to ascetics as a class whether Brahmanical or Buddhist for the reason that they were the real leaders of the people in thought and moral life by their complete renunciation of the secular and mundane interests of life and the spirit of individualism and selfishness. But though they renounced the world, they were quite ready to serve it by ministering to the interests of its moral and religious life. The *Mahāvaṁsa* relates how the foreign missions of Aśoka for the spread of Buddhist faith in countries outside India were undertaken by the Buddhist monks. Aśoka, in R.E. XIII, also refers to the ambassadors that he despatched abroad for carrying on actual measures of humanitarian service in the relief of sufferings of all God's creatures. Thus the ascetics counted social service as religious work.

These Indian missionaries working in foreign countries in the country of the Yonas and also further in western countries like Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Syrone and Epirus made short work of the social problems connected with sea-voyage and foreign travel banned by some of the Hindu legal texts. Thus caste could not prevail against religion. This broad catholic and cosmopolitan outlook is exemplified in a remarkable manner by a passage in the *Mahāvaṁsa* relating how a Greek is converted to an Indian with his original name changed into *Dharmarakshita*. This Indian Greek is selected and sent out as a missionary to work, in the Aparāntaka country. After this, we are not surprised at the construction of a monolithic pillar in honour of Lord Vāsudeva by a Hindu Greek named Heliodoros who calls himself a Bhāgavata in his inscription on the pillar dated about 140 B.C. We may note that it is this spirit of universal brotherhood treating social service as religious work which did not recognize natural frontiers or geographical boundaries that built up what is called Greater India by spreading Indian cultural civilization. (See *Aśoka*, R. K. Mookerji, p. 104.)

A remarkable example of such social service is furnished by Aśoka's own household. According to literary texts, his eldest son and daughter, Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā, both worked as missionaries for the spread of Buddhism in Ceylon. This shows that the Buddhist Church in those days opened up a career which was readily accepted by the youths of the upper classes of society choosing to consecrate themselves to the cause of religion.

Society was made up of people of 'diverse sects' (Sarvaprasaṃda, R.E. VII) such as the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Śramaṇas*, *Nigranthas* and the *Ājīvikas* who were all treated favourably and equally by the Emperor (cf. R.E. XII). Aśoka wanted perfect concord between these sects for which he advised them to assemble at meetings and hear the expositions of each other's doctrines. Such assemblage is called a Samarāya which was marked by freedom of discussion and debate among the exponents of different religions. These were the characteristic features of intellectual life of India in all ages. The Upanishads tell of the learned conferences of philosophers which served as the best agency for the promotion and spread of learning in the country.

It is interesting to note that the edicts very clearly refer to the *Saṁskāras* which constituted a traditional and a fundamental factor in Hindu society. These were as many as forty according to Gautama and Vaikhānasa. Every important stage and phase of a man's life was associated with a particular and a suitable ceremony which was meant to sanctify him. Ceremonies began even before birth, from the very moment of conception and continued up to the last. In his R.E. IX, Aśoka makes explicit mention of these *Saṁskāras*. The passage goes as follows: 'In

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troubles, marriages of sons and daughters, birth of children, departures from home—on these and other (occasions) people perform many different ceremonies. But in such (cases) mothers and wives perform numerous and diverse petty and worthless ceremonies . . . . These bear little fruit.' This sentiment of the Buddhist Emperor is, to some extent, shared by Gautama who does not see much efficacy in the mere formal performance of these rites unless these are associated with inner qualities in one's self. (See *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Volume III, p. 185.) Aśoka also insists on certain qualities which make up his Dharma. These 'requisites of Dharma' are enumerated by him in P.E. I and P.E. II.

Besides these obligations, society had also its pleasures and amenities. One such important social diversion was the *Samāja* (R.E. I) which could be of various kinds. There were also pleasure-trips (*vihārayātrās*) and hunting excursions (R.E. VIII). At some of these *Samājas*, the peoples' enjoyment centred round cruelty towards animals of various forms. The worst culprit in this matter was the palace in those days. Megasthenes describes with what pomp and magnificence the king set out on hunting surrounded by crowds of women protected by a circle of spearmen with the road marked off with the ropes which it was death for the people to pass. The women hunters rode in chariots, on horse or elephants. Royalty was also fond of arranging sports comprising animal fights. The *Dīgha Nikāya* condemns the fights arranged between animals like 'elephants, horses, buffaloes, bulls, goats and rams' and 'between birds, cocks and quacks'. The Greek writers mention, in addition, races between chariots drawn by a group of oxen with a horse between. Aśoka counted these as objectionable practices and replaced the same by better avenues of enjoyment. These were exhibition of heavenly chariots, of elephants (*hastidasaṇā*), fires (*agikhaṁdhāni*) and other such divine shows (*divyāni-rūpāni*).

The edicts prove the existence of slaves in those days. In R.E. IX, Aśoka insists on proper treatment towards slaves and employees (*dāsa-bhaṭaka*). Thus even the lowest strata of Indian society were not treated as beasts unlike those of Western countries.

Lastly, the two important references to harems in R.E. V and VI probably shows that there had already been considerable restriction upon the free movement of women.

While society was split up into a number of castes and sects, economically the people were distinct as either 'the lowly or high in rank' or as 'slaves and their masters'. (Cf. R.E. IX.)

But all classes were treated equally by the Emperor who exerted for the benefit of all and not of the few (*sarvalokahitam*).

The promotion of the common weal enjoined upon the king some important economic duties and measures. These were the construction of roads (R.E. VI), of wells, rest-houses and watering stations (P.E. VII), arrangement for medical treatment (*chikitsā*) by importation of medicinal herbs (R.E. VI), and plantation of fruit-bearing trees (P.E. VII).

Aśoka was equally keen on public works of utility suitable for villages. This is indicated in the institution of *anusaṁyāna* or the administrative tours prescribed for his higher officers, the viceroys as well as governors (K.R.E. I and R.E. VII). The meaning of the term *anusaṁyāna* is thus explained by Buddhaghosha in his famous commentary *Samantapāsādikā*: 'Jato tato gantvā pacchavekkhanam', i.e. going here and there for purposes of inspection. There is a further passage in the *Aṅguttara* (i. pp. 59-60), where it is stated that *anusaṁyāna* in frontier districts (*pacchantime janapade anusaññātum*) is not easy for kings at a time when raiders are abroad. The commentator explains the passage as follows: '*pacchantime janapade anusaññātuṁ ti-gāmāvāsa-karaṇatthāya, setu-atthāya, pokkharaṇī-khaṇāpanatthāya, sālādīnaṁ karanatthāya pacchantime janapade anusāsitum pi na sukhaṁ hoti*', i.e. 'it is not easy to go into the frontier districts to see to the

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construction of residences in the village, of public works, halls, and similar works, or excavation of tanks'. These passages show that the villages of Aśokan India were endowed with not merely the public works of utility, like the cottage as homes of rural population; *setu*, or the village plantations of different classes to produce flowers, vegetables and other agricultural and commercial crops like sugar-cane, rice and spices as defined in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. II); or *pushkariṇī* (tanks) for the supply of water for drinking and irrigation, but also buildings and other institutions as facilities for the growth of civic spirit and public life in the village community.

The economic principle for which Aśoka stood was *aparyātā apabhāṇḍatā* or moderation in spending and hoarding, the full significance of which is thus explained:

'One portion let him spend and taste the fruit
His business to conduct let him take two
And portion four let him reserve and hoard (*nidhāpeyya*)
So there'ill be wherewithal in times of need.'

(*Sigālovāda Suttanta.*)

In accordance with this principle, Aśoka wanted 'that every individual should be trained up in making proper domestic budgets or accounts (*gaṇanā*)' for which he made necessary arrangements.

The edicts show that meat-diet was very popular in those days. 'Formerly in the kitchen of his Sacred and Gracious Majesty, daily many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered for curries' (R.E. I). The edible animals included peacocks, deer (R.E. I), geese, stags, goats, doves, tortoises and the like (P.E. V).

Lastly, the Rummindei Pillar Inscription shows that agriculture as the main industry of the people was subject to a tax probably $\frac{1}{4}$ share of the produce and that in the case of the village Lumbinī, this land-revenue was reduced to $\frac{1}{8}$ share of the produce (*aṭhabhāgiya*) as a result of the Emperor's visit to the place.

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EARLIEST BENGALI GRAMMAR WRITTEN IN BENGALI[1]

By G. C. Basu

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Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerji, one of the most earnest workers in the field of Bengal Manuscripts, has drawn my attention to a work discovered and collected by him for the Dacca University, which would certainly rouse curiosity and interest in the educated circle of Bengal, and especially in those who are actively engaged in the reconstruction of the history of Bengali language and literature. It may be said to be the earliest grammar of the Bengali language written in Bengali. So far known, we had the grammar of J. Keith[2] published by the School Book Society, in 1820, as the first Bengali grammar written in the vernacular, and Rammohan's 'Gauḍiya Vyākaran'[3] (1833) as the second. But the discovery of the present manuscript will deprive Keith's grammar of its present position in the grammatical literature of Bengali.

The findplace of the manuscript (No. 343E.) is the village 'Ulā' in the district of Nadiyā. The material is the common handmade paper ordinarily used in Bengal manuscripts. The size of the manuscript is 13·8 in. × 3·2 in. The number of folios is twenty-eight. Each of these fifty-six pages contains eight lines. The handwriting is fairly legible, and can be read with ease. In a few places the writing is obliterated, and one or two pages are slightly damaged. Though the manuscript is not very old still it contains some old forms of initial letters and ligatures of the Bengali alphabet.

The colophon of the manuscript runs thus—

ভাষাকথাক্রম গ্রন্থ সমাপ্ত হইল ॥ মেস্তর উলিএম কেরি সাহেবের রচিত ॥ * ॥ লিখক শ্রীরমাকান্তদেবশর্ম্মণঃ পুস্তকমিদং স্বাক্ষরঞ্চ ॥ ইঙ্গরেজি শন ১৮১০ শাল তারিখ ১৬ আগস্ত বাঙ্গালা শন ১২১৭ শাল তারিখ ১ ভাদ্র শুক্রবার মোং খিদিরপুর ॥ * ॥

'(Here) ends the book "Bhāṣā-kathā-kram". Composed by Mr. William Carey (Shahib). The book belongs to the scribe Śrī Ramākānta Deva Sarman. The signature is his. English year 1810, dated the 16th August; Bengali year 1217, dated the 1st Bhādra, Friday. Home (address) Khidirpur.'

From the colophon given above, we have the following facts about which there cannot be any doubt: the name of the work is Bhāṣā-kathā-kram, the 'author' is 'Mr. William Carey', and the date of the manuscript is the 16th August, 1810.

So far known, there are only three grammars of the Bengali language written and published before 1810. The first was written by Manoel Da Assumpçain[4] in 1734 while he was residing in the village Nāgari (in the District of Dacca). It was printed in the Roman script, and published from Lisbon (Portugal) in 1743. The second is that of Natheniel Brassy Halhed.[5] It was printed in Hoogly,

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerji, M.A., keeper of manuscripts, Dacca University Library, for drawing my attention to this manuscript and helping me in preparing a copy of it. My thanks are due to Prof. S. K. De of the Dacca University, Prof. S. K. Chatterji of the Calcutta University and Mr. S. C. Banerji for examining the manuscript and making some valuable suggestions.

[2] Sambād Patre Sekāler Kathā—B. N. Banerji—Second ed., p. 460.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Pub. Cal. Univ.—ed. S. K. Chatterji and P. R. Sen.

[5] A copy in Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parisat.

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and published in 1778. The third is by William Carey published from Serampore in 1801. But none of these books are written in Bengali, the first one being in Portuguese and the other two in English.

The colophon of the present manuscript gives the date very clearly as 1810, and therefore we may safely presume that the book was composed somewhat earlier, say, 1808. Even if the present manuscript is the original copy we are in a position to say that this is the first Bengali grammar written in Bengali, as the earlier grammars are in languages other than Bengali, and the earliest grammar written in our own vernacular, known up to now, belongs to a year as late as 1820.

Now, about the authorship of the book. The colophon says that it is composed (racita) by Mr. William Carey. What does this word 'racita' mean? Was the book an original Bengali composition of William Carey or that Carey was the author of the treatise in English from which a Bengali translation had been made by some one else? That this book is a translation and not an original composition will be shown later. In old manuscripts it is often found that in a translated work the translator gives, first, the name of the original author, and then adds his own name, e.g. in a verse translation of the Kumarasambhava by one Devīdās is written at the end of a canto—iti Kālidāsakṛte Kumāra-Sambhave Saptamaḥ Sargaḥ[1] There is nothing, therefore, to prevent the assumption that it was a translation of the English book of Carey rendered into Bengali by some one who, for reasons best known to him, had suppressed his own name.

If Carey himself is not the author, the question naturally arises, who did the translation? Where did he do it, and why? As an answer to the first question we may suggest the name of Ramākānta, the scribe and owner of the manuscript. If it was somebody else we shall not know him at the present state of our knowledge. Granted that Ramākānta did the work of translation the question is what was the motive behind it? Was he connected with the Fort William College? Did Carey tell him to translate his grammar for the use of the 'natives'? Or Ramākānta made a Bengali version of his own accord for his own use? If he was not a teacher of Bengali language anywhere how could he be in need of such a grammar, though systematic yet very elementary? The Europeans, of course, had begun to study the language in a scientific manner, and were of need compiling dictionaries and writing grammars mainly for the Europeans. They had begun to construct Bengali prose, but, so far we know, the country as a whole had little connection with their pursuit. The interest of the Europeans was mainly academic or commercial, and it seems strange that a Brahmin Pundit who was an outsider could have any understanding or sympathy or interest with the effort of the Europeans to write grammars of the vernacular. If Ramākānta was not connected with Carey in any way it does not seem likely that he could have had any occasion to translate the grammatical work of the latter.

To ascribe the authorship of our book to Carey himself is still more difficult. If the author of the English book did the work of translation himself why was it not published in a printed form? If it was not published for some reason or other the manuscript should have been found in his papers, or at least some reference to it should have had occurred somewhere in the records connected with Carey or the Fort William College. What is more surprising is that we get this book in a *puthi* form and written at Kidderpore. How was the original manuscript carried there and copied? To these questions it is difficult to furnish any answer, and the conclusion tends towards the fact that Carey was not the author of the Bengali version of his grammar.

There is a third way of getting out of this difficulty which seems to be the surest of the three. As Carey was trying to construct the Bengali prose he perhaps thought

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[1] কুমারসম্ভবে মহাকাব্য কালিদাস। শ্লোকবন্দে পুণ্য কথা করিল প্রকাশ॥
সেই যে অপূর্ব্ব ইতিহাস রসময়। পদবন্দে দেবীদাস বর্দ্ধনে রচয়॥ D.U. MS., f. 33*b*.

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it worthwhile to acquaint the 'natives' with his efforts so that a general tendency of working on the same line might develop among the people of the country. It was, besides, thought to be in fitness of things that Bengali should possess a grammar written in the *language* as Carey's purpose was not solely administrative or commercial. But the general standard of composition attained in this book raises considerable doubt about the authorship to be ascribed to Carey himself. He might not have thought himself quite competent to translate the book and so had probably called some native Pundits to take the leading part in the work. The closeness of the translation to the original and the standard of the language used in the book both tend towards the conclusion that some Pundits (among whom Ramākānta might have been one) translated the English book with the help of Carey who knew both the tongues. This conclusion is quite in conformity with the state of things prevalent at that time among the workers of the Fort William College. The suggestion might have had come from Carey, but it is also likely that the Pundits felt very much encouraged in laying down the foundation of the grammatical literature of their own tongue.

As regards the question whether this manuscript is the original book or a copy of it we are more inclined to say that it is the original in view of the fact that it contains but few mistakes. Ramākānta is not a mere scribe as he calls himself also the owner of the manuscript. If he was one of the authors he must have had known his subject thoroughly, and therefore the writing was all through quite correct. Moreover, the common saying generally given by the scribe at the end of a manuscript, 'Yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā likhitam', etc. does not occur here. This book may thus be taken to be one of the original copies, and therefore the date of the work seems in all probability to be 1808-9.

The first edition of Carey's grammar was published in 1801, the second edition in 1805, and the third in 1815. Our book, as it is dated 1810, cannot have any connection with the edition 1815. It must have been a Bengali rendering of either the first or the second edition. The first edition is not available anywhere. The second is available in Calcutta, but we have not yet been able to procure one for reasons which need not be mentioned here. Though we could not consult the earlier edition, we were able to compare it with the fifth (1843),[1] and are thoroughly convinced about two facts, viz. that our book is a translation of Carey's grammar, and that the translation was made from the second edition of the same. Had both the English and Bengali books been available to the reader, he could, at a glance, find that one is a Bengali rendering of the other. But as there is no such opportunity at present a few data are given here for the above conclusion.

Throughout the two books the examples of the rules are almost the same. A few typical sentences are taken to show that the identity is not accidental:—

শোকরূপ অন্ধকারে ও দুর্গতিরূপ জলে মগ্ন হইয়াছি। আপনি মূর্খ চাকরের কথায় আস্থা করিবেন না। তুমি যদি আমাকে সে কথা (বিষয়) কহিতে তবে আমি তাহা করিতাম। রাজা পণ্ডিতের পূর্ব্বোপকার স্মরণ করিয়া মন্ত্রিরদের বাক্য (কথা) আদর না করিয়া পণ্ডিতকে ছাড়িয়া দিতে আজ্ঞা করিলেন। অভিষেকার্থ সিংহাসন সমীপোপস্থিত শ্রীভোজরাজাকে দেখিয়া পঞ্চদশ পুত্তলিকা কহিলেন। ভৃত্যেরা এই সকল শাস্ত্রোক্ত রাজ্যাভিষেক সামগ্রী আয়োজন করিয়া রাজার নিকটে নিবেদন করিল। It may be argued that this identity of the examples does not prove anything, as one author may copy them from the other to suit his purpose, or both of them may have drawn from the same sources.

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[1] Prof. S. K. De brought on loan for me Halhed's Grammar and the fifth edition of Carey from the Sāhitya Pariṣad. He himself bore the cost of bringing the book from *'Safe Custody'* in war time, and prevented his pupil, the present writer, from paying the same.

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A more weighty argument is that in almost all the chapters the manner and method of discussing a topic are so similar that one may be easily known to be the translation of the other. Some examples are given below:—

C., p. 12.—Words are divided into nouns, verbs and indeclinable particles Nouns are distinguished into দ্রব্যবাচক, substantives or names of things; গুণবাচক, names of qualities or adjectives; and অনুকরণশব্দ, imitative sounds. Some of these sounds are substantives, others are adjectives, and others adverbs. Substantives are further divided into নামবাচক, proper names, জাতিবাচক, generic names, and ভাববাচক, abstract nouns; these are of two sorts, viz. ভাববাচক, names of abstract ideas, and ক্রিয়াবাচক, verbal noun. Names are further distinguished into প্রাণিবাচক, names of animals, and অপ্রাণিবাচক, names of inanimate things.

MS., f. 4*a*—এখন শব্দ প্রকরণ লেখা যায়। শব্দ তিন প্রকার হয়। নাম ক্রিয়া আর অব্যয়। তাহার মধ্যে নামের বিশেষ এই। নাম প্রথমত তিন প্রকার হয়। দ্রব্যবাচক অর্থাৎ সকল দ্রব্যের নাম ও গুণবাচক অর্থাৎ সকল গুণের নাম ও অনুকরণ অর্থাৎ ঝনৎ ঘড়ং ইত্যাদি। তাহার মধ্যে দ্রব্যবাচক তিন প্রকার হয়। প্রথমত নামবাচক * * দ্বিতীয় জাতিবাচক * * তৃতীয় ভাববাচক। এই ভাববাচক দুই প্রকার ভাববাচক ও ক্রিয়াবাচক। * * সামান্যতো প্রাণী অপ্রাণী ভেদে দুই প্রকার হয়।

C., p. 29.—When any one asks another for a number of articles, without saying how many, গোটা is introduced as the first word of the sentence.

MS., f. 7*b*.—সংখ্যা নিশ্চয় না করিয়া যখন কেহ কতকগুলা দ্রব্য কাহারও কাছে চাহে তবে সে বাক্যের আগে গটা শব্দ শোভা পায়।

C., p. 24.—If the article wanted be specified the name is generally put first.

MS., f. 7*b*.—দ্রব্য নিশ্চয় করিয়া যদি দ্রব্য চাহে তবে সে দ্রব্যের নাম প্রায় সর্ব্বদা বাক্যের আগে হয়।

C., p. 25.—টা is added, first, to names which signify uncompounded substances as fruits and vegetables; secondly, to names of animals; thirdly, to names of vessels which have their sides raised up, such as, bottles, cups, pitchers, jars, etc.; fourthly, to the names of complete substances and other things which are composed of several subordinate parts; fifthly, to the names of almost all the members of the body; sixthly, to all numerals; and seventhly, to all the pronouns except আমি মুই তুমি তুই.

MS., f. 8*a*.—অমিশ্রিত দ্রব্য এবং প্রাণিবাচক ও ঘটাকৃতি যত পাত্রের নাম (এবং নাম) অবয়বেতে কৃত যত বস্তু এবং শরীরের প্রায় সকল অবয়বের নাম এবং সংখ্যাবাচক যত শব্দ এবং আমি মুই তুমি তুই এই চারি শব্দ ভিন্ন সর্ব্বনাম সকল শব্দে এই সকলের উত্তরে টা হয়।

C., p. 25.—খান is added, first, to the names of all vessels which are flat or nearly so, such as plates, saucers, etc., also to bricks and tiles; secondly, to the names of weapons and working tools except বটি, বন্দুক, তীর and a few others; thirdly, to the names of the subordinate parts of compounded substances; fourthly, to হাত, পা, মুখ.

MS., f. 8*a*.—সমানাকৃতি এবং প্রায় সমানাকৃতি যত পাত্রের নাম এবং পাটিখেল খাবরা বর্শি বন্দুক তীর ইত্যাদি কতক শব্দ ভিন্ন অস্ত্র ও হাতিয়ারের নাম এবং অবয়বেতে কৃত দ্রব্যের অবয়বের নাম এবং হাত পা মুখ এই তিন শব্দ এই সকলের উত্তর খান হয়।

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C., p. 21.—The vocative case is usually preceded by the particles, গো, ভো, হে, রে, লো, টে, টি, গে, হারে or হেরে।

MS., f. 6*b*.—সম্বোধনবাচক এই এই শব্দ হয়—গো, ভো, হে, রে, লো, টে, টি, গে, হারে, হেরে।

C., p. 21.—গো is used in addressing parents, teachers or elder brother or any person to whom we intend respect.

MS., f. 6*b*.—পিতা মাতা, গুরু, দাদা ইত্যাদি মান্য লোকের সম্বোধনে গো শব্দ হয়।

C., p. 21.—When the person called to is at a distance, but within sight, the vocative particle is preceded by ও, আ, or এ.

MS., f. 7*a*.—লোক যখন কিছু দূরে থাকে কিন্তু চক্ষুতে দেখা যায় তখন * * * সম্বোধনবাচক শব্দের পূর্ব্বে ও, আ, এ, এই তিন শব্দ হয়।

C., p. 64.—When a person accedes to or makes a proposal, his assent or proposal is expressed in the first person of the imperative mood.

MS., f. 19*b*.—স্বমনস্থের পরগোচরীকরণ বাক্যস্থলে এবং স্বীকার বাক্যস্থলে ভবিষ্যৎকালে নিত্য-প্রবৃত্তবর্ত্তমানকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ হয়।

C., p. 64.—The imperfect tense expresses an action as passed. The time when it was done is usually, though not always, expressed.

MS., f. 20*a*.—যে স্থলে কর্ত্তার ক্রিয়াসিদ্ধির অংশে তাৎপর্য্য না থাকে কিন্তু কোন বিশেষ কালাবধারণ মাত্রাংশে তাৎপর্য্য থাকে সেই স্থলে অদ্যতন ভূতকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ হয়।

C., p. 65.—In the respectful style the form of the future is often used for the imperative.

MS., f. 20*b*.—সম্ভ্রমপদস্থলে অনুমত্যর্থপদস্থলে ভবিষ্যৎকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ হয়।

C., p. 88.—Adverbs are naturally indeclinable, but many of these words which correspond with adverbs in other languages are, in this, nouns substantive which are generally put in the locative case to express the circumstances of the verbs. They always govern the possessive case of the noun with which they are constructed.

MS., f. 22*b*.—স্বাভাবিক ক্রিয়াবিশেষণ যে শব্দ সে সকল অব্যয় কিন্তু অন্য অন্য ভাষাতে যে ক্রিয়াবিশেষণ সে বাঙ্গালাভাষাতে সপ্তম্যন্ত দ্রব্যবাচক পদের প্রয়োগ হয়। সেই শব্দের সহিত আর যে শব্দের যোগ থাকে সে ষষ্ঠ্যন্ত হয়।

C., p. 104.—Active verbs, those of motion, giving and speaking excepted, govern their object in the accusative case.

MS., f. 26*b*.—গমনার্থ ও দানার্থ ও কহনার্থ ব্যতিরেকে কর্ত্তৃবাচ্য ক্রিয়াপদের যোগে দ্বিতীয়ান্ত শব্দের প্রয়োগ হয়।

C., p. 106.—Verbs of giving, of doing obeisance, of speaking, advising, etc. govern either a dative or an accusative.

MS., f. 26*b*.—দেওন ও নমস্কার ও কহন ও পরামর্শ দেওন এতদ্বাচক ক্রিয়াপদের যোগে দ্বিতীয়া কিম্বা চতুর্থী হয়।

C., p. 108.—An affirmation is frequently made by asking a question.

MS., f. 27*b*.—কখনও জিজ্ঞাসা দৃঢ়বাক্যনিশ্চয় হয়।

The examples given above are perhaps more than ample to prove clearly that our book is a translation of the 'Grammar' of Carey. One can be almost

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sure that if it is compared with the earlier edition it will be found to be fully in identity with one of them. Carey said in a letter,[1] dated the 22nd August, that 'he had written a second edition of his Bengali Grammar, wholly new worked over and greatly enlarged'. As some of the discussions in our book can be said to be rather elaborate (e.g. the section on verbs) and as it is dated 1810, we may well presume that it is a translation from the second edition. Carey joined the Fort William College in the middle of 1801 (1st May), and it is probable that his grammar could not be translated into Bengali before 1805. We hope to make this point clear at the earliest opportunity and therefore further discussion is, at present, unnecessary.

Below are given, in brief, first, the contents of the English, and then those of the Bengali version of the grammar:—

Carey's Bengali Grammar—Fifth edition—1843.

Section I.—Of letters; on the pronunciation of the letters (3).

Section II.—Of compound in letters (6), of compounding a consonant with a vowel (7), of compounding consonants (8).

Section III.—Of words (12), of substantives (13), Example of a regular noun (15), of neuter nouns (16), masculine (16), observation on the nouns (18), of the gender of the nouns (22), of enclitic particles (24).

Section IV.—Of adjectives (28), of the comparisons of adjectives (29).

Section V.—Of pronouns (30).

Section VI.—Of verbs (38), of participles (41), Indicative mood (45), Imperative mood (46), Subjunctive mood (46), Participles (46). The auxiliary verb আছি (47), কৃ (47), of compound verbs (52), of causal verbs (55), of the negative verb (61), of the passive voice (63), Remarks on the verb (64).

Section VII.—Of the formation of words (70), of the formation of verbal adjectives (73), of derivative words (তদ্ধিত) (75), of Patronymics (76), Of Gentile names (76), of collectives (77), of abstract substantives (77), of derivative adjectives (80).

Section VIII.—Of compound words (81).

Section IX.—Of indeclinable Participles (88), of adverbs (88), of prepositions (90), Conjunctions (94), Interjections (95).

Section X.—Of the junction of letters (97), the junction of vowels (98), of the pronunciation of consonants (99).

Section XI.—Of syntax (103), of numerals (109), of money, weight and measures (112), Time (114), the days of the week (114), of the Hindu months (114), contractions (115).

In the Bengali version contained in the manuscript there is no numbering in the division of chapters. At the beginning of each topic the name of the subject to be discussed is given sometimes in a mere word and sometimes in a full sentence—e.g. অথ লিঙ্গ ॥ অথ সর্ব্বনাম ॥ অথ ক্রিয়ার বিবরণ ॥ অথ বাক্যের রচন প্রকরণ ॥ এখন ব্যঞ্জন সন্ধি লেখা যায় ॥ এখন ণত্ব প্রকরণ লেখা যায় ॥ etc.

(1) The first section begins at once without any title. It contains a list of letters with a discussion of a general nature. The usual classification, such as vowel and consonants, vargīya and non-vargīya letters, aspirates and deaspirates, short and long, nasals, similar and dissimilar sounds, etc. have been mentioned. No account of pronunciation occurs in this book as it is evidently meant for the natives.

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[1] S. K. De—Nineteenth Century Bengali Literature, p. 134.

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(2) Of compounding letters: অক্ষরের সংযোগ করা। A description of writing the ligatures has been given; e.g. য, র, ন, ল, ব, ম-ফলা।

(3) Then comes Euphonic combination—ইহার পর সন্ধি লেখা যায়। This order does not tally with Carey's fifth edition where Sandhi is given at the latter part of the book. There is a general discourse on Sandhi; guṇa, vṛddhi, etc. have been explained. Then comes an account Svara-sandhi and Vyañjana-sandhi. It is, on the whole, fairly complete.

(4) Ṇa-tva and Sa-tva: a very brief account. These topics do not occur in Carey's fifth edition.

(5) Words—শব্দ প্রকরণ। Three divisions of words—নাম, ক্রিয়া and অব্যয়। নাম of three kinds—দ্রব্য, গুণ and অনুকরণবাচক। দ্রব্যবাচক of three kinds—নাম, জাতি and ভাববাচক। ভাববাচক is of two kinds—ভাব and ক্রিয়াবাচক। Then come a general account of six Kārakas, সম্বন্ধপদ, and a list of suffixes occurring after masculine and feminine words ending in consonants and vowels; list of suffixes occurring after neuter words; use of গুলা, গুলি in neuter; declension of the bases কুকুর, হাত, প্রভু, হাঁড়ি, পিতা, মৃত্তিকা etc.; various forms of instrumentals—দিয়া, কহিয়া, হইয়া, করণ, কর্ত্তৃক, পূর্ব্বক, হইতে etc.; Ablative—স্থানে, কাছে, কাছেতে, কাছ হইতে, থাকিয়া, ঠাঁই etc.; Genitive—রূপ (শোকরূপ জল for শোকের জল); Locative—মাঝে, মধ্যে; Vocative—গো, ভো, হে, রে, লো, কে, টে, টি, গে, হারে, হেরে, ওগো, ওলো, হে etc.; vocative in connection with interrogation, permission; forms of vocatives of words ending in ই, উ।

(6) Gender—অথ লিঙ্গ॥ The account is brief. Feminine suffixes ঈ, ইনী; words ending in উ, ঊ remain as they were in feminine; a short list of irregular feminine forms.

(7) Enclitic Particles—(no Bengali title).—Use of enclitics—টা, গটা, খান, টুকি, গুলা, গুলিন, গুলি, গুল, ডা, টি, ডি, গুচ্ছার, খানিক, জন, লোক etc.

(8) In the fifth edition of Carey's Grammar there is a separate chapter on 'the formation of words' which comes after the topics on Pronouns, Adjectives and Verbs. Here 'the formation of words' is given along with 'declension'.—অপত্যার্থ শব্দ—use of য়, ই, ইয় after দ্রব্যবাচক and ভাববাচক। জনার্থ—ঈ, ঈয়; ভাবার্থ—ত্ব, তা; বর্ণবাচক—ইমা; ধাত্বর্থ ভাব—অন, আর, আ; কর্ত্তৃ—পতি, কর্ত্তা, পাল, ক; নির্মাণকর্ত্তা—কার; দ্বিরুক্তি—আ—ই; স্ত্রীলিঙ্গ—বান, বত, বন্ত,—বতী; মান, মত, মন্ত—মতী; গুণবাচক অকারান্ত—আ; ব্যঞ্জনান্ত, আকারান্ত, ইকারান্ত—ঈ; অক—ইকা, ঈ—ইনী; comparison in adjective—তর, তম (অতি, অত্যন্ত etc.); adjectives of দ্রব্যবাচক and ভাববাচক—ইক, ঈ; আলু, আল, ল and বান, বন্ত; মান, মন্ত; to express adjectival sense the use of স before a word; গুণের অভাব—নির্ before consonants, অ, অন before vowels; হীন, বিহীন, বর্জ্জিত, শূন্য etc. after words; sense of নির্মিত—ময়; of কাল—ইক; fit to do—তব্য, অনীয়, য; adjective (বিশেষণ)—শীল, শালী, আত্মা; desire (ইচ্ছা)—ইচ্ছুক, ইষ্ট, আবিষ্ট, অভীষ্ট etc. after words; তদ্‌বিশিষ্ট—যুক্ত, যুত, যুৎ, যুক; তৎকরণ-যোগ্যতা—

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কর, কারী, কঁর; নিপুণ—অর্হ, ঠ, (শূর); গমনবিশিষ্ট—গ, গামী; তদ্‌জ্ঞানবিশিষ্ট—জ্ঞ; জ্ঞতা etc.; তাহাতে গমন করে—চর; তাহা হইতে জন্মিয়াছে—জ, জাত; নষ্ট করিতে ক্ষমতা—ঘ্ন, নাশী; উৎপন্ন করিতে ক্ষমতা হয়—জনক, আত্মক; দেয়া গিয়াছে—দত্ত; কহা গিয়াছে—উক্ত; কোন দশাতে হওয়া—গ্রস্ত; তুল্যার্থ—তুল্য, অনুযায়ী, অনুসারে, বৎ etc.; অনুকরণশব্দ—ঠন্ ঠন্ etc. Here it is mentioned—যে যে শব্দ এ প্রকরণে লেখা গিয়াছে তাহার মধ্যে অনেক শব্দ সমাসসাধ্য হয়। কিন্তু অতিশয় চলিত হওয়াতে ইহার মধ্যে লেখা গিয়াছে। In the fifth edition of Carey's book some of these instances are actually found to be included in the chapter on Compound (Sec. VIII, p. 81).

(9) Pronoun—অথ সর্ব্বনাম॥ Gender and case of pronouns. গৌরবোক্তি—নীচোক্তি; সমক্ষার্থ—অসমক্ষার্থ; oblique—প্রথমা ব্যতিরেকে আমার আদেশে আমা হয়, মুইর আদেশে মো, তুমির আদেশে তোমা, তুইর আদেশে তো, তিনির আদেশে তেনা ও তাহা, সিনির আদেশে সেনা etc. Pronouns are divided into two classes, with distinction of gender and without this distinction. Some adjectival pronouns (কোন কোন etc.) do not take declensional suffix.

(10) Verb—অথ ক্রিয়ার বিবরণ॥ This topic has been most elaborately described extending from f. 12*b* to f. 22*b*. অন্ at the source of verbal root forms, but elided when a conjugational suffix comes in. Causative forms of verbs. Honorific and non-honorific forms of verb according to Pronominal form; no change in different numbers. Active and Passive voices. Eight forms of Conjugation—স্বার্থ, আরম্ভার্থ, আশংসার্থ, অনুমত্যর্থ, নিমিত্তার্থ, ইচ্ছার্থ, শক্ত্যর্থ, অতিশয়ার্থ; Eight tenses—বর্ত্তমান (of two kinds—নিত্যপ্রবৃত্ত and শুদ্ধ); অতীত or ভূত (of five kinds—অপরোক্ষ, অদ্যতন, শুদ্ধ, অদ্যতনানদ্যতন, অনদ্যতন); ভবিষ্যৎ। A full list of conjugational forms has been given; this can be said to be very elaborate in comparison with the whole size of the book. Then come ইতে, অত after verbal roots in নিমিত্তার্থ; ইয়া, ইলে in অবাক্যসমাপক. Forms of শুদ্ধবর্ত্তমান and শুদ্ধভূত (e.g. করিতেছে, করিতেছিল), অদ্যতনানদ্যতন and অনদ্যতনভূত (করিয়াছি—ছিলাম)। (*N.B.*—Treatment of these four conjugational forms after the description of ইতে, ইয়া indicates that the system of the author was very methodical and scientific.) In all the conjugational forms both the honorific and non-honorific ones have been given. Then comes অবাক্যসমাপক বর্ত্তমানকাল—ইয়া, য়া, ইএ, ইলে (কর্ত্তৃবাচ্য); ত, ইত, ন (কর্ম্মবাচ্য); ইবা (ভাববাচ্য)। Moods—স্বার্থ, অনুমত্যর্থ, আশংসার্থ, অতিশয়ার্থ, আরম্ভার্থ, শক্ত্যর্থ, নিমিত্তার্থ, ইচ্ছার্থ। Conjugation of Causative verbs (প্রেরণার্থ ধাতু); Conjugation of Negative verbs (নঞ্ বাচক); use of না, নাই with verb; use of নয় (=√হওন+নঞ্); change of root-vowel; elision of consonant in verb; voice—Passive of two kinds—(1) that with help of √যাওন, √হওন; (2) ভাববাচ্য (middle voice); verbal conjugations in various senses; use of বীপ্সার্থ ক্রিয়াপদ in ইতে; use of ইয়া, হইলে etc.; words or parts of words used after verbal forms—

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দেকি, দেখি, সিনি, দিনি, সি, যা, গা, কো, নি, তো in different senses of action.

(11) Indeclinable Particles—অথ অব্যয় ॥ Four kinds—ক্রিয়ার বিশেষণ, উপসর্গ, দ্যোতক and বাচক। There is a statement regarding ক্রিয়াবিশেষণ which is interesting—স্বাভাবিক ক্রিয়াবিশেষণ যে শব্দ সে সকল অব্যয়। কিন্তু অন্য অন্য ভাষাতে যে ক্রিয়াবিশেষণ সে বাঙ্গালা ভাষাতে সপ্তম্যন্ত দ্রব্যবাচক পদের প্রয়োগ হয়। সেই শব্দের সহিত আর যে শব্দের যোগ থাকে সে ষষ্ঠ্যন্ত হয়। ক্রিয়াবিশেষণ of three kinds—কাল, স্থান and বিষয়। ই is used in the sense of অবধারণ; সন্নিপত্যোপকারক অব্যয় is sometimes a substantive in the seventh case-ending, and sometimes in the first, the word coming before it being in the sixth case-ending—(উপরে, নীচে etc.). A list of উপসর্গ. Examples of দ্যোতক অব্যয়—এবং, বরং কিন্তু etc.; বাচক অব্যয়—ইঃ, উঃ etc. in sorrow, astonishment, etc.

(12) Compound—It begins with সমাস ছয় প্রকার ॥ This topic has been dealt with rather briefly. Six main types of সমাস have been mentioned. The discussion is of an ordinary character, but there are a number of genuine Bengali examples. At the end occur প্রতিরূপক words—জলটল etc.

(13) Pronunciation of final inherent ă—অথ অন্ত্য অ-কারের উচ্চারণের প্রয়োগ ॥

(*a*) Final inherent ă is not pronounced in the following cases—(1) all words (i.e. substantives) except those ending in conjunct; (2) numerals and interrogatives; (3) words ending in genitive suffix র; (4) honorific third person verbal forms ending in ন; (5) non-honorific permissive, second and third persons.

(*b*) Final inherent ă is pronounced in (1) words ending in conjunct consonants; (2) adjectival words ending with any sound except র; (3) indeclinables and adjectives containing not more than two syllables and ending in ন।

(14) Syntax—অথ বাক্যের রচন প্রকরণ ॥ It is difficult to put a sharp line of demarcation between morphology and syntax. Here too there is no exception. Definition of noun and adjective; শব্দবিশেষণ and ক্রিয়া-বিশেষণ; adjectival form made up of several words; adjective and noun have the same gender; relative position of adjective and noun in a sentence. Sentence framing—relative place of কর্ত্তা, কর্ম্ম and ক্রিয়া; a long drawn phrase as adjunct; relative position of object-with-adjunct, subject and verb, subject understood; object taking second case-ending in connection with verb; verbal form made up of auxiliary verbs করণ, হওন etc. নিমিত্তার্থ ক্রিয়াপদ as subject of another verb, instrument of action taking third case-ending, use of হইতে in comparison; use of the seventh case-ending. Relative position of forms of যৎ and তৎ in a sentence, use of the words নাই, বটে etc. Inferior's mode of speaking about superior. Use of so-called contemptuous

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(তুচ্ছার্থ) and intimate (বন্ধুত্ব) forms. Interrogative for emphasis. Use of কি in interrogative sentence.

(15) Numerals—Cardinals and Ordinals according to Sanskrit and the common language (সংস্কৃতানুযায়ী and সামান্যভাষানুযায়ী). Use of উণ, ক্রি, তম, গুণ, ধা in their respective significances; the words সওয়া, সাড়ে, পৌনে; use of আনা to signify part of a whole number; use of এক after a number to indicate want of precision.

About the technical terms made use of in the book we have not much to say, as the terms are generally taken from the Sanskritic grammatical literature. But this much can be given to the credit of the author that the right equivalents for the English words have always been selected. The amount of exactness in this respect is so great that the later grammarians seem to have followed the terminology prepared perhaps in the Fort William College and used in this book. As this may serve as an evidence of the fact that this work had some connection with the Fort William College which might have contributed much to the foundation and propagation of the mode of composing Bengali grammatical literature, below is given a list of the technical terms used herein:—

অক্ষর (letter); স্বর (vowel); ব্যঞ্জন (consonant); বর্গ (class); অবর্গীয় (miscellaneous); অল্পপ্রাণ (unaspirate); মহাপ্রাণ (aspirate); সানুনাসিক (nasal); হ্রস্ব (short); দীর্ঘ (long); সমান (similar); অসমান (dissimilar); হল (semi-vowel); কণ্ঠ্য (guttural); তালব্য (palatal); মূর্দ্ধণ্য (lingual); দন্ত্য (dental); ওষ্ঠ্য (labial); অক্ষরের সংযোগ (compound in letters); যুক্ত অক্ষর (compound letter); চিহ্ন (symbol); ফলা [(consonantal) compound]; বানান or সিদ্ধিফলা (junction of a consonant with a vowel); সন্ধি (junction of letters); সমাহার, প্রত্যাহার (collection); গুণ, বৃদ্ধি; স্বরসন্ধি (junction of vowels); ব্যঞ্জনসন্ধি (permutation of consonants); ণত্বপ্রকরণ; ষত্বপ্রকরণ; শব্দপ্রকরণ (of words); নাম (noun); ক্রিয়া (verb); অব্যয় (indeclinable particles); দ্রব্যবাচক (substantive); (দ্রব্যের) নামবাচক (names of things); গুণবাচক (names of qualities); নামবাচক (as a part of দ্রব্যবাচক = proper names); জাতিবাচক (generic names); ভাববাচক (abstract names); ভাববাচক (as part of ভাববাচক = abstract ideas); ক্রিয়াবাচক (verbal noun); প্রাণী (animate); অপ্রাণী (inanimate); স্বরান্ত (ending with vowel); ব্যঞ্জনান্ত (ending with a consonant); বিভক্তি (case; inflective termination); কর্ত্তা (nominative); কর্ম্ম (accusative); করণ (instrumental); সংপ্রদান (dative); অপাদান (ablative); সম্বন্ধ (possessive); অধিকরণ (locative); একবচন (singular); বহুবচন (plural); লিঙ্গ (gender); পুংলিঙ্গ (masculine); স্ত্রীলিঙ্গ (feminine); ক্লীবলিঙ্গ or নপুংসকলিঙ্গ (neuter); প্রাণিবাচক স্থানিবর্ত্তি (?) (personified); সাধ্য ক্রিয়া; সম্বোধনবাচক (vocative); there is no word for enclitic particles; অপত্যার্থ (patronymic); জনার্থ (gentile); ভাবার্থ (abstract substantive); ধাত্বর্থ ভাব শব্দ (verbal noun); কর্ত্তৃবাচক, ভাববাচক, কর্ত্তব্যবাচক, বিষয়বাচক; দ্বিরুক্ত; গুণবাচক, বিশেষণ (adjective); (তৎ শীল বিশিষ্ট, তদ্বিশিষ্ট, তৎকরণযোগ্যতা, তজ্জ্ঞানবিশিষ্ট, তাহাতে গমন করে এমন অর্থ, তাহা হইতে জন্মিয়াছে এমন অর্থ, নষ্ট করিতে ক্ষমতা এমন অর্থ, উৎপন্ন করিতে ক্ষমতা এমন অর্থ, কহা গিয়াছে এমন অর্থ); অনুকরণ শব্দ (onomatopoetics); সর্ব্বনাম (pronoun); (বিভক্ত্যন্ত); গৌরবোক্তি (honorific); নীচোক্তি (denoting inferiority); অসমক্ষার্থ; প্রতিবাচক শব্দ; আদেশ; স্বাভাবিক বিশেষণ শব্দ; ক্রিয়া (verb); প্রেরণার্থ (causal); কর্ত্তৃবাচ্য (active); কর্ম্মবাচ্য (passive); verbs of eight kinds—স্বার্থ, আরম্ভার্থ, আশংসার্থ, অনুমত্যর্থ, নিমিত্তার্থ, ইচ্ছার্থ, শক্ত্যর্থ, অতিশয়ার্থ; কাল (tense); বর্ত্তমান (present)—নিত্য প্রবৃত্ত

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(first aorist); শুদ্ধ (present definite); অতীত or ভূত (past); অপরোক্ষ (second aorist); অদ্যতনভূত (perfect); শুদ্ধভূত (imperfect definite); অদ্যতনানদ্যতনভূত (perfect); অনদ্যতনভূত (pluperfect); ভবিষ্যৎ (future); নিমিত্তার্থ; অবাক্যসমাপক ক্রিয়া; অতিশয়ার্থ অবাক্যসমাপক (ইয়া); আরম্ভার্থ (-ইতে); শক্ত্যর্থ (-ইতে পারা); ইচ্ছার্থ (-ইতে চাওয়া); অকর্ম্মক (intransitive); সকর্ম্মক (transitive); বাক্য and প্রতিবাক্য (যদি .... তবে); নিঃশেষরূপ ক্রিয়া; বীপ্সার্থ ক্রিয়া; অনুমত্যর্থ ক্রিয়া; অব্যয় (indeclinable)—ক্রিয়ার বিশেষণ; উপসর্গ, দ্যোতক, বাচক; ক্রিয়া-বিশেষণ—কালবোধক, স্থানবোধক, বিষয়বোধক; অবধারণার্থে -ই; সন্নিপত্যোপকারক অব্যয়; বাচক—দুঃখার্থ, আশ্চর্য্যার্থ; সমাস (compound)—দ্বন্দ্ব, বহুব্রীহি, কর্ম্মধারয়, তৎপুরুষ, দ্বিগু, অব্যয়ীভাব; কারকান্ত পদ; অন্ত্য অকার; প্রথম পুরুষ (first person); দ্বিতীয় পুরুষ (second person); তৃতীয় পুরুষ (third person); বাক্যের রচন প্রকরণ (syntax); শব্দবিশেষণ (adjective); ক্রিয়াবিশেষণ (adverb); নিত্য দ্বিতীয়ান্ত; (নিষ্পন্ন); সংখ্যাবাচক (numeral); সামান্য ভাষা (current language); পূরণার্থ (ordinals); সংখ্যাবাচকের ভাঙ্গা (fraction).

The above will show how in a perfectly classical method the book has been written. A comparative study of the terms used in later grammars would be profitable.

We now conclude with a general estimate of the work. When compared with the grammar of Halhed, the grammar of Carey stands as a much more creditable work. Halhed does not impress us as a linguist or as a trained grammarian; he does not seem to have entered into the spirit of the Bengali language, nor could he systematize the materials skilfully. One is not likely to have a clear idea of the individual peculiarities of the language it deals with. Not to speak of the fifth and last edition of Carey's grammar, even the second edition from which this translation seems to have been made bears a stamp of the power on the part of the writer to grasp the morphological genius of the language. That Carey was a born linguist is borne out by the fact that at a time when a foreign language had been but little studied he collected the materials which were essentially Bengali, classified them scientifically and gave a systematic study made with great precision and insight. Even the idioms peculiar to this tongue did not escape his notice. In short, it may be said that Halhed's book was a mere spade work, while that of Carey contained a thorough study of the language.

This credit is, of course, due to the original English book, and therefore we need not deal this point elaborately. What is required to be said here is about the quality of the translation.

This Bengali book was written at a time when Bengali prose had not even taken a proper shape. Not to speak of any formation of style even the syntactical difficulties had not yet been overcome. The writers of this age had not acquired the power of constructing compound or complex sentences, a number of simple ones doing their work. Even the building of mere simple sentences could seldom be performed neatly. Compared with this state of things in the Bengali language, this translation, by whomsoever it may have been made, deserves great credit. The sentences are of course everywhere 'simple', but they are always very neat and expressive. There is a sort of terseness all through, the sentences being never lacking in perspicuity. The author is endowed with the power of treating a scientific subject in a scientific manner and at the same time making himself understood. After going through the book there remains but little doubt that there must have been a combination of people knowing English on the one hand, and those acquainted with Sanskrit on the other engaged in this work of translation. Without the full co-operation of these collaborators such a task could not possibly have been executed. But where else could this combination take place if not in the Fort William College? Keeping, however, that question open for the present, we give below some specimens of the style of the book:—

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(1) যে যে শব্দ এ প্রকরণে লেখা গিয়াছে তাহার মধ্যে অনেক শব্দ সমাসসাধ্য হয়। কিন্তু অতিশয় চলিত হওয়াতে ইহার মধ্যে লেখা গিয়াছে। F. 11*b*.

(2) স্বমনস্থের পরগোচরীকরণ বাক্যস্থলে এবং স্বীকার বাক্যস্থলে ভবিষ্যৎকালে নিত্যপ্রবৃত্ত-বর্ত্তমানকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ হয়। F. 19*b*.

(3) যে স্থলে কর্ত্তার ক্রিয়াসিদ্ধির অংশে অংশে তাৎপর্য্য না থাকে কিন্তু কোন বিশেষ কালাবধারণ-মাত্রাংশে তাৎপর্য্য থাকে সেই স্থলে অদ্যতন ভূতকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ হয়। F. 20*a*.

(4) মনেতে নিরূপিত কিম্বা বাক্যেতে কথিত কোন বিষয়ের পূর্ব্বকালীন কোন ক্রিয়ার বিষয় যদি কহা যায় তবে অনদ্যতনভূতকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ হয়। F. 20*a*.

(5) যেখানে নিঃশেষরূপ ক্রিয়া বলা যায় সেখানে অতিশয়ার্থ হয়। F. 21*a*.

(6) যে স্থানে যে যে পদেতে সমাস হয় সেই সেই পদের অর্থকে ছাড়িয়া অন্য অর্থের উপস্থিতি যেখানে হয় সে স্থানে বহুব্রীহি সমাস হয়।

(7) (*a*) কারকান্ত পদের সহিত অন্যশব্দের সমাস হইলে তৎপুরুষ হয়।

(*b*) অব্যয় শব্দের পূর্ব্বে থাকিয়া অন্য শব্দের সহিত সমাস হইলে অব্যয়ীভাব সমাস হয়। F. 24*b*.

(8) যুক্তবর্ণান্ত ভিন্ন যত অকারান্তবিশিষ্ট শব্দ তাহার অন্ত্য অকারের উচ্চারণ হয় না। F. 25*a*.

(9) বাক্যের মধ্যে প্রায় সর্ব্বদা কর্ত্তৃপদ প্রথম থাকে তাহার পর কর্ম্ম শেষে ক্রিয়াপদ হয়। F. 26*a*.

(10) বিশেষণযুক্ত যে কর্ম্ম সে যদি দীর্ঘবাক্য হয় কিম্বা অনেক বাক্যেতে নিষ্পন্ন হয় তবে কখন কখন সেই কর্ম্ম প্রথমে থাকে তাহার পর কর্ত্তা শেষে ক্রিয়াপদ হয়। F. 26*a*.

(11) এতগুণ বর্দ্ধিত অর্থ সংখ্যাবাচকের উত্তর 'গুণ' হয়। F. 28*b*.

(12) দুই কিম্বা দুইয়ের অধিক ব্যঞ্জনের এমন সংযোগ হয় যে তাহার মধ্যে স্বর থাকে না। F. 1*b*.

(13) . . . . সৌন্দর্য্যতা ইত্যাদি। কেহ কেহ বলেন সে অতি অশুদ্ধ। F. 9*a*.

(14) (*a*) বিশেষণ শব্দের পর দুই হইতে বড় বুঝিতে তর আর অনেক হইতে বড় বুঝিতে তম হয়। F. 10*a*.

(*b*) বিশেষণ বুঝিতে শব্দের পূর্ব্বে স হয়, গুণের অভাব বুঝিতে শব্দের পূর্ব্বে নির্ হয়। F. 10*a*.

(15) উত্তরস্বরূপ বাক্যস্থলে কোন দ্রব্যের অভাব বুঝিতে নাই শব্দের প্রয়োগ। F. 27*b*.

(16) ক্রিয়ার পরস্পর করণ অর্থ বুঝিতে শব্দেরা দ্বিরুক্ত হয় আর অন্ত্য বর্ণের স্থানে ই-কার হয়। F. 9*b*.

(17) মনেতে নিরূপিত কিম্বা বাক্যেতে কথিত কোন বিষয়ের পূর্ব্বকালীন কোন ক্রিয়ার বিষয় যদি কহা যায় তবে অনদ্যতন ভূতকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ হয় এবং অদ্যতন ভূতকালের স্থানেও কখন কখন অনদ্যতন ভূতকালীন ক্রিয়াপদের প্রয়োগ [হয়]। F. 20*a*.

(18) (See also examples given above in connection with the comparison of the Bengali version with the English one. A few have been repeated here.)

These examples will show that the language adopted in this book is quite in fitting with the subject-matter dealt with. If a translator had at all been selected by Carey, he committed no mistake in his selection. May we suggest that Mṛtyuñjay had some hand in the execution of the work?

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Had this book been an original work and not a mere translation its value would have been much greater than what it is now. Had that original work been entirely from the pen of a native of Bengal it would be a glorious achievement indeed! Though it cannot claim that glory yet it is sure that some Bengali Pundit or Pundits had a large share in the accomplishment of the difficult task of translating an English treatise on grammar in those days.

Though rendered from English this work can claim the honour of being the first Bengali grammar written in Bengali. We do not know exactly what amount of circulation this book had during the earlier part of the nineteenth century or whether it provided subsequent writers on grammar with a standard, yet the existence of this work proves beyond doubt that the Bengalees themselves had done something towards laying the foundation of the grammatical literature in Bengali as early as 1810. The rediscovery of this manuscript may be regarded as important; for it is a matter of great satisfaction to us to know that we had some hand in composing a grammar of our language in our own tongue and thus we can well claim some share in the credit hitherto given solely to Europeans.

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KALIṄGA RĀJARĀJA AND RĀJASUNDARĪ

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI *and* S. KAMESWARA RAU

The Kaliṅga-Gaṅga king Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman (1070–78) is said to have married a Cōḷa princess Rājasundarī, after a victory over the Cōḷas. The passage giving the information occurs in Cōḍagaṅga's Kōrni plates,[1] dated 1113, and then in the Vizāgapaṭām plates,[2] dated 1118 A.D. It reads:

स राजराजो प्रथमं जयश्रियः
पतिर्बभूव द्रमिलाहवोत्सवे ।
विराजमानामथ राजसुन्दरीं
उदूढवांश्चोडमहीभुजात्मजाम् ॥
त्यक्त्वा वेंगिं सपदि परिणामोदये द्यामिवान्यां
चोडव्याजे महति विजयादित्यमब्धौ मिमंक्षुम् ।
आपन्नानां परमशरणं राजराजो विचित्रं
लक्ष्मीभाजं सुचिरमकरोत् पश्चिमायां दिशायाम् ॥

That is: 'That Rājarāja first became the Lord of the goddess of Victory in the Tamil battle. Later he married the resplendent Rājasundarī, the daughter of the Cōḷa king. When Vijayāditya beginning to grow old, left (the country of) Vēṅgi, as if he were a sun leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cōḍas, he, Rājarāja, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region.'

A different set of stanzas occur about Rājarāja in the two Vizāgapaṭām plates, dated 1081[3] and 1135 A.D.[4] and the Kōrni plates,[5] dated 1081 A.D.:

ततस्तु तस्यात्मभवोरिमर्दनः
स राजराजक्षितिपः क्षितिं समाः ।
अरक्षदक्षौ वरुणालयाम्बरां
निधिः गुणानां निधिपालसन्निभः ॥
ततो राजेन्द्रचोलस्य तनया राजसुंदरी राज्ञस्तस्याग्रमहिषी सुतमसूयत ।

Which means: His son Rājarāja ruled for eight years. His chief queen Rājasundarī, daughter of Rājēndra Cōḍa, bore him a son.

These plates do not mention the part Rājarāja played in rescuing Vijayāditya from being submerged in the Cōḷa ocean. They merely state that Rājasundarī was the Queen Consort of Rājarāja, and that their son was Cōḍagaṅga. Some of

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1 *J.A.H.R.S.*, I, pp. 106ff.
2 *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 165ff.
3 *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 161ff.
4 *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 172ff.
5 *J.A.H.R.S.*, I, pp. 40off.; this passage occurs also in other plates; *J.A.H.R.S.*, XII, pp. 9ff.; *J.A.H.R.S.*, VIII, pp. 191ff.

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Cōḍagaṅga's inscriptions alone are categorical that Rājarāja won a victory before gaining the hand of Rājēndra's daughter Rājasundarī.

Only one inscription of Rājarāja,[1] father of Cōḍagaṅga, dated 1077 A.D., has been discovered. The praśasti[2] of this inscription is unlike those of either his father Vajrahasta or his son Cōḍagaṅga, which give details of the reign and personality of the king. There is not a trace here of Rājarāja's fight with the Cōḷas or of his marriage with Rājasundarī.

But there is a contemporary inscription of Baṇapatidēva,[3] dated 1075-76 A.D.; Rājarāja's 'Mahāpratīhāra'[4] therein narrates his exploits under his great patron Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman; he was (also) known as Chalamartiganḍa; he became in battle a conflagration to the great forest (which was) the army of the Cōḍa king, teeming with beasts (which were) horses, (and) full of tall trees (which were) must elephants; he was also 'fire to the forest' of the army of the Cōḍa, whose flames were arrows, darts, knives and swords.[5] This corroborates at least that there was a fight between the Cōḷas and Kaliṅgas in which Baṇapatidēva, the 'Mahāpratīhāra' of Rājarāja, took part. Hence, it need not be doubted that the facts mentioned in the three inscriptions of Cōḍagaṅga regarding the battle with the Cōḷas are substantially correct.

The political career of Vijayāditya who is said to have been rescued by Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman begins as early as 1018 A.D. He tried to get the Vēṅgi throne with the help of Jayasimha II, the Kalyāṇī Cāḷukya, keeping his own brother Rājarājanarēndra away from the kingdom. But the illustrious Rājēndra Cōḷa defended the rights of his nephew and crowned him king of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1022. Later on Vijayāditya left his native country and sought shelter in the Cāḷukyan court at Kalyāṇī. He was well-received there by Somēśvara I who accepted him as his 'Aṅkakāra' or champion warrior and conferred on him the rank of a Kumāra or son. He became the Western Cāḷukya governor of Noḷambavāḍi in 1093 A.D., in the same year in which his son Śaktivarman II lost his Vēṅgi throne together with his life in the field of battle. Vijayāditya was directed to defend Noḷambavāḍi against the Cōḷa invasion in which task he appears to have been successful.[6] Heartened by the initial success of Vijayāditya, his overlord wanted to curb the power of the Cōḷas still further, and sent an expedition into the south under Vijayāditya.[7] But this attempt appears to have failed. The Cōḷa inscriptions are clear that Vīrarājēndra 'saw the back of Āhavamalla three times'[8] before 1065 A.D. These victories of Vīrarājēndra culminated in the battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam so graphically described in the Tiruveṇkāḍu inscription.[9] Vīrarājēndra followed up this victory with another in A.D. 1066 when he met the enemy on the banks of probably Tuṅgabhadrā, and inflicted a crushing defeat.

Vīrarājēndra now turned his attention to Vēṅgi. Since the death of Śaktivarman in 1063 A.D., Vijayāditya VII must have been trying to occupy the Vēṅgi throne. His fortunes were necessarily tied up with those of the Western Cāḷukyas. There is no doubt that in A.D. 1067 they were at their lowest ebb.

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[1] Cp. 4 of 1918-19; *J.A.H.R.S.*, VIII, pp. 176ff.

[2] लोकालोकमहामहीधरवलयालंकारवत्या भुवः संसिक्तस्य कलिंगराजतिलकः श्रीराजराजो नृपः कलिंगनगरात् परममाहेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-त्रिकलिंगाधिपति-श्रीमदेवेन्द्रवर्मराजराजदेवः।

[3] *E.I.*, IV, pp. 314ff.

[4] In the inscription Vaṇapatidēva merely styles himself 'the chief of the great door-keepers' (Mahāpratīhāramukhya) but he appears to be the minister also.

[5] श्चाजावसौ चोडनृपस्य सेना महावनस्याश्वमृगाकुलस्य
मत्तेभसारङ्गमघूर्णितस्य दावानलोभूच्चलमत्तिगण्डः .. .. .. v. 4.
तेनेजौ चोडसेनावनदवदहनेनाशुग प्राशस्त्री .. .. v. 5. *E.I.*, IV, p. 316.

[6] Muḍukukare inscription in Mysore, *E.C.*, VII, C i 18.

[7] *S.I.I.*, IX (i), 127.

[8] *Cōḷas*, I, p. 325.

[9] 113 of 1896; *S.I.I.*, V, 976.

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Herein comes the part of Kaliṅga-Gaṅga Rājarāja. At this time he appears to have extended a helping hand to Vijayāditya in whom the Gaṅgas were as much interested as the Western Cāḷukyas. How this help began to be given is not known, but Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions clearly give the course of his campaigns in 1067 A.D. When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (enemies') boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of Vijayavāḍai (i.e. Bezwada), 'he (the Cōḷa) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananādan and Tipparaiśan; caused his elephants (pōdakam) to drink the water of the Gōdāvarī; crossed the seven Kaliṅgas, and led his swelling elephant forces (tānai-tāvaḍi) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra on whose right side was carved the tiger mark; and bestowed (that country) on Vijayāditya of broad arms, wearing weapons of war, who sought shelter at his feet (which were adorned with) flowery anklets'.[1]

It is, therefore, clear that the Kaliṅgas had to fight with Vīrarājēndra. Vijayāditya appears at last to have surrendered, and on him was bestowed the throne of Vēṅgi. Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman must have taken an active part in this war with the Cōḷas. After the time of Vīrarājēndra till the time of Kulōttuṅga's first expedition to Kaliṅga there was no Cōḷa fight with the Gaṅgas. Hence, this could be the only battle in which Rājarāja could have faced the Cōḷa forces as recorded by Baṇapati and Cōḍagaṅga. But this battle appears to have been fought near about 1068, two years before Rājarāja's coronation (i.e.) in the reign of Vajrahasta III. But there is a discrepancy in the number of years Vajrahasta III ruled as between the several plates of Cōḍagaṅga which give thirty years and the plate of Rājarāja which gives thirty-three years. It may, therefore, be surmised that during the last years of Vajrahasta's rule, Rājarāja, as yuvarāja, was very prominent in Kaliṅga; so prominent as to be taken as the virtual ruler two decades later even by his son. In this context it is not difficult to state that Vīrarājēndra's march up to Mahēndragiri is the Cōḷa war in which Rājarāja figured.

Cōḍagaṅga evidently regarded his father as having fought the battle with the Cōḷas, though it might have been in his grandfather's lifetime. Baṇapatidēva states that he won fame when Rājarāja was the ruler. This must be taken to have reference to the period when Rājarāja was the virtual ruler. Moreover, there was no need for Baṇapati to distinguish what battles he fought under Rājarāja when he was yuvarāja, and what he fought when the yuvarāja became king. The loyalty is more personal than official. Thus, for instance, while inscribing in 1081 when Cōḍagaṅga was actually ruling, Baṇapati still styles himself the minister of Rājarāja.[2] There is nothing in the Dirghāsi inscription which contradicts the suggestions offered above regarding the Cōḷa war in which Baṇapati took part.

The two versions of the result of the fight do not, at first appearance, agree. Cōḍagaṅga attributes a victory to his father, while Vīrarājēndra too claims success in his onrush into Kaliṅga. But Baṇapati's inscription does not so clearly claim such a complete victory as Cōḍagaṅga, forty years after the fight, asserts. Baṇapati carefully says that he 'became in battle a conflagration to the great forest (which was) the army of the Cōḍa king'. No doubt he might have proved as difficult a foe as he claims to have been. It cannot be missed that Rājarāja's inscription does not mention even the fight with the Cōḷas, much less victory in it. His silence is meaningful. Further the marriage alliance between Rājarāja and Rājasundarī appears to have changed the face of what would have been pronounced a defeat of either of the parties.

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[1] *E.I.*, XXI, p. 243.

[2] *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 1006.

line 1....धाराविमलजलचालितारिदिङ्मूलनिचयः

2....क्रुवतीं वणपतिरिति नामधेयविदितो जयति [Sanskrit.]

7....चिकलिंगाधिपति यन्नराजराजदेवरप्रधानि [in Telugu.]

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This marriage alliance of a Cōḷa princess with Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman is closely connected with the general trend of events in Deccan after the death of Somēśvara I in 1068 A.D. Vikramāditya, prominent in the Cāḷukya dominion even in his father's lifetime and figuring actually in Western Cāḷukya fights with the Cōḷas, tried to be loyal to his brother Somēśvara II. But soon Kalyāṇī became insecure for Vikramāditya because of differences between the king Somēśvara II and his brothers. Vikramāditya left the capital, but resumed his fight with the dynastic enemies—the Cōḷas. Jayakēśi of Koṅkan and the Aḷūpa king supported Vikramāditya and fought on his side. The Cōḷas found it difficult to stop this remarkable prince. Taking advantage of the situation, Vikramāditya now made a peace offer and accepted the daughter of Vīrarājēndra in order to be able to oppose his brother Somēśvara II, the better. Thus, there was a diplomatic revolution staged by the ambitious Vikramāditya, and the powerful but discreet Cōḷa emperor Vīrarājēndra acceded to it.

It is the same farsightedness of Vīrarājēndra which was reflected in Kaliṅga. Vīrarājēndra accepted Vijayāditya VII as the ruler of Vēṅgi, thus satisfying Vikramāditya and the Kaliṅga Gaṅgas. He found the value of marriage alliances and hence offered another of his daughters to Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman.

For a long time there have been various identifications proposed for Rājēndra, the father of Rājasundarī. Some views have only to be stated to see that they cannot be correct in the light of the fight between Vīrarājēndra and Rājarāja, engendered by Vijayāditya's position at Vēṅgi. The view of Dr. C. Veerabhadra Rao[1] is that Rājasundarī was a sister of the mother of Kulottuṅga I, i.e. a daughter of the Tamil Cōḷa emperor Rājēndra. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar too held this view. Prof. Kielhorn[2] identifies Rājēndra with Rājēndra Cōḷa II *alias* Kulōttuṅga I. There are two scholars who identify Rājēndra with Vīrarājēndra. One is Dr. K. R. Subramaniam[3] and the other is M. Chakravarthy.[4] Dr. Subramaniam postulates two Cōḷa-Kaliṅga contests and says that having been defeated once Vīrarājēndra gave his daughter to Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman. There is no ground anywhere in the inscriptions of either side to suppose that there were two fights between Cōḷas and Kaliṅgas. The Tiruveṇkāḍu inscription[5] does not suggest the defeat of Vīrarājēndra as he supposes. It is unlikely that in spite of the marriage alliance Vīrarājēndra invaded his son-in-law's dominions soon after the alliance had taken place. Of this Rājēndra, Mr. Chakravarthy says that this 'Cōḷa king was Vīrarājēndra I named Parakēsarivarman (A.D. 1052–70)'.

We may, therefore, suppose that the Tamil battle mentioned in the inscriptions of Cōḍagaṅga is the expedition of Vīrarājēndra in 1068, and not that of Kulōttuṅga I as has been previously supposed.[6] The Rājēndra whose daughter Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman married is thus Vīrarājēndra.

In the light of Vīrarājēndra's great diplomatic activity it can now be stated that he formed one of the biggest coalitions in South India, though it lasted only for a short while. He married one of his daughters to a Western Cāḷukya prince and another to the Kaliṅga-Gaṅga ruler. He made Vijayāditya VII his subordinate and ally. The Cōḷa empire together with Vēṅgi, the Western Cāḷukya dominions, and Kaliṅga was the greatest combination South India ever knew.

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[1] *J.A.H.R.S.*, I, p. 121.
[2] *E.I.*, VIII, App. 1, p. 17, n. 2.
[3] *J.A.H.R.S.*, I, p. 199.
[4] *J.A.S.B.*, LXXII, 1903, p. 108.
[5] *S.I.I.*, V, 976.
[6] *Cōḷas*, I, p. 345.

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MISCELLANEA

THE SAMANTAPĀSĀDIKĀ

The Samantapāsādikā is a voluminous commentary on the five books of the Vinayapiṭaka. At the request of the Thera Buddhasiri, Buddhaghosa wrote it.

Some portions of this work have been edited for the P.T.S., London, by Takakusu and Nagai. Takakusu has published a translation of it based on the Chinese version in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1897. Sinhalese, Burmese, and Siamese editions are available. This work is written in an easy language and is free from an elaborate tangle of similes and metaphors unlike other commentaries of this nature.

According to Buddhaghosa Udaya was another name given to a brāhmin named Verañja by his parents. He was called Verañja because he was born and brought up at Verañjā.[1] Asoka built 84,000 monasteries in the whole of Jambudīpa by spending 96 crores.[2] King Bindusāra had one hundred sons, all of whom were killed by Asoka except his uterine brother Tissa. Asoka became the paramount sovereign in Jambudīpa. His suzerainty was extended to the subterranean region, one yojana below the surface of the earth, and also to the sky above.[3] Bindusāra, father of Asoka, used to give alms to 60,000 brāhmins and heretics. Asoka also followed the example of his father for some time in making donations to non-Buddhist ascetics and institutions. He afterwards was dissatisfied with them and stopped further charities but he was very kind to the Buddhist monks.[4] At the end of the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputta under the patronage of king Asoka, Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the President of the Council, sent missionaries to India and Ceylon to preach Buddhism. It seems that almost all these missionaries were residents of Magadha.[5] Buddhaghosa points out that Asoka had a daily income of 4,00,000 coins from the four gates of Pāṭaliputta. In the council hall he used to get 1,00,000 coins a day. Asoka spent these 5,00,000 coins daily in the following way:—

(1) 1,00,000 paid to the Thera Nigrodha; (2) 1,00,000 paid to the monastic establishment for purchasing flowers, garlands, etc.; (3) 1,00,000 spent for the *Dhamma* to enable the bhikkhus to have their requisites; (4) 1,00,000 to the Sangha (Church); and the remaining 1,00,000 for supplying medicines in the four gates of Pāṭaliputta.[6]

Buddha passed away in the eighth year of Ajātasattu's reign [7] on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha between the two Sāla trees in Kusinārā, a town of the Mallas (I, p. 4). In that year Vijaya, the first king of Tambapaṇṇi, made a human settlement there for the first time. Vijaya died in the 14th regnal year of Udayabhadda, king of Jambudīpa. In the 15th year of Udayabhadda's reign Paṇḍuvāsudeva became the king of Tambapaṇṇi. In the 20th regnal year of Nāgadāsaka, Paṇḍuvāsudeva died after a reign of 30 years. Abhaya succeeded him. Pakuṇḍakābhaya, a Tamil usurper, became the king of Ceylon by defeating the Ceylonese king. In the 14th regnal year of king Candagutta, Pakuṇḍakābhaya died and Mūṭasiva became the king of Ceylon, who was succeeded to the throne by king Devānaṃpiyatissa.

After the death of Buddha, Ajātasattu reigned for 24 years, Udayabhadda for 16 years, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa together for 18 years, Nāgadāsaka for 24 years, Susunāga for 18 years and Kālāsoka for 28 years. The nine Nandas together reigned

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[1] Samantapāsādikā, I, 111. [2] *Ibid.*, I, 115. [3] *Ibid.*, I, 41. [4] *Ibid.*, I, 44.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 63-4. [6] *Ibid.*, I, 52. [7] Vol. I, p. 72.

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for 22 years and after them came Candagutta who reigned for 24 years and then came Bindusāra who ruled for 28 years. After him his son Asoka occupied the throne.[1]

King Devānaṃpiyatissa went to see the courtyard of the Kaṇṭhaka monastery and saw all the 68 chambers, which were intended for the monks, situated round it.[2]

The Licchavis had a republican form of government (gaṇa), all the leading members of which were called rājā.[3] Buddhaghosa refers to the Andhas and Damiḷas who were regarded as foreigners (*milakkhā*).[4]

A therī named Uppalavaṇṇā was the daughter of a very rich banker of Sāvatthī. She was very beautiful. She was called Uppalavaṇṇā because her skin was of the colour of a blue lotus.[5]

Vassakāra, a brāhmin, was called Magadha mahāmatto either because he was the chief minister in the kingdom of Magadha or because he was the chief minister of the king of Magadha who was the possessor of much wealth, pomp and grandeur.[6] Bimbisāra was known as Māgadha because he was the lord of the Magadhans. He was called Seṇiya because he was the master of a huge army (*senāyasampanno*).[7]

During the reign of king Bhātiya of Ceylon there was a dispute on a doctrinal point between the monks of Mahāvihāra and Abhayagirivihāra. Dīghakārāyana was appointed by the king to settle the dispute.[8]

Supatiṭṭhitacetiya was a palm grove in Buddha's time. It was also known as Banian shrine.[9] In Buddha's time there were 18 monasteries at Rājagaha. After the death of the Buddha, the inmates left them. In course of time they were very much damaged but they were afterwards repaired by king Ajātasattu on the eve of the First Buddhist Council.[10]

The Sineru was the highest mountain which formed the centre of the earth. The Yugandhara, the Īsadhara, the Karavika, the Sudassana, the Nemindhara, the Vinataka and the Assakaṇṇa were the seven mountain ranges which surrounded it. The continent called Aparagoyāna, according to Buddhaghosa, is 7,000 yojanas in extent. The extent of Uttarakuru is 8,000 yojanas. The name of the continent of Jambudīpa is derived from a Jambu tree which stands with its outspreading branches, 50 yojanas in length.[11] Bhaddiya was a city of the Aṅga kingdom. Near it there was a grove which was so called because shrubs of nutmeg flowers used to grow there in plenty.[12]

Rājagaha was so called because it was the abode of ancient kings like Mandhātā and Mahāgovinda. Buddhaghosa says that this city was populous in Buddha's time. But in later times it became an abode of the Yakkhas.[13] Rājagaha had a population of 18 crores. It was the chief city in Aṅga-Magadha which was 300 yojanas in extent and contained 80,000 villages.[14]

Gijjhakūṭa which was one of the five hills encircling Rājagaha was so called either because its peak was an abode of many vultures or because its peak was of the shape of a vulture's beak.[15]

As regards the Isigili mountain Buddhaghosa says that 500 Paccekabuddhas went there to practise meditation. They were seen entering the mountain but not coming out. Those who observed this thought that the mountain swallowed up the sages. So it was known by the name of Isigili.[16] There is a reference to a mountain named Ahogaṅgā where Thera Moggaliputta Tissa once stayed (I, p. 37).

Vesālī was so called because its area grew bigger in course of time with the result that the boundary walls had to be extended for the third time round the city.[17]

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1 Samantapāsādikā, I, 72-3. 2 *Ibid.*, I, 82. 3 *Ibid.*, I, 212.
4 *Ibid.*, I, 255. 5 *Ibid.*, I, 272-3. 6 *Ibid.*, II, 294. 7 *Ibid.*, II, 297.
8 *Ibid.*, III, 582-3. 9 *Ibid.*, I, 158. 10 *Ibid.*, I, p. 9. 11 *Ibid.*, I, 119.
12 *Ibid.*, I, 280. 13 *Ibid.*, II, 285. 14 *Ibid.*, III, 614. 15 *Ibid.*, II, 285.
16 *Ibid.*, II, 286. 17 *Ibid.*, II, 393.

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The Mahāvana was a natural wood near Vesālī. The wood known as the Mahāvana, which lay near Kapilavatthu, reached the Himalayas on one side and the sea on the other; but the Mahāvana near Vesālī was not like that.[1]

As regards Tapodā which was a large lake below the Vebhāra hill, Buddhaghosa points out that the water of the stream flowing from the lake was hot. The lake Tapodā was the playground of the Nāgas and the stream flowed down from this lake. Its water was hot because it flowed through Lohakumbhi hells which lay below Rājagaha.[2]

The grove Veluvana near Rājagaha was so called because it was surrounded by bamboos. It was protected by a wall 18 cubits high and adorned with beautiful gates and towers which were decorated with *lapis lazuli*.[3]

There was a woodland at Veluvana. The place came to be so named as food was regularly given here for squirrels.[4]

Sāvatthī in Buddha's time contained fifty-seven hundred thousand families and was the chief city in Kasi-Kosala which was 300 yojanas in extent and contained 80,000 villages.[5]

Kiṭāgiri is described as a janapada (III, 613).

There was a shrine at Vesālī called the Gotamaka shrine where the bhikkhus were permitted by the Buddha to use three robes for the first time.[6] There was a golden cetiya (dagoba) built by Prince Uttara (III, 544).

Viñjhāṭavi was a forest without any human habitation.[7] Bhagga was the name of a town. Suṃsumāragira was a city. Bhesakaḷāvana was a grove near the city. It got the name of Migadāya because deer were allowed to roam about freely.[8] As regards Uruvelā, Buddhaghosa says that it stands for a great sand bank (mahāvelā). Before the advent of the Buddha, many young noble men gave up household life and became ascetics. They discussed among themselves the question of bodily or vocal actions. Whenever any evil thought arose in any one of them, he was instructed to carry a handful of sand to a place nearby. The sand thus carried formed a great bank in course of time. A monastic establishment was made later on.[9] Laṭṭhivana was a palmyra grove (tāluyyāna).[10] Ghositārāma was named after Ghosita, a banker (III, 574). There was a village in Magadha called Andhakavinda which stood at the distance of a gāvuta from Rājagaha.[11]

Buddhaghosa refers to three kinds of mountains: (1) a mountain with clean dust (*suddhapaṃsupabbata*); (2) a mountain with clean stone (*suddhapāsāṇapabbata*); and (3) a mountain which is a combination of both, i.e. clean dust and clean stone (*ubhayamissakapabbata*).[12]

Buddhaghosa says that the Bhaddavaggiyas were so called because they used to move group by group. They were beautiful in body and mind.[13] He refers to three kinds of saddhamma: (1) *pariyatti saddhamma*, the saddhamma comprising the study of the contents of the three piṭakas; (2) *paṭipatti saddhamma*, i.e. the saddhamma which brings good conduct; and (3) *adhigamasaddhamma*, the saddhamma which leads to the attainment of the four noble paths, the four advantages resulting from recluseship and nirvāṇa.[14]

According to Buddhaghosa, there were four kinds of slaves: (1) slaves born in families; (2) one purchased for slavery; (3) one who originally belonged to an enemy, but when defeated and captured he was employed as a slave; and (4) one who adopted the life of a slave of his own accord.[15] Buddhaghosa refers to woollen embroidered coverlets known as Yonaka-Damiḷa. They were thick.[16] Soṇa Kutikaṇṇa used to wear an ear ornament worth one crore.[17]

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1 Samantapāsādikā, II, 393. 2 *Ibid.*, II, 512. 3 *Ibid.*, III, 575.
4 *Ibid.*, III, 575. 5 *Ibid.*, III, 614. 6 *Ibid.*, III, 636. 7 *Ibid.*, III, 655.
8 *Ibid.*, IV, 867. 9 *Ibid.*, V, 952. 10 *Ibid.*, V, 972. 11 *Ibid.*, V, 1049.
12 *Ibid.*, V, 1036. 13 *Ibid.*, V, 971. 14 *Ibid.*, I, 225. 15 *Ibid.*, V, 1000.
16 *Ibid.*, V, 1086. 17 *Ibid.*, V, 1087.

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Buddhaghosa refers to seven modes of pregnancy: (1) pregnancy due to sexual intercourse and other bodily contacts; (2) pregnancy due to putting the semen in the female sexual organ by holding it first in a piece of cloth as in the case of the wife of the thera Udāyi; (3) pregnancy due to drinking the urine of a male by a woman during her menstruation period; (4) pregnancy due to touching the navel of a woman during her menstruation; (5) pregnancy due to reflecting upon a male by a woman during her menstruation; (6) pregnancy due to hearing the sound as in the case of peahens; and (7) pregnancy due to smell as in the case of cows.[1] Buddhaghosa refers to rustic behaviour and conduct of the village people.[2] He speaks of four kinds of vehicle: (1) portable bed, (2) a kind of chariot, (3) chariot, and (4) cart. Of these the first looks like a shed covered all round and well-planked; the second conveyance is supported by gold and silver beams on both sides.[3]

One magadha *nāḷi* corresponds to 12½ *pala*. The magadha *nāḷi* is said to be the standard weight; that of Ceylon is greater in weight while that of the Damiḷa country is lesser in weight than the standard weight.[4]

B. C. Law.

TOILET AND TREATMENT OF HAIR IN THE KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

The Provincial Museum at Lucknow[5] and the Mathura Museum[6] present two door-jams containing a number of cut panels. The former of these has scenes ranging from the bath to the completion of the toilet. There is a lady depicted in one of these and a male probably her husband hands over her garment. In the next scene he plaits her hair in braids and in yet another she gives the mirror to him so that he may hold it on while she completes the finishing touch of her face with multifarious items of toilet and application of cosmetics. It appears that possibly the sculptor drew his inspiration from the Saundarananda of Aśvaghoṣa where Sundarī puts the mirror into her lover's hand saying, 'just behold this up in front of me while I paint', and he held it up.

दत्त्वाथ सा दर्पणमस्य हस्ते ममाग्रतो धारय तावदेनम् ।

विशेषकं यावदहं करोमीत्युवाच कान्तं स च तं बभार ॥ IV. 31.

In the Mathura Museum also there are scenes of similar character enclosed in sunk panels. There is a reference in the same Kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa regarding preparations for toilet and bath. Ladies in waiting were required to pound ointment, perfume clothes and weave sweet smelling garlands for their mistress and her lord.

काचित् पिपेषाङ्गविलेपनं हि वासोऽङ्गना काचिदवासयच्च ।

अयोजयत् स्नानविधिं तथान्या जग्रन्थुरन्याः सुरभीः स्रजश्च ॥ IV. 26.

Besides using ointment (विलेपन IV. 20), the face was also painted (गच्छार्यपुत्रैर्हि च शीघ्रमेव विशेषको यावदयं न शुष्कः IV. 34). This was done through the help of a small stick (पत्राङ्गुलि IV. 16). Candana paste was rubbed over other parts of the body by the lady herself (ततस्तनोद्वर्त्तितचन्दनाभ्याम् मुक्तो भुजाभ्यां न तु मानसेन IV. 38).

The sculptures and terracottas of the Kuṣāṇa period also reveal an endless variety of hair arrangement of men and women at that time. Although it is not

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[1] Samantapāsādikā, I, 214. [2] *Ibid.*, II, 221. [3] *Ibid.*, II, 334.
[4] *Ibid.*, III, 702. [5] Label No. J. 278. [6] Vogel, Cat. Mat. Mus. No. I. 29, p. 110.

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so diversified as in the Gupta period still we have evidence suggesting that more of the types of arrangement of hair in the Gupta period had their beginning in the Kuṣāṇa period. One conspicuous difference is that the sīmanta or the parting line, unlike that in the Gupta period, is hardly brought out in the Kuṣāṇa period. Exceptions,[1] however, occur where a male particularly has his short parting line (sīmanta) on the forehead, but mere specimens portray the upper parting line. There is a circle drawn on the forepart of the hair[2] which in some cases[3] is parted from the middle from where horizontal lines run on either side and touch the circumference of the circle. The rest of the hair is plaited in braids and thrown on the back[4] or bound in a single knot at the back.[5] Another type of arranging the hair is to be found in specimens showing the arrangement of the hair in a horizontal ridge on the crown of the head from which tassels fall at the back. A number of terracottas found at Ghose and Kosam and at other places bear this out in the crude workmanship of the Kuṣāṇa period. In a third type,[6] the hair is arranged on the head in a form, giving an impression of the feathers of a dancing peacock, into several blades and they are held up together at the back of the head with some arrangement which gives them the effect of a matrix. This style is most picturesque and peculiar to the Kuṣāna period. There is yet another type[7] in which the hair is decorated by arranging it lengthwise falling on the back.

It would thus appear that in that period, social life was fairly advanced and people were not unaware of cosmetics and pastes which could give better appearance. Different types of hair arrangement suggest a cultural outlook of the people and though we have no reference to comb in the works of Aśvaghoṣa or in the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period, the find of a beautiful ivory comb at Sirkap during the course of excavations last winter certainly shows that it was used even before the times of the Kuṣāṇas.

B. N. Puri.

ARE GOVINDAGUPTA AND KUMĀRAGUPTA IDENTICAL?

The discovery of the Basarh clay seal of Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī[8] has raised some interesting historical problems. In this seal she is described as the chief queen of Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta and the mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta. As the Gupta inscriptions, known up to that time, represented Kumāragupta as the immediate successor of Candragupta it was naturally presumed that Govindagupta was a younger brother of Kumāragupta.[9] But we cannot also ignore the equally natural and pertinent question as to why the Mahādevī is called the mother of Govindagupta in preference to Kumāragupta if the latter was the eldest son and must have been the heir-apparent at the time.[10] There can be two possibilities. Either the chief queen had a greater affection for her younger son, Mahārāja Govindagupta, or it may be that the relations between Dhruvasvāminī and Kumāragupta were not cordial. But none of these explanations is convincing. That the queen is describing herself as the mother simply out of affection for the son with whom she was communicating is highly improbable because of the tone of the language of the inscription on the seal. It is entirely official, stiff and formal. The titles have been used with strict official accuracy. There is no air of affection about it at all. And as regards the alternative suggestion, that the relations between

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1 Luck. Mus. Label No. 1392 over the Balcony.
2 *Ibid.*, Nos. B. 61, 65, 99.
3 *Ibid.*, No. B. 72.
4 *Ibid.*, No. B. 80.
5 *Ibid.*, No. J. 595, 595A.
6 *Ibid.*, No. J. 598.
7 *Ibid.*, No. J. 275.
8 Edited by Block, A.S.R., 1903-4, p. 107.
9 Cf. Allan, 'Govindagupta cannot have been Kumāragupta, but must have been a younger brother'. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, p. 11.
10 Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *I.A.*, 1912, p. 3; R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 35.

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the queen and her eldest son were strained, it should be noted that such a state of affairs would hardly have been given publicity by a statement like this on the official seal of the queen. It would be most unseemly to make a public avowal of the bickerings in the royal household. In view of the fact that in official documents we can only expect a statement which must be in accord with the true constitutional position, the conclusion is irresistible that Govindagupta was the *Yuvarāja* and the queen felt a pride in styling herself as the mother of the heir-apparent.

As *Yuvarāja*, Govindagupta had been appointed Governor of Vaiśālī.[1] This is confirmed by the discovery of the following seals from the same spot:—

(*a*) The seal of the Kumāramatya attached to the heir-apparent.
(*b*) The seal of the Commander of forces, attached to the heir-apparent.

We may, therefore, conclude that Govindagupta was the heir-apparent and he was the Governor of Vaiśālī. Now the only question that remains to be answered is why Govindagupta's name is not mentioned in the inscriptions of the succeeding Gupta emperors. One could have suggested that he had died during the lifetime of his father, and as he did not come to the throne, which passed on to his younger brother, his name was omitted from the genealogy. But such a possibility is now ruled out by the discovery of the Mandasor inscription dated 524 Malava Era, where we get the following statement about Govindagupta:

गोविन्दवत्ख्यातगुणप्रभावं गोविन्दगुप्तोर्ज्जितनामधेयम् ।
वसुन्धरेशः तनयं प्रजज्ञे स दित्यदित्योस्तनयैस्सरूपम् ॥
तस्मिन्नृपैरस्तमितप्रतापैश्शिरोभिरातिङ्गितपादपद्मैः ।
विचारदोलां विबुधाधिपोऽपि शङ्कापरीतः समुपारुरोह ॥ [2]

From these statements it is clear that Govindagupta was a powerful and glorious king. His reign must have been very short lasting between 93 and 96 Gupta Era, but there should be no doubt regarding the fact that he wielded the Imperial authority.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently made the suggestion that Govindagupta and Kumāragupta are identical.[3] He says that although it is certain that Govindagupta ascended the throne, yet no coins bearing his name have been found. He refers to a variety of the coins of Kumāragupta on which there is the letter *Go* besides *Ku*.[4] Dr. Bhandarkar concludes that *Go* stands for Govinda and *Ku* for Kumāra, and both the names belong to one and the same monarch. But the presence of the letter *Go* along with *Ku* cannot establish the identity of Kumāragupta and Govindagupta, for two strong reasons. Firstly, the letter *Go* is found on the coins of Narasiṅhagupta also.[5] Evidently therefore it does not stand for Govindagupta, but signifies something else. Secondly, the coins of Kumāragupta, on which we have the letter *Go* are all of the heavier standard of 148 grains. Now it is a well-known fact that the heavier type of the gold coinage was first introduced by Skandagupta and was continued by his successors. The gold coinage of the preceding reigns did not exceed 132 grains. Therefore the coin with the letter *Go* does not

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[1] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's suggestion that 'Kumāragupta was the heir-apparent, and Governor, of Vaiśālī, and during his absence Govindagupta was appointed, but as the latter was a minor the queen was acting as the regent', is too far fetched.

[2] I am deeply indebted to Shri M. B. Garde for having supplied me an excellent estampage of the inscription. He has edited it for the *E.I.*

[3] *I.C.*, XI, p. 231. Formerly we believed him to be the eldest son of Candragupta, cf. *I.A.*, 1912, pp. 1ff.

[4] Allan, *CCGD.*, p. 141.

[5] Allan, *CCGD.*, pp. 137–39.

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belong to the reign of Kumāragupta I but it is to be assigned to Kumāragupta II, as Allan has actually classified it so. The numismatic evidence therefore does not furnish any proof of the identity of Kumāragupta and Govindagupta. The absence of the coins of Govindagupta cannot even prove that he did not rule. We have no coins of Rāmagupta, and yet the literary and epigraphic evidence definitely proves that he was the immediate successor of Samudragupta. As pointed out above Govindagupta had a brief reign of about two years.[1] In this short period, the number of coins, if any were minted, must have been so small that we cannot expect them to have found a place in the hoards. How many coins have the people got of Edward VIII, although his reign is so recent? No wonder therefore that we have no coins of Govindagupta.

A word may be said with regard to the probable circumstances leading to the overthrow of Govindagupta. In the new Mandasor inscription there is probably a covert reference to the jealousy that Kumāragupta cherished towards his elder brother Govindagupta. It says that even the lord of the Gods, i.e. Indra, became apprehensive. As Mahendra is a well-known title of Kumāragupta, it appears to be the poet's intention to make a covert reference to the ill-feeling between the two brothers which ultimately led to a rupture. In the Tumain inscription, Kumāragupta is said to have seized the earth by his most powerful arms.[2] It is not unlikely that Kumāragupta revolted against his brother Govindagupta and succeeded in overthrowing him.

JAGAN NATH.

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[1] The last known date of his father Candragupta II is 93 and the earliest known date of his brother Kumāragupta is 96.

[2] वीर्यावग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिं—*E.I.*, XXVI.

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REVIEWS

GAUTAM THE BUDDHA. By S. Radhakrishnan. Hind Kitabs, Publishers, Bombay. First published in India in 1945. Reprinted with permission from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXIV, being the annual lecture on a Master Mind delivered before the British Academy under the Henriette Hertz Trust on 28th June, 1938.

In this little book the author has dealt with the life and teachings of the Buddha in an elegant language and graceful style. He has given his views on some vexed problems of Buddhist philosophy, some of which cannot be accepted at all. He says, 'The human person is a compound of . . . dispositions (*saṃskāra*) which include aptitudes, abilities, resulting from the past, providing an inheritance of good or ill from previous lives, and constituting a stock of character with which to start at a fresh birth; and summing them all up was thought (*vijñāna*) covering the whole group of mental activities from the most concrete ideation to the most abstract meditation' (p. 19). But *saṃskāra* (Sanskrit) or *saṅkhāra* (Pali) means confections or conformations of merit, demerit, body, mind and speech. There is good thought in the domain of sensual pleasure and in the domain of form, conducive to charity and virtue. The reverse of it is found in *apuññābhisaṅkhāra*, confections regarding demerit. There is name and there is form. The name consists of *vedanā* (feeling), *saññā* (perception) and *saṅkhāra* (confection). The form consists of the four great elements or essential qualities of matter. *Saṅkhāra* also means an aggregation. Ignorance (*avijjā*) is the cause of aggregation. In the Saṃyuttanikāya (II, 186) the Buddha is represented as saying: 'Incalculable (endless) is the process of *saṃsāra*, the beginning of beings running through the course of *saṃsāra* being cloaked by *avijjā* and tied to *bhavataṇhā* (craving for existence) does not appear'. All this amounts to saying that endless is the cosmic process, the course of *saṃsāra*, so that its beginning ever remains unknown and unknowable. Ignorance and desire for existence are sufficient to account for the happy and unhappy states of beings. *Avijjā* is the factor which keeps the nature of *dhammatā* concealed (*dhammatā* consisting in the related character of reality in its process of becoming). The desire for existence (*bhavataṇhā*) is the factor which constitutes an incessant impulse to becoming. All forms of ignorance are expressions of *avijjā* and all kinds of desire are various manifestations of *bhavataṇhā*. *Rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra* and *viññāna* are really the objects of sense. It is interesting to note that the Buddha offered an explanation the purport of which was to indicate that the condition of the *Tathāgata* after *parinibbāna* was incapable of description in all convenient terms of description: *rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra* and *viññāna*. If the author refers to the Visuddhimagga (II, pp. 462–472), he will find that thirty-six kinds of *saṅkhāra* arise from *kāmāvacarapaṭhamakusala citta* and the same number arises from *kāmāvacara-dutiyakusala citta*. Seventeen kinds of *saṅkhāra* arise from *paṭhama-akusalacitta*. The essential characteristic of a *saṅkhāra* is *cetayita*, it being a work of mind. According to Dr. Das Gupta, it is so called because it synthesizes the conglomerated (*saṅkhataṃ abhisaṅkharonti*). It is thus a synthetic function which synthesizes the passive *rūpa, saññā, saṅkhāra* and *viññāna* elements.[1] *Abhisaṅkhāra* is used as a synonym of *saṅkhāra*. *Saṅkhāra-khandha* has good many points in common with those of *Paṭiccasamuppāda*. *Saṅkhāra* has also been interpreted as matter, *karma*, etc. Childers is right when he says that in some cases sentient beings are included under this term.[2] According to some *saṅkhāra-khandha* means 'the group of volitions and other associated factors'.[3] *Saṅkhāra* is that which is determined, conditioned and acted upon. It is chiefly applied to *cetanā*. There is a discussion in the *saṅkhāra-khandha* in the *Visuddhimagga* (Chapter XIV) where we find 51 *saṅkhāras*. *Saṅkhāras* are affections having their motive in *vedanā*. They are temporary mental or moral dispositions according to some but it does not seem to be the exact idea of Buddhist *saṅkhāra*. The author says (p. 19) '*viññāna*' means 'thought'. It is nothing but consciousness which runs on and continues without break of identity.[4] He has translated the word '*paññā*' (*prajñā*) as intuitive insight. Really it means 'wisdom'.[5] In his discussions (pp. 21-22) on right speech, right action, right effort, etc. he has failed to point out that right knowledge (*sammā ñāṇa*) and right emancipation (*sammā vimutti*)[6] have a distinct bearing on the subject.[7] It should be noted that the noble eightfold path leaves out these two important factors without which the Buddhist system of thought is incomplete. In page 23 the author has given an incomplete idea of meditation. He ought to have discussed both *jhāna* and *samādhi*

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1 *A History of Indian Philosophy*, p. 96.
2 Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, pp. 453–55.
3 S. Z. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 274.
4 *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 256 foll.
5 Cf. *Sonadaṇḍa Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya*, I.
6 *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, p. 271.
7 Vide my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. V.

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which may be understood as ecstatic musing and rapt concentration. I may draw the author's attention to my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chapter VI, published by the Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland. He ought to have treated in full what Buddha has said about *Nirvāṇa* and *Dhamma*.[1] Here his attention might be drawn to the *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* where the Buddha is represented as saying 'In seeking for "salvation" I reached in experience the *nibbāna* which is unborn, unrivalled, secure from attachment, undecaying, unailing, undying, unlamenting and unstained . . .' This condition is indeed reached by me which is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, beyond the reach of mere logic, subtle, and to be realized only by the wise (each individually for himself).[2] The *Mūlapariyāya Sutta* clearly indicates that already at the time of the rise of Buddhism, *nibbāna* came to be recognized as the final term of Indian religious thought. In this most important discourse the Buddha distinguishes his own attitude towards *nirvāṇa* from that which had passed as the prevalent attitude. One may agree to think that this difference in the two attitudes or thought-positions implies a difference in two conceptions: *nibbāna* from the cosmological or ontological point of view and *nibbāna* from the logical or epistemological point of view.[3] I have discussed some of these points, as fully as possible, in my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chapter XI.

As regards *dhamma*, its conception was elaborated in early Buddhism. With the Buddha, it is no mere law but something more than it; it is the principle of righteousness in conformity with which the reigning king is to save his conduct and guide the course of administration.[4] The author's point is not new. I pointed this out in my *Concepts of Buddhism* published in 1938. *Dharma* recognizes the superiority of right over might but the principle of righteousness is far more than the mere sense of right or that of duty. It really means the fulfilment of the whole duty of a man as man according to law, custom, sense of right, good and happiness but no feeling of tedium or dissatisfaction or vexation of spirit.

I find that some of the references and statements occurring in the book under review are not accurate. At page 10, footnote, *Aṅguttara* iii, page 653, should be *Aṅguttara*, I, pages 191-2. Here the Pali passage supplied has not been rightly quoted. At page 11, the passage quoted should have read as '*attadīpā viharatha attasaraṇā anaññasaraṇā, dhammadīpā, dhammasaraṇā, anaññasaraṇā*'.[5] At page 14, footnote No. 2 is totally wrong. It should be *Vinayapiṭaka* (PTS), Vol. II, 256, or *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. III, pp. 325-26 and not the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, V, 23. The relevant Vinaya passage runs as follows: 'sace Ānanda nālabhissa mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjaṃ, ciraṭṭhitikaṃ Ānanda brahmacariyaṃ abhavissa, vassasahassaṃ saddhammo tiṭṭheyya. Yato ca kho Ānanda mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito, na dāni Ānanda brahmacariyaṃ ciraṭṭhitikaṃ bhavissati, pañc' eva dāni Ānanda vassasatāni saddhammo ṭhassati'. At page 42, *sinsapā* occurs five times. It should be *siṃsapā* and not *sinsapā*. At page 52, I daresay that Sariputta had no discussions with Sāti; the Buddha and not Sariputta had such discussions. The author's carelessness is unpardonable. At pp. 49 and 56, *Alaguddūpama Sutta* should have been spelt as *Alagaddūpama Sutta*. At page 62 f.n., the correct title is the *Visuddhimagga*, and not *Visuddhamagga*. Besides there are many minor mistakes (e.g., pp. 2, 13, 36, 39, 41, 52, 54 and 61, etc.). The book, as it stands, requires a careful revision. It will be helpful to students of Buddhism, if a carefully revised edition is published, especially in view of the wide popularity of the author as an exponent of Indian philosophy.

B. C. LAW.

POEMS OF CLOISTER AND JUNGLE, a Buddhist anthology (The Wisdom of the East Series). By Mrs. Rhys Davids, M.A., D.Litt. First Edition, 1941.

This book consists of eleven chapters. In the introductory chapter Mrs. Rhys Davids lays much stress on the anthology of poems by Indian nuns, members of the Sakyan Order. In the next two chapters she has tried to find out the true meanings of *Samaṇa* and *Brahmā, Brahma, Deva* or *Devatā*. In the following chapters she has ably discussed the problem of the farewell to life in the world undertaken through faith (*Saddhāya*). Her significance of *Kāya* and *Ātmā* is noteworthy. Then she has tried to do full justice to the vexed problems of *Nirvāṇa, Parama* and *Artha, Dharma, Mārga*, etc. She has gone deep into the question of *Yoga* and *Khema*. Chapters IX and X dealing with the life in the Order are interesting. Her explanations of *Yoga, Jhāna* (*Dhyāna*), *Sīla*, and *Sikkhā* help us greatly to understand them properly. The last chapter deals with the birth and survival of the poems. The importance of the twin anthologies in Indian religious literature has been well brought to the notice of scholars. In this connection she has dealt with the knotty questions of *Satthā, Sugata, Tathāgata, Sambuddha*, etc. This book is on the whole very interesting and repays perusal.

D. L. BARUA.

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[1] Vide pp. 25, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, etc. of the author's work under review.
[2] Cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 167.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 4–6.
[4] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 149-50; cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 61.
[5] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, PTS, p. 100.

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THE MAHĀVAGGA (THE VINAYA PIṬAKA), Vol. I, Khandhakas 1–5. Edited for the first time by Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, M.A., in Devanāgarī script and published in the Devanāgarī Pali Texts Series No. 9 of the University of Bombay. First Edition, 1944.

It is an excellent edition prepared by Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, a well-known Pali scholar, which consists of the first five chapters of the *Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka*. The *Vinaya Mahāvagga* is undoubtedly an important Pali text. The learned editor has ably performed his task which has been entrusted to him by the University of Bombay. In preparing this edition he has given different readings in the footnotes from the Burmese edition and has made use of the *Samantapāsādikā* which is a commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, wherever necessary. A careful perusal of this edition will surely convince a reader of the excellent manner in which the learned editor has discharged his duty as a capable editor. Prof. Bhagwat has removed a long-felt want by bringing out this useful edition of a rare Pali text and he will surely do an immense service to Pali scholarship, if he can prepare and publish a complete Devanāgarī edition of the Vinaya Piṭaka, the necessity of which is nowadays so keenly felt.

We are grateful to the authorities of the University of Bombay for bringing out such a valuable and useful edition and it is our earnest desire that other Universities of India should also follow suit.

It must be admitted that Prof. Bhagwat's edition has been very carefully prepared and made useful to students and scholars alike.

B. C. LAW.

TYĀGARĀJA BHAGAVĀN GOTAMA BUDDHA. By Ramchandra Govinda Kolangade and Keshav Appa Padhye.

Many are the scholars that have published accounts of the life of Buddha. Perhaps the best in English are those by Rhys Davids and Saunders. In Marathi, however, the best that was known so far was that composed by Dharmanand Kosambi. What is wanted is that books on important subjects should be written in popular style without detracting from the seriousness of the subject. This was told us by the celebrated Prof. Huxley years ago. It is, however, difficult—very difficult—to treat a serious subject in a popular style. The impossible has now been made possible by Messrs. Kolangade and Padhye in the case of Gotama Buddha. It is no doubt composed in Marathi in such a manner that he who knows the language cannot begin without reading the whole of it at a stretch. Their Marathi is doubtless poetic prose without doing any harm to the serious aspect of the subject. They have quoted from various early Buddhist works connected with the life of Buddha. As a matter of fact, one opens the book and cannot keep it down without reading the whole of it. The style is very attractive without deteriorating in seriousness of any kind.

The authors have rightly and properly drawn upon the early Buddhist literature which is in Pali. What is wonderful is that they have selected passages which throw light on the life of Buddha—from His birth right down to His passing away from the world. There is no book in Marathi or any other vernacular which can be compared to this one, setting forth the life of the great soul—namely Buddha. There is, however, one point in which Prof. Kosambi has done better, namely, in dwelling upon the Ashṭāṅgika Mārga. Messrs. Kolangade and Padhye have no doubt expatiated upon it on page 116 but they have not shown as clearly as Prof. Kosambi has done in his book how this Mārga is a golden mean between two extremes. In other matters, however, the book under review surpasses all others written on the subject in Indian vernaculars in the maintenance of unflagging interest and in the setting forth of the deep and serious side of Buddha's life.

The book has been dedicated to Dr. Bimala Churn Law. This is just as it should be. It is accompanied by a short but succinct account of his scholarship. The authors have begun the dedicatory portion with the words of Kālidāsa who describes a descendant of Raghu as a king in whom reside both *Śrī* (Goddess of Wealth) and *Saraswatī* (Goddess of Learning). What is, however, worthy of note is that Dr. Law is read and appreciated more and more as one proceeds from east to west. Many people are aware that his scholarship is appreciated more highly in Bombay, Madras, U.P., and Punjab than in Calcutta—still more highly in Europe than in India.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

MAURYA AND ŚUṄGA ART. By Nihar Ranjan Ray. Calcutta University, 1945. Pp. 117. 33 illustrations.

In this excellent work the author has tried, with signal success, to analyze and to explain in the light of the basic sociological factors, the difference between the art of the Maurya and the Śuṅga periods—two phases of art fundamentally different in their conception of form as well as technique, though closely related to each other in time. In carrying out this task, the author

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has displayed qualities of penetrating vision, wide synthesis, and clarity of expression, which have combined to invest his pronouncements with singular authority. His work, as such, will continue, for a long time to come, to be regarded as a most notable contribution to the study of the subject with which it deals.

On some minor points there is room for differences of opinion. The author seems to exaggerate the social and political backwardness of Northern India in pre-Maurya times. He writes (pp. 9-10): 'Tribal and primitive was indeed the character of the social psychology of Northern India during these centuries . . . The normal political condition of Northern India till the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. was not that of an empire of any considerable extent under a *sārvabhauma* monarch, but it was that of separate small and independent States and kingdoms (*sic*) under a king or tribal leader. It was only towards the third quarter of fourth century B.C. that the ideal was partially achieved in the person of Mahāpadma Nanda.' But already in early Buddhist times we find references to a highly developed system of industry and trade involving traffic along cross-Indian routes and even with distant Bāveru and Suvaṇṇabhūmi. These hardly support the author's sweeping assertion (p. 9) of 'an agricultural, industrial and commercial life in (*sic*) small scale and within narrow proportions' as the characteristic of pre-Maurya times. In the political sphere we may trace back imperial titles like *adhirāja, adhipati* and *samrāṭ* beyond the Brāhmaṇa period to the Ṛgvedic times. Again, the descriptions not only of the Rājasūya, but also of the Vājapeya and the Aśvamedha are not confined to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, but may be found in most other Yajus Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa works, while lists of 'sārvabhauma kings' occur not only in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21–23), but also in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5. 4. 1f.) and *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (XVI, 9). Making due allowance for their limitations, these facts hardly justify the author's view (p. 11) that 'the Achaemenid dynasty was the first to evolve and give reality to the idea of imperial suzerainty, which a century later was partially achieved by the Nandas'. In the domain of art the striking dictum of Coomaraswamy which the author quotes with approval (p. 11), viz. that 'India in centuries and perhaps millenniums B.C. was an integral part of an 'Ancient East', that extended from the Mediterranean to the Ganges valley', scarcely lends support to the theory of 'the tribal and primitive social psychology of Northern India' in pre-Maurya times. Finally, it may be doubted whether the religious movement started by Buddha with its universal appeal and its initial successes supports the view (p. 62) that Buddhism, before Aśoka came to its rescue, was but 'a tribal and regional cult'. In the light of these data, it is difficult to accept the author's confident verdict (p. 47) that 'Aśoka's rôle in contemporary Indian history was to bring India into the orbit of the international culture [that extended beyond the Indus to the shores of the Mediterranean], to raise her from Middle and Eastern Indian tribalism to the internationalism of the contemporary world', or again (p. 62) that 'Nanda-Maurya, particularly Maurya imperialism and Asokan policy of Dhamma-Vijaya drew India out of her primitive local and tribal outlook'. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the transition from the tribal to the territorial State may be traced back, as has been shown elsewhere[1] by the present reviewer, to two texts of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (I, 8. 12 and II, 3. 3-4). The kingdoms of Magadha, Kāśi, Kośala, Avanti and so forth, already in early Buddhist times, were not certainly tribal States.

The author's statement (p. 5) that 'we have no examples extant of either sculpture or architecture that can be definitely labelled chronologically as pre-Mauryan' is contradicted by the evidence of the definitely pre-Mauryan 'Cyclopean' walls of Rajgir, and still more, that of the masonry constructions of Mohenjo-Daro and the well-known stone statue from Harappa.

On p. 65 the author says that 'much of the veiled hatred and contempt with which later writers view the Mauryas may have been due to their being exponents of a personal culture-ideology that was largely foreign to the people in general, especially of the Madhyadeśa'. This view ignores the high respect and reverence with which the story of Aśoka is told in such definitely Indian works as the *Aśokāvadāna* (which besides being incorporated in the *Divyāvadāna* exists in two slightly different Chinese versions as well as in the Chinese version of the *Samyukta Āgama*) and the work called *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* by Lüders and *Dṛṣṭānta-paṅktiḥ* by Sylvain Lévi. The above view again overlooks the large extent to which the Maurya administration and the Asokan religious policy were racy of the soil. For not only is the centralized administration of the Mauryas, with its all-powerful bureaucracy and with the benevolent autocrat at its head, completely in tune with the whole trend of *Arthaśāstra* and *Nītiśāstra* thought and even in a large measure with the thought of the Great Epic and the later *Smṛtis*, but Aśoka's *dhamma*, as Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has well shown, reproduces in essentials the Buddhist code of duties of a layman, while his *dhammavijaya* propaganda is thoroughly in accord with the Buddhist canonical ideal of a *rājā cakkavattī dhammiko dhammarājā*.

The author's reference to 'the intimate contacts' of the Mauryas with 'representatives from Graeco-Bactrian courts and kingdoms' (p. 12) as well as to 'a state department' for looking after foreigners in Kauṭilya's work (p. 15) cannot but be called in either case an unfortunate slip. On the last-named page the author quotes with some credence what appears to be an idle fairy tale, viz., Dion Chrysoston's mention of Indians singing the poetry of Homer 'which was translated into Indian language and Indian mode of expression'.

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[1] *A History of Hindu Public Life*, Part I, pp. 53-54.

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We have noticed some printing mistakes not corrected in the list of *errata* at the end. Such are Buddhaghosha (pp. 47, 85) and town-folks (p. 87).

The paper, print and get-up are good. The work is enriched with a select bibliography, an index and a list of 33 plates with short explanatory notes.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

WOVEN CADENCES OF EARLY BUDDHISTS. Translated by Mr. E. M. Hare, Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, Demy 8vo.

This is the second complete English translation of the *Sutta-nipāta*, a book of the Lesser Collection of the Pali *Sutta-Piṭaka*, the first complete English translation of the text being one by Fausböll (1880). As an English translation in verse, this is the first of its kind. The first complete translation of the text in Bengali verse was done by Pandit Dharmaraj Barua in A.D. 1887. The translation of the *Jātakas* in verse by Cowell, Francis and Rouse stands as a model of successful reproduction of Pali verses in which the spirit of the original is wonderfully well maintained. In the opinion of those who have carefully compared the original with the translation, the latter sometimes reads better than the former. The late lamented Mrs. Rhys Davids showed the way of translating in English verse the psalms of the early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters as well as the first volume of the *Kindred Sayings* (the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*). Although her translations sparkle with poetry here and there, there are English accents and forced emphasis which take us far away from the tenor of the original. The present translation in verse is a milder product of versification in the school of Mrs. Rhys Davids. Here the translation keeps quite close to the phraseologies of the original text; it is simple and elegant. And yet the impression is that the translator has not got into the spirit of the thing. The English title *Woven Cadences of Early Buddhists* does not seem to be happily chosen. Similarly the short captions 'The Snake' for the *Uragasutta*, 'Dhaniya' for the *Dhaniyasutta*, 'The Rhinoceros' for the *Khaggavisāṇasutta*, and the rest seem to sacrifice the sense for the sake of convenience. 'Way-conqueror', 'Way-herald', 'fraud-of-way', 'lore-adept', 'man-thus-come' and the like are not happy English coinages. The Pali *hiri* is not 'modesty'; it is rather judiciousness with an approximation to the idea of conscience. I am aware nevertheless of the difficulties that beset the path of a translator of a difficult text like the *Sutta-nipāta* in verse. In some places the performances are charming and brilliant, e.g., in the translation of the stanzas of Vaṅgīsa (p. 53):

'Blithely I hear thy word,
O rishi without peer!
Nor vainly did I ask.
The brahman duped me not.
Listener to the Wake,
He did as he declared,
And cut away death's net,
Deceitful, strong, outspread.'

On the whole the translation will not fail to convey to English readers both the sense and beauty of the religious experiences of ancient India which found a significant expression through the utterances of the Buddha and his immediate disciples.

B. M. BARUA.

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OBITUARY

The late Dr. Heinrich Lüders of Berlin and the late Dr. Otto Stein of Prague

Though the sad news of the death of Dr. Lüders of Berlin was received in India a year ago and given publicity in Oriental Journals, we had no independent confirmation about it from reliable sources. I had therefore written to my friend Dr. H. N. Randle, Librarian, India Office Library, London, to get some information about the fate of scholars in Germany and Central Europe. In reply to my letter, Dr. Randle was kind enough to send me the following information as per his letter of 13th November, 1945:—

'It is still difficult to trace the fate of Scholars in Germany and Central Europe but I have had the lamentable news in a letter from the late Dr. Otto Stein's sole surviving relative in Prague that Dr. Stein and his wife were deported from Prague to Lodz in Poland in October 1942, and that they both met their death in April 1943. He contributed many articles up to 1938 to Indian Journals (including of course the *New Indian Antiquary*) and no doubt you will make his tragic and untimely end known in India where his name was so widely known and respected.'

Dr. Randle has sent me an extract from a letter from Prof. Sten Konow addressed to Prof. P. Kahle of Oxford in which we get the following information about the sad demise of Dr. Lüders and Mrs. Lüders :—

'Lüders died on the 7th of May, 1943, from heart failure and his wife followed him on the 13th of February, 1945. She had been up to Berlin and fetched parts of his manuscripts and then fell down and died on the railway station Friedrich-strasse.'

Prof. Kahle observes: 'Lüders and Sten Konow had always been good friends and so we can take this notice concerning Lüders as a definitive one. I have been in close touch with Lüders for more than 20 years in the committee of the D.M.G. and we had become good friends. He was not in a very good health during the last years and so we were nearly convinced that the rumour of his death was true.'

The above news about the sad demise of Dr. Lüders and Mrs. Lüders as also that of the tragic demise of Dr. Stein and Mrs. Stein will be read with sorrow by all their friends in India and outside.

P. K. Gode.

NOTES

The thirteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Nagpur under the auspices of the University of Nagpur sometime during the next Dewali holidays, i.e. October end or beginning of November next.

* * * * * *

The Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, has awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal for 1944 to Dr. B. C. Law in recognition of his scholarship.

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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

By N. N. Ghosh

The phenomenon of caste is a unique feature in the Hindu society in the form as it exists today. It has no parallel anywhere in the world because the three important elements of castes in modern times, e.g. heredity, endogamy and restrictions regarding food and drink distinguish Indian castes from social divisions or classes of people in other countries. A sort of caste system based on birth and occupation did indeed exist in some countries of Mid-Asia, Persia, Babylon and Egypt for example, but in those countries it never approached the Indian caste system in its rigours and complexity. Instead of ramifying into divisions and sub-divisions it dwindled and disappeared there in the course of time. What are the causes, then, which led to the development of this stupendous structure of caste in India?

Nesfield thinks Caste is functional, to Risley it is racial. The caste is for Nesfield a matter of profession; for Risley a matter of marriage. Both of them viewed it from the historical point. There is thus truth in both the views; but no one view alone gives the whole picture. In its origin it was functional and occupational. Later it developed into endogamous and hereditary. The tendency to endogamy which brought in the racial element in its genesis was due to the contact of the Indo-Aryans with the indigenous Dravidians whom the former designated as 'Dāsa' or dark-coloured. The functional and occupational basis of the caste naturally led to the gradation of the caste—some being at the top in the social scale and others low—and some so low as to be deemed untouchable—according to the nature of the work performed by each. In theory it was division of labour; in practice it was human tendency and adaptability. The functional divisions of the people into occupational groups is the genesis of the Indian castes. Gradually occupational groups developed into exclusive and hereditary caste-guilds with all their hide-bound rules and regulations as regards marriage, food, etc. Senart finds another characteristic, viz. the caste council with its chief having the power to regulate the conduct of its members and impose the penalty of fines and excommunication.[1] We do not find any sanction for this in the Dharma Śāstras, but as a custom it still exists in some form or other among many Indian castes. Endogamy is the most important characteristic of castes; and so is the theory that it is by birth. Restriction as to food and drink are confined to rural and illiterate classes mainly, and observed by the most orthodox among the literates. As to occupations any one can at present follow any profession without fear of loss of caste, excepting the very degrading ones believed to be impure, like those of the sweepers, butchers, tanners, etc. The artificial nature of the caste system, as it exists today, is thus evident. The basic economy of the system has disappeared on account of exigency of modern social economy, and yet its relics are adhered to in practice by the orthodox Hindus in the restricted manner permissible under the changed circumstances. For instance, a Brāhman is no longer occupied with the three well-known professions of *yajana, yājana,* and *adhyāpana* as enjoined in the śāstras. He has to accept under the changed circumstances lower professions, sometimes menial services fit for the Śūdras, earn his living as a trader and even run a shoe-shop. He does not leave those professions even though he may no longer need them for

1 Senart: Caste in India (tr. by Ross).

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his living as enjoined by Manu (in X, 116). Yet he does not lose his caste but retains the privileges pertaining to it, and considers himself superior to the member of a non-Brāhman caste, even though the latter may be a teacher by profession. A non-Brāhman will never be allowed to officiate as a priest even though in some cases he may be a hundred times more fitted to do so than the Brāhman priest. What is applicable to the Brāhmans is also true with the other castes. While suffering from disabilities at the hand of the higher castes the lower castes will stick to their privileges as to the next lower and so forth. Both birth and heredity play the part now while functions and occupations did it in the beginning. The genetic basis of the caste is gone. The skeleton of the structure is adhered to with all its artificial background and the consequent evils arising therefrom.

Vedic Period

The Dāsas.—We do not find any sanction of caste based on birth among the Aryans themselves in the earliest of the Vedic literature, the Ṛgveda. The *Puruṣasūkta* (Ṛg., X, 90. 12) which refers to Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra as sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively of the supreme Puruṣa is admittedly a later addition.[1]

The Aryan-conquerors, of course, made an invidious distinction between themselves and the indigenous Dravidians whom they designated as 'Dāsa or dark-coloured'. The distinction was based on colour (वर्ण): यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहा कः 'who (Indra) placed low the Dāsa colour in a cave' (Ṛg., II, 12. 4). Indra is one of the well-known gods of the Aryans who was frequently invoked to help them in war against the enemy. Here the enemy was the Dāsa Varṇa, that is, the dark-skinned Anārya. We read in Ṛg., I, 179. 6: उभौ वर्णौ ऋषिरुग्रः पुपोष 'The fierce sage (Agastya) cherished both Varṇas.' The उभौ वर्णौ referred to here are the bright coloured Aryans and dark-skinned non-Aryans. The great Ṛṣi Agastya is traditionally known to be the first Aryan sage who carried the torch of Aryan culture among the non-Aryans beyond the Vindhyas, and naturally had a soft corner for them. In Ṛg., I, 30. 8, we read, 'Indra helped in battles the Ārya sacrificer. Indra punished for the sake of Manu (the Dāsas) who do not observe the ordinances and subdued the dark-skinned'. In Ṛg., III, 34. 9, we find, 'Indra having killed the Dāsas protected the Ārya Varṇa'. Thus in the oldest period of the Ṛgveda we find that the Aryans and the Dāsas were two opposing camps and both were designated as 'Varṇas'. To this cause of the distinction due to 'Varṇa' were added other causes. The Dāsas were designated as *avrata* (not obeying the ordinances of gods), *akratu* (not performing the sacrifices), *anāsa* (flat-nosed), *mṛduvāca* (whose speech is indistinct).[2]

These racial and cultural differences between the conquering Aryans and the conquered Dravidians who far out-numbered the newcomers made the fusion of the two races impossible. Therefore, in the earliest period we find the word 'Varṇa' associated only with the Dāsa and with Ārya. Although we find in the Ṛgveda that though the Aryans themselves were divided into many tribes and fought among

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[1] This is the opinion of many scholars. M. Winternitz calls the hymn 'evidently late'. Mr. Kane in his History of Dharma Śāstras, Vol. II, Pt. I, calls it 'a much later hymn' (p. 27) and further clarifies the theme by the following pertinent remark: 'Besides we cannot forget that the final redaction of the Ṛgveda must be held to have been separated from the conception of the individual hymn by several hundred years (if not more) and that even if it can be conceded that at the time when the *Puruṣasūkta* was composed the four Varṇas had been constituted and had become castes, yet the same cannot be affirmed for the time of the original composition of the other hymns' (p. 28).

[2] *Vide* Ṛg., I, 51. 8; I, 175. 3; Ṛg., V, 29. 10; Ṛg., VII, 6. 3.

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themselves, they were one and an undivided racial and cultural unit, as distinguished from the Dāsas whom they kept socially apart. The only water-tight groups based on restrictions on marriage and food vouchsafed by the Ṛgveda are the Ārya and the Dāsa. Thus the word 'Varṇa' in the sense of caste was purely racial and applied to the Aryans and non-Aryans as two different races and not to the functional groups among the Aryans themselves when they first settled in India. The words Brāhman, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya as they occur in the Ṛgveda were distinctly functional groups and not water-tight castes. The word Brāhmaṇa there is associated with ब्रह्म (hymns and sacrifice). The Brāhmans were those who recited hymns and drank Soma (Ṛg., VII, 103). The word ब्रह्म generally means in the Ṛgveda 'prayer' or 'hymns' (Ṛg., III, 53. 12).

The Ārya Functional Groups.—The word Kṣatriya stands for valour. It appears, therefore, that the two Aryan groups which became distinct from the rest of the people (*Viśaḥ*) on account of their exalted functions were the Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas. The Viśaḥ remained the common people. Ṛg., III, 16–18 associates Brahma or Brāhmaṇa with intellect: (ब्रह्मजिन्वतभूतधिया); Kṣatriya with the protection of people (क्षत्रं जिन्वतभूत जिन्वतं न्रन्) and Viśaḥ with cattle (धेनु जिन्वत भूत जिन्वत विश्यो.) The cows and Viśaḥ are urged together for action, tending the cattle, agriculture, trade, etc.—in fact the rest of the activities in the social economy of the Aryan society minus those performed by the Brāhmans and the Kṣatriyas were performed by the Viśaḥ. So among the Aryans themselves there were three distinct functional groups: Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas and Viśaḥ, but there is nothing in the Ṛgveda to show that these had crystallized into castes. Neither the Brāhmans nor Kṣatriyas were so by birth in the Ṛgvedic period. The only reference in the Ṛgveda to the four castes due to birth is the *Puruṣasūkta*, the historical value of which, as noticed above, is open to doubt and on the face of it appears to be an anachronism.

We find in the Ṛgveda that Devāpi was the *purohita* of King Santanu. They were brothers, being the sons of Ṛṣṭiṣena according to *Nirukta* (II, 10). This shows that out of the two brothers one became the king and the other a priest. So Kṣatriya and Brāhman did not depend on birth. In Ṛg., IX, 112. 3, we find the following passage: कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना। नानाधियो वसुयवो अनुगा इव तस्थिमः 'I am a scribe, my father is a physician, my mother grinds (corn) with stone. We desire to obtain wealth in different actions.' In Ṛg., III, 44. 5, the poet wistfully asks Indra, 'O Indra, fond of Soma, would you make me the protector of people (Kṣatriya) or would you make me a sage that has drunk of Soma (a priest or Brāhman)'. This shows that the same man could be a warrior or a priest. Those who were neither warriors nor priests, but carried on agriculture, trade and industry remained the common people (the Viśaḥ) as distinguished from the high functionaries, viz. the Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas. The word Viśaḥ stands in the Ṛgveda for people, e.g. मानुषीर्विशः (Ṛg., III, 5. 3) or मानुषीणाम् विशम् (Ṛg., III, 6. 3). So when the high functionaries like the warriors and priests stood aloof from the rest of the Viśaḥ forming classes by themselves, the rest of the Aryan people carrying on trade, industry, etc. naturally formed a third class and were in later Vedic literature known as Vaiśyas. These three classes thus were merely functional groups of the Aryan people themselves, and had not yet formed castes in the sense in which the *Smṛtikāras* and we understand them.

The Brāhmaṇa Works

Brāhmans.—The nature of the functions, however, gradually graded them into a higher and lower position in society. The Brāhmaṇa works show that the

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three classes of Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas had been differentiated and their privileges, duties and responsibilities had been more or less fixed. 'Brāhmans are gods that are directly seen' (*Tai. S.*, I, 7. 3. 1); 'there are two kinds of gods, for indeed the gods are gods and the Brāhmans who have studied and teach the sacred law are human gods' (*Śat. Br.*, S.B.E., Vol. XII, p. 309). 'The Brāhman is foremost' (*Tai. S.*, II, 6. 2. 5). In the famous story connected with the *Puruṣamedha* narrated in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (33. 4) and in the *Sankhyāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* (XV, 19. 4) we find that when King Hariśchandra asked Varuṇa whether he would accept Śunaḥśepa, the Brāhman Ajīgarta's son, in the place of Rohita, he said: 'A Brāhman is indeed preferable to a Kṣatriya.' The *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (XI, 1. 2) says: "ब्रह्म हि पूर्वं क्षत्रात्". The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI, 5. 7. 1) lays down certain privileges for the Brāhmans which were further multiplied in the Varṇāśrama Dharma rules of the later Brāhmaṇical literature, the *Dharma-sūtras* and the *Smṛtis*. The *Śat. Br.* says that people endowed the Brāhman with four privileges: *ācāra* (honour), *dāna* (gifts), *ajyeyatā* (freedom from being harassed), *avadhyatā* (freedom from being killed).

Thus by the time the Brāhmaṇa works were composed a sacerdotal class—the Brāhman priesthood—arose among the Aryans in India who attempted to form a separate existence, established their hegemony by framing rules and tended to be hereditary. The position of the Magi in the Achaemenid period indicates the establishment of a hereditary priesthood in Persia, the custodian of natural practices in vogue in Persia at that time, and whose privileged position was safeguarded by rules in the same way as that of the Indian priests.[1] But that the hereditary priestly or the Brāhman caste so formed in India became too numerous in course of time to be absorbed in sacerdotal duties only and followed the occupation of arms which was just below the priesthood is clear from numerous references in our ancient literature. By the time Manu wrote his book he evidently found the Brāhmans occupied in still lower profession as he called them, namely, those of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras and as such had to make exceptions to his rule. He allowed a Brāhman to follow the occupation of a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra in case of extreme necessity but enjoined that he should give it up when the necessity ended and come back to his regular profession of teaching and priesthood. But in the literatures of the period before the time of Manu, the author of *Manusmṛti*, we find pointed references that the Brāhmans followed the occupation of arms. *Pāṇini* (V, 2. 71) teaches the formation of the word 'Brāhmaṇaka' as applied to a country which means 'in which the Brāhmans follow the profession of arms'. Āpastamba evidently discouraged this profession of the Brāhmans and says that 'a Brāhman should not catch hold of a weapon even for examining it' (Āp., I, 10. 29. 7). But Gautama and Baudhāyana, a little more liberal writers than Āpastamba, allowed the profession of arms to the Brāhmans under certain circumstances. Gaut. (VII, 6) says that a Brāhman may follow a Kṣatriya's profession in case of distress (*āpad*) and wield a weapon when his life is in danger. Baud. (II, 2. 80) allowed Brāhman and Vaiśya to take to arms to protect their *dharma*. Kauṭilya who wrote after them quotes (in IX, 2) the view of the previous Ācāryas that of the armies composed of Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas or Śūdras respectively (ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसैन्यानां), that which is mentioned first, on account of bravery, is better than the one subsequently mentioned on the order of enumeration, but it says that the enemy may win over to himself the army of Brāhmans by prostration before them. In the *Mahābhārata* we find great commanders like Droṇa, Aśvatthāmā, Kṛpa who were Brāhmans. The famous Senapati Puṣyamitra Śuṅga was a Brāhman. He was at first a family priest of a Brāhman according to Taranath (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 3, 1927) and afterwards became

1 Claimant Huart: Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization (London, 1927), pp. 84-85.

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a king. Manu evidently had Puṣyamitra in view when he allowed a Brāhman, learned in Veda and Śāstra, to assume military leadership and territorial sovereignty: (सेनापत्यं च राज्यं दण्डनेतृत्वमेव च। सर्वलोकाधिपत्यं च वेदशास्त्रविदर्हति॥) Thus fighting and government, the recognized profession of the Kṣatriyas, was not unknown to the Brāhmans. The Brāhman Paruśarāma of the epic fame is said to have exterminated the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times. The Kāṇvāyanas who came to the Imperial throne of Magadha after the Śuṅgas were also Brāhmans. We learn from the Talaguṇḍa Pillar inscription of Kusthalavarman (*E.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 24f.) that the founder of the Kadambas, Mayūraśarman (*c.* 400 A.D.), was a Brāhman. The Brāhman rule of the Peshwas is but a recent illustration.

Kṣatriyas.—Now, let us consider the position of the Kṣatriyas and their relation to the Brāhmans. It is clear from the Ṛgveda that the unit of the Aryan tribal organization was the family. The head of the family was the family priest. The chief of the tribe was similarly the high-priest of his people in all ancient countries and the separation of functions came about gradually. Among the Sumerians the head of the City-State by virtue of his position 'was a priest and his tenure of the lease was in theory renewed yearly at the festival of the city god at which he was the principal celebrant. The priesthood did not entail a complete absorption in temple duties'.[1] In Babylonia the prince was the high-priest of the town's god, the king the high-priest of the national gods.[2] In Egypt in the beginning the royal family personally took part in the Osirian rites; but after the very early date specialists and professional priests of the funeral cult became indispensable when rituals became complicated by minute details.[3] In Crete Minos was above all the priest-king. In Greece the head of the State controlled the national government by virtue of his position. This is true of the prehistoric period when the City-States grew up round citadels crowned with a combined palace and temple.[4] Under the old monarchy the king of Rome was also the high-priest of his people. The rise of the Republic produced change in the form but not in the basic principle of the constitution of the Roman priesthood.[5] In India the separation of functions probably took place when the tribal chiefs had to remain continually busy in wars and had no time to officiate as priests. Consequently, certain Ṛṣi families grew up who specialized as priests. In the early Ṛgvedic period we find such families as the Vasiṣṭhas, the Kuśikas, the Jamadagnis and other Ṛṣi families out of which the famous warrior King Sudāsa, who defeated the League of Ten Kings and their Allies on the Paruṣṇī river (modern Rāvi) chose his *purohita* (Ṛg., VII, 18). The priest of King Purukutsa was Ṛṣi Bharadvāja. The Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitras were rival Ṛṣi families. In Book VII of the Ṛgveda, we find Vasiṣṭha as the priest of King Sudāsa, and Book III shows Viśvāmitra[6] as the priest of the same king associated with the Jamadagnis. In the Ṛgvedic period the position of the Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas was one of perfect equality and co-operation. In the period of the Brāhmaṇa works the Purohita of a Kṣatriya came to occupy a higher position. In the *Śat. Br.* we read: 'The King who is humble to the Brāhman becomes more powerful than his foes.' The *Śat. Br.*, however, gives the first indication of the Kṣatriya-Brāhman conflict for superior position in society which finds fuller expressions in the Upanishads and in Buddhist and Jaina books. In *Śat. Br.*, XIV, 4. 1, we read 'there is nothing higher than the Kṣatriyas. Therefore, the Brāhman sits down below the Kṣatriya'. Exactly similar views are found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, I, 4. 11.

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1 Sydne Smith: Early History of Assyria to 1000 B.C. (London, 1928).
2 De la Pourte: Mesopotamia. The Babylonian and Assyrian Civilization (London, Eng. Trans., 1925).
3 Morrat: The Nile and Egyptian Civilization (London, 1927), p. 169.
4 C.H.I., Vol. II (1942), p. 625.
5 Albert Grenier: The Roman Spirit (London, 1926), p. 101.
6 In Ṛg., III, 33. 5, the first Viśvāmitra calls himself a son of Kuśika.

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The Vaiśya.—It has already been stated that after Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas had formed distinct functionary groups, and considered themselves superior to the rest of the Ārya community, the latter (the Viś) necessarily formed a third class. Being the bulk of the Aryan community they were more numerous than the other two classes put together. 'They exceeded others in numbers', says *Tai. S.* (VII, 1. 1. 5). The *Tai. Br.* says: 'The Viśaḥ resides separately from the Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas.' According to the *Śat. Br.* (IV, 3. 3. 10) the Viśaḥ (the people) are subservient and obedient to the nobility.[1] Thus they were given a lower position in society than the Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas. The Viśaḥ or the Vaiśya by which name they were always called in the Brāhmaṇa works, being of Ārya community, were entitled to Vedic sacrifices. The *Tai. S.* says that the Vaiśya indeed sacrifices, being desirous of cattle: "पशुकामः खलु वैश्यो यजते" (*Tai. S.*, II, 5. 10. 2). According to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (35. 3), the Vaiśya is one who is food for others, who pays taxes to others. This shows that the Vaiśya as a class were the people who produced wealth and bore the expenses of the State. To sum up in view of the references cited above, the Vaiśyas formed the third class of the Ārya community, and were entitled to sacrifice; they reared cattle and other allied productive works, and were far more numerous than the other two classes put together; they had to bear the brunt of taxation and lived apart from the Brāhmans and Kṣatriyas to whom they were obedient.

We have shown in the course of our thesis on the origin of the three classes of Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas that originally they were functional groups. They had not become hereditary until a long time elapsed after the separation of functions; nor do we find in the Vedic literature any evidence of marriages being prohibited between the three different classes of the Aryan community. The tendency to heredity was a gradual process—the result of the human instinct of preserving the rights and privileges attached to functional groups. The Smṛti literature which gave ultimate shape to hereditary castes is separated from the Vedic literature by hundreds of years. In the meantime several factors arose which impelled the Brāhman writers of law-books to lay down positive rules to preserve the purity of caste. It is not the whole truth to say that the preservation of privileges alone was the motive of the Smṛti writers to safeguard and perpetuate castes by hide-bound rules. There were other factors, but one of them needs immediate consideration. This is the rise of the Śūdra as a fourth class in the social economy of the Aryan society.

The Śūdras.—The word Śūdra does not occur in the *Ṛgveda Samhitā* except in the *Puruṣasūkta*. But the word occurs in the Brāhmaṇa works. Who, then, were the Śūdras? We have seen that in the Ṛgveda Dāsas were dark-skinned non-Aryan tribes who were opposed to the Aryans. They were gradually vanquished and made to serve the Āryas. From being enemies they were brought into family relations with the conquerors. Traces are visible that even in the Ṛgveda friendly relations had begun to be established between certain Dāsas and the priests. For example, in Ṛg., VIII, 46. 32, we read of the Brāhman's receiving the gift of a hundred cows from the Dāsas.[2] Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that needs of social economy made the Ārya conquerors give the Dāsas a status in society. Their functions were confined to service. The word 'Dāsa' in later literature means a 'serf' or a 'slave'. In the *Manusmṛti* (VIII, 14. 13) we read: "शूद्रं तु कारयेत् दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमेव वा, दास्यायैव हि सृष्टोऽसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयंभुवा" ॥ This shows that the Śūdra has been created by God for the service of the Brāhman. In the Ṛgveda

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[1] तत्क्षत्राय वै तद्विशं कृतानुकारमनुवर्त्तमानं करोति ।

[2] शतं दासे वल्बूथे विप्रस्तरुक्ष आददे ।

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the Ārya is contradistinguished from the men of 'dark-skinned'. In the Dharma-Sūtras, the Śūdra is spoken of as dark Varṇa: "यदेकराचेण करोति पापं कृष्णां वर्णां ब्राह्मणः सेवमानः" (Ap. Dh. S., I, 9. 27; Baudh. Dh. S., II, 1. 59). Gautama (X, 69) uses the word 'Anārya' for Śūdra and in XII, 3 prescribes heavy punishment for a Śūdra for having sexual intercourse with an Ārya woman. So the Dāsa Varṇa Anāryas of the Ṛgvedic period were the Śūdras of Brāhmaṇic and Sūtra periods. As such there was a clear line of demarcation based on racial differences between the Śūdras and the three Ārya classes, and the Brāhmaṇa literature did all it could to maintain and perpetuate this line of demarcation. Though admitted into the Aryan society as a fourth class the Śūdras were not allowed those rights commonly enjoyed by the other three classes, viz. the sacrifices and Vedic studies, etc. 'The Śūdra among men and the horse among beasts are the two conveyances of beings, the Śūdra is not fit to perform sacrifices' (*Tai. S.*, VII, 1. 1. 6). According to the *Tāṇḍya Mahā Brāhmaṇa* 'the Śūdra though he may have many beasts is not entitled to perform sacrifices; he is godless as no deity was created after him (as in the case of other Varṇas); therefore he does not go beyond washing the feet of the other three Varṇas'. The *Śat. Br.* says that the Śūdra is toil (S.B.E., Vol. XLIV, p. 446). The *Ait. Br.* (35. 3) says that the Śūdra is at the beck and call of others. *Śat. Br.* (S.B.E., Vol. XXVI, p. 4) says that a *dikṣita*, i.e. a member of the three higher Varṇas, initiated for a Vedic sacrifice should not even speak with a Śūdra who cannot be so initiated. Thus we find that in the later strata of the Vedic literature the Śūdras in the sense of modern caste arose and were saddled with many social disabilities regarding food, marriage and Vedic sacrifices, etc. The lowness of their occupation and the social disabilities, as contradistinguished from the Ārya functional groups, can only be explained by the fact that the Śūdras were originally Anārya Dāsas, and as such racially different from the Ārya conquerors. This partly explains Risley's theory that caste is racial. Yes, it is so, so far as the Śūdras were concerned. At the same time Nesfield's theory that caste is functional also finds partial explanation in so far as the three Ārya Varṇas are concerned. Heredity and endogamy and restrictions in food, etc.—the principal elements of modern caste—were applied in the beginning only as between the Śūdras and the Āryas, and not among the different functional groups of the Āryas themselves. But once a hereditary occupational caste was created and maintained in society the other functional classes above the Śūdras and belonging to the same ethnic group gradually became hereditary. In this way a hereditary and sacerdotal class grew up. But it must be noticed that three Ārya Varṇas became hereditary in the later Vedic or Brāhmaṇic period. The restrictions *re* food and marriage, etc., which obtained between the Aryans and the Śūdras, were not observed rigorously among the Aryans themselves. Those exclusive barriers remained to be built up later by the authors of the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras. But the fact appears to be clear that by the time Brāhmaṇa works were composed, instead of two Varṇas or races based on colour as in the Ṛgvedic period, the system of four Varṇas had taken deep roots in the Hindu society so much so that the analogy of the four Varṇas was extended even to gods. Agni and Bṛhaspati were the Brāhmans among the gods; Indra, Rudras and Maruts were the Kṣatriyas; and Puṣan was the Śūdra (*Śat. Br.*, XIV, 4. 2; *Br. Up.*, I, 4. 11–13; *Ait. Br.*, XXXIV, 5). The *Mahābhārata* made some slight changes in the Varṇas of the gods. According to it the Ādityas were Kṣatriyas, the Maruts were the Vaiśyas and Aśvins were the Śūdras.

Having dealt with the origin of the four Varṇas or castes according to the Vedic literature let us see whether it provides evidence of the occupational groups or sub-castes within the framework of the principal Varṇas. It must be admitted that owing to cultural advance division of labour arose, and numerous arts and crafts had been developed; and they were in the process of contributing to the complexities

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of the system of creating numerous minor divisions of occupational groups. We find in the several strata of the Vedic literature names of many occupational groups, besides the four principal Varṇas. Let us mention a few of those names, e.g. Ajapāla, Karmāra, Kevarta, Kṣatri, Gopāla Carmaṇa, Caṇḍāla, Takṣaṇa, Dāsa, Niṣāda, Pukkasa, Rathkāra, Vāpa, Vrātya, Śavara, Sūta, etc. We have today hereditary and exclusive castes bearing some of the above names, belonging either to the Vaiśyas or Śūdra Varṇa. Therefore, it is clear that the names of the above occupational groups found in the Vedic literature were either Vaiśya or the Śūdra Varṇa. The line of demarcation separating some of the functions of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras was very thin indeed. Ajapāla is the modern Gaḍeria, Gopāla is the Ahir, Kevarta is the Kevaṭa, or the fisherman known also as the Kaivarta in Bengal. Dāsa according to Manu (X, 34) is the same as Kaivarta, subsisting on plying boats. The Caṇḍāla, Carmaṇa and Paulkasa are the Harijans of today. The Takṣaṇa[1] and the Rathākara form in modern times the members of the carpenter class and as a caste enjoys the privileges of 'Upanayana' in many parts of India. The Niṣāda was a dweller of the forest living on hunting games. He corresponds to the modern fowler if any exists. The Sūtas were the later bards and modern reciters of genealogies, or Bhāṭas as they are called in some parts, now almost unknown as a professional class for lack of occupational encouragement but exist as a caste of inferior Brāhmans. The Vrātyas, according to Ap. Dh. S., II, 1. 22. 10 and other Sūtra works, are one on whom the *sanskāra* of Upanayana has not been performed. According to the Dharmasūtras, however, the word Vrātya is applied to all who are born of the mixture of Varṇas. The Vrātyas, therefore, appear to be not an occupational group but a class of men composed of the outcastes of the three higher Varṇas. The Śabaras, according to *Ait. Br.*, 36. 6, were among the lowest of the society and were mostly composed of Dasyus. They were evidently an aboriginal jungle tribe like the Bhills and have been frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana, 35. 17; Śānti, 65. 13) in that sense. So also were the Kirātas who were a non-Aryan and aboriginal tribe (*Tāṇḍya Br.*, 13. 12. 5).

The Buddhist Literature on Caste

The Buddhist canonical texts reveal the heretical outlook on caste as distinguished from the orthodox Brāhmanical views propounded in the contemporary Sūtra literature. The Buddhist writers did, indeed, look on caste with disfavour, yet their writings reveal the fact that caste with its appendage of the depressed caste took deep roots in the country. The *Bhaddasāla Jātaka* relates the story how the king of Kosala was married to Vāsavakhattiyā, daughter of a Śākya noble by a slave woman, and the queen and her son were degraded from their rank. When the king reported this matter to the Buddha, the latter said: 'The Śākyas have done wrong, O Great King, if they gave anyone they ought to have given a girl of their own blood.' Then he consoled the king by telling that both Vāsavakhattiyā and her son Viḍūḍabha were of noble birth, because their fathers were Kṣatriyas. For what matters the mother's birth? The birth of the father is the measure. The *Mātaṅga Jātaka* relates how 26,000 Brāhmans were put out of caste by the other Brāhmans for having tasted the leaving of a Caṇḍāla (Jātaka, IV, 3. 88). The *Cittasaṁbhūta Jātaka* (IV, 391-2) relates how two Caṇḍāla brothers were beaten to death because at their sight two high class maidens abandoned a visit to a holy shrine which would have incidentally brought food and drink gratis to the people. The above stories show that the popular feeling about the purity of blood, prejudice against asavarṇa marriage and contempt of the Caṇḍālas was strong in the society, so much so, that it reflected in the writings of Buddhist authors who were themselves against the pretensions of caste. The *Ambaṭṭhasutta* (Dig. Nik.) gives

[1] Takṣaṇa [worker on stone] as the modern sautras.

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a clear index of the Buddhist and the Brāhman ideas *vis-à-vis* caste. Ambaṭṭha, a young Brāhman, visits Gautama Buddha and claims that of the four castes the three, e.g. Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, are inferior to Brāhmans on whom they are to wait. Buddha snubs the proud Brāhman by telling him that the Kṛsnāyana clan to whom he belonged was descended from a slave woman of a Kṣatriya king and that the slave girl's son had become a great Ṛṣi and married the daughter of a Kṣatriya king. Gautama asked Ambaṭṭha:

'If a man is the son of a Kṣatriya by a Brāhman wife, will he get a seat and water among the Brāhmans?'

Ambaṭṭha replied: 'He will.'

'Will he be admitted to share their dish and bowl?'

'Yes.'

'Will they admit him as a student of the *mantras*?'

'Yes.'

'Will Kṣatriyas anoint him to Kṣatriya rank?'

'No.'

'Why?'

'Because, he is not born of their caste on the mother's side.'

'Will the son of a Brāhman, born of Kṣatriya woman, be received to seat and water, bowl and dish among the Brāhmans?

'Yes.'

'Give him their women?'

'Yes.'

'Will Kṣatriya anoint him?'

'No.'

Why?'

'Because, he is not born of their caste on the father's side.'

'Then Ambaṭṭha', says Gautama, 'whether you look at it from the woman's side or from the man's the Kṣatriyas are higher and the Brāhmans lower. Take the case of a Brāhman who is expelled in disgrace by his fellow Brāhmans; will Brāhmans receive him or eat with him?'

'No.'

'Will they give him their women?'

'No.'

'But if a Kṣatriya is expelled by Kṣatriyas, will Brāhmans receive him or feed him and teach him?'

'Yes.'

'Give him their daughters?'

'Yes.'

'Then even when a Kṣatriya is in the utmost disgrace among the Kṣatriyas, the Kṣatriyas are superior to the Brāhmans.'

Thus convinced of the utter worthlessness of the claim of the superiority of the Brāhmans by birth alone over the other three castes, the Brāhman Ambaṭṭha finds the solution of the problem in the following words: 'The Kṣatriyas are the best among those who reckon family but the man of *perfect conduct* and *knowledge is best among gods and men.*'

The Assalāyana Sutta (Majj. Nik.) gives almost a similar picture. The Brāhmans of Śrāvasti bent on controverting the opinion of Gautama that all the four castes were equally pure, found a young and distinguished scholar, named Assalāyana, who challenged Gautama with the question: 'The Brāhmans, O Gautama, say thus: "Every other caste is inferior. The Brāhmans are the white caste; every other caste is black. The Brāhmans alone are pure; those who are not Brāhmans are not pure. The Brāhmans are the (only) real son of Brahma, born from his mouth, sprung from Brahman, created by Brahman." What do you say, Sir, about them?'

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Then the Buddha asks him whether the wives of the Brāhmans are not subject to all the evils and disabilities of childbirth to which other women were subject. Assalāyana is obliged to confess that 'this is so' and that 'the Brāhmans put forward their claims in spite of this'.

The Buddha then applying our modern comparative method of enquiry asks whether in adjacent countries such as Bactria or Afghanistan, there are not differences of colour similar to those between the Brāhmans and the other castes, and, yet, in those countries whether slaves cannot become masters and masters become slaves. Again Assalāyana confesses the fact that the Brāhmans put forward their claims in spite of it.

Then Gautama goes on to ask: 'Will a murderer, if he be a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or a Śūdra, be born after death when the body is dissolved into some unhappy state of misery and woe but not if he be a Brāhman?' Assalāyana replies that the Brāhman is in this respect exactly on a par with the others. Gautama elicits similar replies by putting the contrary case.

Thus still questioning Gautama points out how whereas a mare is united with an ass, the offspring is a mule, different from both father and mother, the union of a Kṣatriya and a Brāhman or *vice versa* results in offspring which resembles both the parents. Finally, Gautama asks the young Brāhman to which of two brothers, one an imitated student and the other not, the Brāhmans themselves would on sacred and solemn occasions give the precedence?'

'To the initiated student', says Assalāyana. 'But if the initiated student be of a bad character and evil habits, and the other be of good character and virtuous habits', rejoins Gautama, 'to whom then will the Brāhmans themselves give the precedence?'

'To the uninitiated', is the reply.

'But in the former answer, you yourself Assalāyana', says the Master, 'have given up the pre-eminence of birth and in the latter the precedence of the sacred learning, and in doing so you yourself have acknowledged that purity of all castes which I proclaim.'

The Buddhist texts, quoted above, reveal that while the four Varṇas as hereditary castes were already well-established with its appendage of the depressed class, the theory about the equality of castes and the rational views about the higher and lower castes were being propounded by Buddhist writers and the barriers which divided were sought to be softened. Another fact that can be gleaned from the Buddhist texts is the distinct Kṣatriya bias which perhaps the writers put forward more as a counterpoise against the Brāhmanic pretension to superiority than as a genuine claim of their own. But this had no more real existence than the claim put forward by the Brāhmans. As regards touchability *re* food and drink, etc. which was an important element in the caste system, the Buddhist works yield evidence of its moderation so far as the upper three classes were concerned. The rigid restriction was admitted against the depressed classes like the Caṇḍālas, etc. but not against the Śūdras, as such.

Caste as finally shaped in Manusmṛti

The rigidity of caste and the theory of Varṇāśrama Dharma with which we were made familiar in the Dharmasūtra literature took final shape in the Manusmṛti, the earliest extant book on Dharmaśāstra (*c.* 200 B.C.). In Manu we find caste both as a fact and a theory, for he sought to set up an ideal to which caste conditions should attain well. Manu gives unmistakable proofs of the existence in his time of occupational castes and inter-caste marriages, both of which evidently existed in his time and which he sought to eliminate by his idealistic theory. Although, as we have seen, the idea of superiority and inferiority due to being of a particular Varṇa had become prevalent in the period of the Brāhmaṇa works, the practice against marrying outside of one's Varṇa had not become rigid. The

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Śat. Br. (XIII, 2. 9. 8, S.B.E., Vol. 44) suggests that a king might marry a Vaiśya girl, but her son would not have the Vedic coronation ceremony performed on him. Aśoka is said to have married a Vaiśya girl of Vidiśā whose son was Mahendra who became a Bhikṣu. The Dh. and Gr. Sūtrakāras recognized Anuloma and, except Āpastamba, also Pratiloma marriages and their offspring. Manu was confronted with these facts when he wrote his Law Book and attempted to reorganize the society on stricter and more rigid Varṇadharma rules. Therefore, while disapproving of Anuloma marriages he had to allow them as the less advisable procedure (*anukalpa*) as distinguished from *savarṇa* marriage which is *pūrvakalpa* (the best procedure) (Manu, III, 12). As an obstacle to his ideal he utterly condemns Pratiloma marriage and relegates its offspring to the lowest position in society, as we shall see. His theory of 'mixed caste' is a reluctant recognition of the existence of offspring of the Anuloma marriages coupled with his attempt to put them beyond the pale of pure Hindu society based on four principal Varṇas. The people of the 'mixed castes' are outside the four Varṇas. But that he could not altogether stop inter-caste marriage is clear. Records of all such marriages could not possibly be kept in traditions and epigraphs, but the few that are found provide sufficient evidence of such inter-caste marriages in which Brāhmans themselves led the way. The Poona Plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā shows that the daughter of Candragupta II was married to the Vākāṭaka Brāhman ruler Rudrasena II (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 41ff.). The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman of the Mālava year 589 (= A.D. 532) mentions the Brāhman Ravikīrti as the husband of Bhānuguptā, the sister of the Gupta ruler Bhanugupta.[1] Kakusthavarman, the Brāhman Kadamba king, got his daughters married to Gupta and other kings (*E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 24). In the Ghaṭotkaca inscription of Yaśodharman (*A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 140) we are told that Soma, a Brāhman, had his wives born of Kṣatriya families. Tradition has it that a Brāhman sage of Kānyakubja wanted to marry a daughter of the king of that place and was refused. We gather from Kālidāsa's famous drama that Agnimitra, the Brāhman ruler of Vidiśā, married Mālavikā, who was a Kṣatriya. Bāṇa says that among the companions of his wanderings were his two Pārśava brothers, Candrasena and Mātrisena (step-brothers from a Śūdra wife of his father). Rājaśekhara, teacher of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, says in his *Karpūramañjarī* (II, 2) that his accomplished wife was descended from the Chauhan Kṣatriya family. Regarding the existence of occupational castes we have in Manu the names of Sairandhra (attendant on masters), Maitreyaka (sweet-voiced and ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn), the 'Dāsa' who subsists by working as a boat-man, the 'Karavāra' who works in leather, the 'Antavāsayī' who is employed in burial grounds (Manu, X, 32–39). The text further says: 'To the Sūtras (belong) the management of horses and chariots; to the Ambaṣṭhas, the art and healing; to the Vaidehikas, the service of women; to the Māgadhas, trade; to the Kṣatriyas, Ugras, Pukkasas, catching and killing of animals living in holes; killing fish to the Nishadas; carpenters' work to the Ayogava; the slaughter of wild animals to Medas, the Andhras and the Mudgas.' Manu further says that 'near well-known trees and burial grounds or mountains and in groves dwell tribes known by certain marks and subsist by their peculiar occupations. But dwelling of the Caṇḍālas and the Śvapākas shall be outside the village. They must be made Apapātras and their wealth shall be dogs and monkeys. Their dress shall be the garments of the dead. They shall eat their food from broken dishes, black irons shall be their ornaments and they must always wander from place to place' (X, 47–52).

These castes enumerated above and many more with their peculiar professions mentioned by Manu, in addition to the four principal Varṇas, have to be accounted for. Manu following the Dharmasūtra writers believed that the four Varṇas were created and to each Varṇa a proper duty was assigned to prevent dissolution of

[1] Cf. Fleets' notes on this inscription.

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society. This belief is behind the theory of the Varṇāśrama Dharma, already formulated by the previous writers on Dharma. But, being cognizant of the bewildering ramifications of the caste system and the existence of numerous castes and sub-castes, Manu starts with the premise that the four Varṇas—Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra—are arranged in a descending scale of social status. Manu builds up the theory, following the previous Dharma writers, of Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages and offsprings, approves of the former and condemns the latter. When a male of a higher Varṇa marries a woman of a lower Varṇa, the marriage is Anuloma and the offspring is said to be Anuloma. Where there is a union of a woman of a higher Varṇa with the male of a lower Varṇa, it is said to be Pratiloma and the children of the Pratiloma marriage are said to be Pratiloma. These two words, Anuloma and Pratiloma, hardly ever occur in the Vedic literature in the sense of marriage and progeny. They occur in that sense in Gautama (IV, 14-15; Baudh. Dh., 5; I, 8. 8; Manu, X, 13). Among the Sūtrakāras, Āpastamba looked with disfavour even on Anuloma marriage. He is entirely silent of Anuloma and Pratiloma castes. Manu (I, 24) prescribes that a person should by preference marry a girl of his own Varṇa, but allows the marriage of a person with the girl of another Varṇa lower than his own. The nature of Anuloma castes according to Smṛtikāras are six in number: Murdhāvasikta, Ambaṣṭha, Niṣāda, Mahiṣya, Ugra and Karaṇa (Manu, X, 10). Manu, X, 41 says that the six Anuloma castes are entitled to the rites of Saṁskāras (like Upanayana) performed by *dvijas* but that the Pratiloma castes, e.g. sprung from a Brāhman woman and a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya male, cannot have these rites of *dvijas* though both parents are *dvijas*. This shows that they were considered as Śūdras and as such they had no rights of *dvijas*. The primary Pratilomas are also six—viz.: (1) Sūta; (2) Vaidehika; (3) Caṇḍāla; (4) Māgadha; (5) Kṣatri; and (6) Ayogava. Further sub-castes are said to arise from the reunions of Anulomas and Pratilomas with the four Varṇas and of the male of one Anuloma and the female of another, and from the union of Pratilomas among themselves. For example, Āvṛta and Ābhīra castes spring from the union of a Brāhman with an Ugra girl, and an Ambaṣṭha girl respectively (i.e. from the union of a Brāhman with Anuloma caste girls). Śvapāka is the offspring of a Kṣatriya male (a Pratiloma) with an Ugra female (an Anuloma).[1] Manu defines Maitreyaka as the offspring of a Vaidehika male and Ayogava female (i.e. from parents who are both Pratilomas).[2] The theory of these mixed and doubly mixed castes is Manu's explanation of the ramification of castes existing in his time. Manu refers to twelve mixed castes and twenty doubly mixed castes (Anulomas and Pratilomas) and states the avocations of about twenty-three. This shows that castes in his time were predominantly occupational. He expanded and applied the hereditary bases of the four Varṇas to the other castes and sub-castes and attempted to make them rigid and water-tight groups. The idea of the possibility of changing one's caste is entirely foreign to Manu. The text only provides that through the power of good or bad actions the people attained a more exalted or lower birth in successive generations.[3] Manu has shown many examples of lowering of one's birth but no example of a caste raising it. His reference to Viśvāmitra's story is of one long by-gone, and there is no reason to suppose that he advocates that a person could become a Brāhman in his own time by adopting a good conduct. His 'theory of *Jātyutkarṣa*' or raising of one's caste is a long drawn process of purification for seven successive births. Manu, X, 64 provides that when a Brāhman marries a Śūdra woman and their female offspring then again marries a Brāhman and so on for seven generations then the seventh generation will be Brāhman.[4] He is silent

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[1] Manu, X, 19. [2] Manu, X, 33. [3] Manu, X, 41.

[4] Cf. the conditions of the U.S.A. supply us with a parallel. There are laws in South and Western States preventing marriages between whites and coloured races. The laws define

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about *Jātyutkarṣa* when the original parents are Anulomas. The period of the rise of Jāti is long or short according to the castes of the persons of the original unions. It is longest, seven generations, in the case of a Brāhman marrying a Śūdra female; it is the shortest, only three generations, in the case of a Brāhman marrying a Kṣatriya woman and five generations if he marries a Vaiśya woman.

So it is clear that Manu never contemplated the possibility of the change of caste in one's lifetime. He may be degraded if he fails in his Dharma or duty attached to his caste but he can never hope to be admitted to a higher caste even though he may possess the necessary qualifications for it. Manu, of course, set up a high ideal for the Brāhman's life as well as the privileges attached to it. But the fact that a Brāhman would be entitled to be a Brāhman simply because of his birth had been definitely established in his time. Patañjali in his Mahābhaṣya quotes a verse:

तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्च एतत् ब्राह्मणकारकम्।
तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव च॥

'Tapas, Vedic study and birth—these are the causes why a person is called a Brāhman. He who is devoid of tapas and Vedic study is a Brāhman by birth. The *Mahābhārata* has the same ideal but a more liberal outlook on caste. The Vanaparva (181. 41-42) states:

सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता।

'Truthfulness, restraint, tapas, generosity, non-injury, constant adherence to Dharma'—these always lead men to the fruition of goal and not caste nor family. The Śāntiparva (189. 408) in pursuing the theme further states: 'A Brāhman is known by truthfulness, generosity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, by humility, kindness and tapas. If these signs are seen in a Śūdra and do not exist in a Brāhman, then the Śūdra would not be a Śūdra and the Brāhman would not be a Brāhman.'[1]

The Uddyogaparva (XLIX, 49) states: 'Do not regard a person Brāhman by his talk, he who does not depart from truth is a Brāhman.' Vanaparva (216. 14-15) says that 'Śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness and Dharma is a Brāhman, for a Brāhman is so by character'.

But the earliest and greatest codifier of Hindu law, the author of the Manusmṛti, set up the philosophy of caste which exalted birth as the absolute and unchangeable condition of a person's social status. This was an ideal which all subsequent Dharma writers and Nibandhakāras accepted with zest, amplified it and strengthened it, and the society tended to live up to it. The striving of ages which separate the present time from that of Manu has made that ideal a reality today. Manu's philosophy of caste and his ideal of social economy may now be examined. He believed that the four Varṇas were *created*, and to each Varṇa a proper duty is assigned to prevent the social dissolution (I, 87). That Dharma for each individual is determined by his origin, because the nature of every person is originally determined. To whatever course of action the Lord at first spontaneously appointed each kind of beings, that alone it has spontaneously adopted in each succeeding creation. Whatever He assigned to each at the first creation, noxiousness or harmlessness, gentleness or ferocity, virtue or sin, truth or falsehood, that clung afterwards spontaneously (I, 28-29). Manu believed that castes and Varṇas are natural things associated invariably with specific qualities. He thus emphasized on heredity and inherited qualities on the one hand, and the fruits of action in previous life on the

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that a person who has one-eighth or more coloured blood in him is a coloured person and may not marry a white person.

[1] शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्यम् द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते।
न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः॥

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other. He says: 'If there be any doubt regarding the Varṇa of any individual, it would at once be revealed by his nature or by his actions which are due to his nature' (Manu, X, 57). Thus according to Manu a man's birth and nature are pre-destined by his actions in the previous birth and his qualities are inherent to fit him for doing Dharma or duty pertaining to the caste into which he is born. To stick to his caste and its duties is his 'Dharma', to be dissatisfied with it is his 'Adharma'. This is the faith and Dharma of millions of Hindus of even the lowest caste; one feels that it is God's will and his Karma that he is a Bhangi or a Cāmāra and that he should do nothing to undo God's will. His only hope is that by doing his Dharma or duty loyally in this birth, he will get a better one in the next. That is what sustains the social economy of the caste-ridden Hindu society, in spite of its patent fatuity. To the question 'why is it that one man should be compelled to be servant all his life and another man be a Brāhman all his life, simply because his father was a servant or a Brāhman', Manu guides the inquirer to find the answer in the 'theory of Karma', the three 'guṇas' and the 'transmigration of the soul'. All these three combined to justify the entire system of caste. Manu holds that by 'Dharma' are caused the various conditions of man, the highest, the middling and the lowest. In consequence of many simple acts committed by one's body, voice or mind, that individual in the next birth will become a bird or a beast or a low caste person, respectively. There are three *guṇas* (qualities)—*satva* (goodness), *rajas* (activity), and *tamas* (darkness). When one of the three qualities predominates, the body becomes distinguished by that quality; the study of the Vedas, austerity, knowledge and purity, etc. are marks of the qualities of goodness; delighting in adventure, want of firmness, indulgence in sexual pleasure, are marks of the qualities of activity; cruelty, covetousness, evil life, etc. are marks of dark qualities; through each of these qualities man obtains various transmigrations. It is the predominance of various qualities that determines the birth of a man as a Brāhman or a Śūdra. Those who commit sin go to inferior existence or wombs; and those who lead an ideal life obtain a higher and superior existence and gradually cessation of birth and existence. Thus Manu and his followers who uphold the caste system believe that Varṇa Dharma is ordained for social order and justice, and not for injustice or tyranny. It is aimed at human betterment; they do not hold that a man should not have a chance to better his condition. They only deny him such a chance in his own lifetime. One's own lifetime is after all a small portion of the entire human existence according to Manu for does he not say: 'A Śūdra who is pure, the servant of his betters, gentle in his speech and free from pride, and seeks refuge with Brāhmans attains in the next life a higher caste and so on?'[1] Manu does not stop there. Having definitely legalized caste on the basis of birth, ignoring its functional genesis, and consequent pliability, Manu legalizes the Brāhman's position with high privileges and that of the Śūdra with enormous disabilities. 'A Brāhman whether learned or not is a great deity', says Manu (IX, 317). 'A Brāhman by the very fact of his birth is an object of honour to the deities' (IX, 84). 'The Brāhman is the master of Varṇa on account of his caste' (X, 3). He makes the punishment of the Brāhman ridiculously light for which heavy punishment is ordered to the Śūdra. For instance, the killing of a Śūdra by a Brāhman is only an Apapātaka, the *prāyaścitta* for which was *brahmacharya* for one year and the gift of ten cows and a bull (XI, 61), while a Śūdra for a similar offence would receive the extreme penalty of death. Manu (XI, 54) puts the killing of a Brāhman as a *mahāpātaka* and declares that there is no worse sin than killing a Brāhman (VIII, 3. 81) while he equates punishment for killing a Śūdra with that of a cat, an owl and a cow (XI, 1. 31). He prescribes death in the case of a Śūdra having intercourse with a Brāhman woman whether she was willing or unwilling (VIII, 3. 36), while if a Brāhman committed a rape on a Śūdra woman he was let off with a fine

[1] Manu, IX, 335.

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of five hundred.[1] Manu prescribes shaving of the head for Brāhman offenders where others would have to suffer the extreme penalty of death, and adds that a Brāhman was not to be sentenced to death whatever offence he might have committed.[2] A Śūdra cannot study the Vedas, perform the Vedic rites such as Upanayana, etc. and cannot perform the Vedic sacrifices. These invidious distinctions between Brāhmans and Śūdras and, for the matter of that, between the Śūdras and the other three Varṇas, can be multiplied but what have been cited above are enough to show that Manu made law to perpetuate the extreme privileges of the Brāhmans and the disabilities of the Śūdras on the basis of birth. The disabilities that a Śūdra possesses, he held, are due to his actions in the previous birth, and the qualities that he acquired by faithfully performing his Dharma or duty in this life may fit him for a better life in the next birth but *he has no hope of betterment of his status in his present birth.* This is the greatest condemnation of the caste system, as legalized by Manu and as it stands today.

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[1] VIII, 385.

[2] VIII, 379-80.

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THE ŚĀKAṬĀYAṆA PROBLEM

By B. A. Saletore

In my work on *Mediaeval Jainism* I made the following statement concerning the renowned Jaina Guru Pūjyapāda : That he was the author of many works, among which was the *nyāsa* on the *sūtras* of Śākaṭāyaṇa. This statement was based on the evidence of a later stone inscription hailing from the Nagar tāluka of the Mysore State, called the Pañcabasti inscription and dated A.D. 1530. In the same work I further ventured to state, on the strength of the same Pañcabasti record, that 'If corroborated by other sources it would mean that not only was Śākaṭāyaṇa earlier than, or contemporary with, Pūjyapāda, but that the latter was perhaps the earliest commentator on Śākaṭāyaṇa's famous work on grammar, *Śabdānuśāsana*. One would then have altogether eight, and not seven, commentaries on Śākaṭāyaṇa's work'.[1]

I intend to re-examine this question of Śākaṭāyaṇa and Pūjyapāda in the light of materials available to me long after my work mentioned above was published. In the first place, it is not proper to doubt the veracity of a later inscription merely because it is posterior to an historical person in whose connection it is cited.[2] Secondly, it is not correct to doubt the authenticity of a statement in an historical record—which for all other purposes is trustworthy—because it cannot be corroborated by any other source. And, finally, it is improper to doubt the existence of a literary or historical work, because no extant copies of the same have hitherto found, or because no reference to the same has been made elsewhere.

Bearing these criteria in mind, I proceed to re-examine my statements made concerning Pūjyapāda and Śākaṭāyaṇa. At least two Śākaṭāyaṇas are known to Indian literature. The earlier was the famous Śākaṭāyaṇa, a descendant of Śakaṭa, and a great grammarian referred to by Yāska and in the *Pratiśākyas* as well as in later literature.[3] This earlier Śākaṭāyaṇa was a predecessor of Yāska and Pāṇini.[4] Since Pāṇini is supposed to have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century B.C., 'if not earlier still',[5] it may reasonably be concluded that the celebrated Śākaṭāyaṇa is to be placed not later than the seventh century B.C.[6] He seems to have been a Vedic grammarian—at least there are no valid grounds for associating him with Jainism.

I now come to the later Śākaṭāyaṇa. He was the author of a famous grammar called *Śabdānuśāsana* which is better known after his own name as *Śākaṭāyaṇa-vyākaraṇa*. Two works by this grammarian, called *Dhātupāṭha* and *Liṅgānuśāsana*, which have been discovered, were, according to Hiralal, parts of *Śākaṭāyaṇa-*

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1 Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 20, 22.

2 This erroneous standard of judgment is adopted by Prof. A. N. Upadhye in his review of my work in the *New Indian Antiquary*, II, p. 132, where he says the following: '. . . equally dubious is the statement that Pūjyapāda wrote a *nyāsa* on the *sūtras* of Śākaṭāyaṇa'. I have amply shown in my papers published elsewhere (*The Age of Guru Akalanka* published in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, VI, pp. 10–33; *Ācārya Siddhasena Divāka* published in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, X, Pt. I, pp. 187–198), that Dr. Upadhye's criteria are altogether useless in determining facts in Jaina history.

3 Yāska, *Nirukta*, I, 3, 12 et seq.; *Rig Veda Pratiśākya*, I, 3; XII, 16; *Vājasanayi Pratiśākya*, III, 8, etc. Cf. Weber, *Indian Literature*, pp. 143, 151, 152, 217; Macdonell, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 368.

4 Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 268.

5 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekhan*, p. 141.

6 Yāska is placed in the fifth century B.C. and Pāṇini in the fourth century B.C. by Macdonell, *Skt. Lit.*, pp. 17, 22. But no grounds are given by him in support of these later dates.

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vyākaraṇa itself. This work seems to have been very popular as is clear from its having seven important commentaries. These are the following: (*a*) *Amoghavṛitti* by the author himself; (*b*) *Nyāsa* by Prabhācandra; (*c*) *Cintāmaṇiṭīkā* by Yakṣavarmā; (*d*) *Maṇiprakāśikā* by Ajitasenācārya; (*e*) *Vṛitti* by Bhavasena Traividya; (*f*) *Rūpasiddhi* by Dayāpāla; and (*g*) *Prakriyasaṅgraha* by Abhayacandra.[1]

The age in which Śākaṭāyaṇa, the author of *Śabdānuśāsana*, lived is now to be ascertained. Of the commentators, Yakṣavarmā, the author of *Cintāmaṇiṭīkā*—which might have been the same as, or a part of, another work with which he is credited, namely, *Śākaṭāyaṇa-sampūrṇa-lakṣaṇa-vṛitti*[2]—and Bhavasena Traividya, the author of a *vṛitti*, are of no use in determining Śākaṭāyaṇa's date, because they do not give sufficient details concerning themselves or their great teacher.

As regards the other three contemporaries—Ajitasenācārya, Dayāpāla, and Abhayacandra—we may note that the first and the third names were borne by many Jaina *gurus*. Indeed, this feature of the Jainas, viz. the same name having been given to a number of Jaina teachers who lived in different ages, is one of the obstacles in the elucidation of Jaina history in the South. Nevertheless, let me take Ajitasenācārya, the author of the commentary called *Maṇiprakāśikā*. There are at least two *gurus* of this name in Jaina history: (*a*) Ajitasena, who was the *guru* of the great general Cāmuṇḍarāya, and of the latter's son Jinadevaṇṇa. He lived in the latter half of the tenth century (A.D. 978 till 995). That he was the *guru* of general Cāmuṇḍarāya is proved by the latter's Kannaḍa work called *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* written in A.D. 978 in which Cāmuṇḍarāya calls Ajitasena as his *guru*.[3] The later date A.D. 995 is given in a record of Cāmuṇḍarāya's son Jinadevaṇṇa.[4] There is nothing in literature or epigraphs by which we could identify this Ajitasena with his namesake who wrote a commentary on Śākaṭāyaṇa's grammar. (*b*) There is another Ajitasenācārya, who lived in the first-half of the eleventh century. I have shown that his other name was Vādībhasimha, otherwise also known as Śabdacaturmukhabrahma, and that he was one of the many celebrated teachers who lived in the reign of the Western Cālukya king Jayasimha III (A.D. 1018–1042), and of the king Someśvara I, Āhavamalla (A.D. 1042–1068).[5] I believe the author of the *Vṛitti Maṇiprakāśikā* is to be identified with this Ajitasena, because of his extraordinary learning, his powers of disputation, and his special *birudas Tārkkikacakravarti* and *Śabdacaturmukhabrahma*, which he received at the hands of the Western Cālukya king Someśvara I, Āhavamalla.

Hence, if this is accepted, Śākaṭāyaṇa, the author of *Śabdānuśāsana*, on which Ajitasenācārya might have written a commentary, must have lived earlier than the first-half of the eleventh century—which is the age of Ajitasena Vādībhasimha.

I pass on to Dayāpāla, the author of the commentary called *Rūpasiddhi*. I have shown in my work mentioned above that this Jaina teacher was the disciple of Matisāgara, and that he wrote the work called *Rūpasiddhi*. He was the contemporary of another famous teacher named Vādirāja and of Ajitasena Vādībhasimha mentioned above.[6] Hence this other commentator on Śakaṭāyaṇa's *Śabdānuśāsana*, and the author of *Rūpasiddhi*, is to be placed likewise in the eleventh century A.D.

I may mention here that the same Pañcabasti stone inscription, which has given correct details about Pūjyapāda, gives us equally correct details about Dayāpāla thus—'His (i.e. Kanakasena's) disciples were Dayāpāla, who settled the declensions of words (*rūpa-siddhi*) in his *Prakriya* to the *Śabdānuśāsana*-, and

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1 Hiralal, *A Catalogue of MSS. in C.P. and Berar*, Intr., pp. xxiv-xxv.

2 Hiralal, *op. cit.*, Nos. 7911-7912, p. 694.

3 Narasimhacarya, *Karnataka Kavicarite*, I, p. 46; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II, Intr. p. 45 (rev. ed.).

4 Cf. Saletore, *Med. Jain.*, p. 111.

5 Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 43–53.

6 Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 44, 46. But see p. 46 where certain difficulties are pointed out concerning the evidence from epigraphs.

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Puṣpaseṇabhaṭṭāraka'.[1] That the age eleventh century arrived at by me for Dayāpāla is proved by another Pañcabasti stone inscription, dated about A.D. 1077, which informs us the following: 'He who made the great *Rūpasiddhi* for the *Śabdānuśāsana*, Dayāpāla-munīśvara is illustrious.'[2]

As regards Abhayacandra, we may observe that various Jaina *gurus* of this name existed at various times. One of them was a contemporary of the great teachers mentioned just above, viz. Ajitasena and Vādirāja.[3] There were other Abhayacandras.[4] It is not possible, therefore, to identify Abhayacandra—the author of the commentary called *Prakriyasaṅgraha*; but there is a statement in this work which gives the interesting information that Śākaṭāyaṇa's other name was Pālyakīrti.[5] I have not been able to find out this other name of Śākaṭāyaṇa, which might have been his real name, in other sources. For our purpose, I may observe that Śākaṭāyaṇa lived prior to the eleventh century A.D.

There remains now Prabhācandra, the author of a *nyāsa* on Śākaṭāyaṇa's grammar. I do not know whether he is to be identified with his namesake, who was a great grammarian, and who was honoured by king Bhoja I of Dhāra.[6] He lived in an age of great logicians and writers mentioned in detail by me. He is to be assigned to the age of the celebrated Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1074–1126).[7]

Since none of his contemporaries, about whom we have epigraphic evidence, enlightens us on the date of Śākaṭāyaṇa, we turn to the *vṛitti* written by Śākaṭāyaṇa on his own grammar, called *Amoghavṛitti*. Pathak long ago correctly maintained that Śākaṭāyaṇa was a contemporary of king Amoghavarṣa.[8] But this does not help us, since Amoghavarṣa was a title borne by more than one Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch. Hence we turn to the work *Amoghavṛitti* itself in which we are told that Śākaṭāyaṇa wrote it at the court of his patron called Amoghavarṣa, who conquered the Pāṇḍyas, and that the work was named after his patron. Śākaṭāyaṇa refers to the 'burning of enemies'.[9]

The following considerations should help us in the elucidation of the question: (*a*) We have to find out which of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings was called merely Amoghavarṣa; (*b*) whether he was a patron of Jainism in particular and of learned men in general; (*c*) whether he burnt his enemies, i.e. crushed them; and (*d*) whether he led a campaign against the Pāṇḍyas.

(*a*) The name Amoghavarṣa was till now supposed to have been borne in Rāṣṭrakūṭa history by the following monarchs: Nṛipatunga Amoghavarṣa I, who ruled from A.D. 815 till 877; Amoghavarṣa II, who ruled for about a year (date uncertain); Baddega, Vaddiga, Amoghavarṣa III, who ruled from A.D. 937 till 939; and Kakka II, Amoghavarṣa IV, who ruled from A.D. 972 till 973.[10] But we now know that in addition to these rulers, Kṛṣṇa II was also called Amoghavarṣa.

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[1] *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 138.

[2] *Ep. Car., ibid.*, Nr. 39, p. 143. Dayāpāla's eulogy is sung in a record, dated A.D. 1129 in which we are told that he was one 'to whom alone the title of Paṇḍita was suitable'. (*Ep. Car.*, II, No. 67, p. 30.) In the same context (p. 29) we are informed that Dayāpāla's *guru* is Matisāgara and his fellow student Vādirāja.

[3] Saletore, *Med. Jain.*, p. 49.

[4] Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 50, 75, 75(*n*), 157, 196(*n*), 202, 350.

[5] Hiralal, *op. cit.*

[6] Saletore, *Med. Jain.*, p. 57.

[7] Saletore, *ibid.*, pp. 55–58. A work called *Amoghavṛittinyāsa* in Skt. by Prabhācandra is in the Mysore Oriental Library. (*Mysore Archaeological Report for 1917*, p. 24, No. 46.) Prabhācandra, the author of the famous logical treatise called *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*, has been assigned by Vidyābhūṣaṇa to *circa* A.D. 825 (Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 33-34, Calcutta, 1909).

[8] Cited by Hiralal, *op. cit.*

[9] *Indian Antiquary for 1887*, p. 24; XX, p. 161; *Epigraphia Indica*, VI, p. 195; Srikantha Sastri, *Sources of Karnatak History*, I, p. 69.

[10] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 67.

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I shall now proceed from the last-named ruler onwards. We could have identified Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti's patron with Kakka II, Amoghavarṣa IV, because in the Kharda grant of that ruler he is described to have been a terror to the Pāṇḍyas.[1] But two considerations violate this identification. Firstly, in the same Kharda grant Kakka II is described as having been a *parama-maheśvara*, or most devout worshipper of the god Maheśvara (Śiva). Hence he could not have been a Jaina by persuasion, and consequently, could not have been a patron of the Jaina scholar Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti.[2] Secondly, it is doubtful whether we can give any credence to the Kharda grant's eulogy of this ruler, who is said to have terrified the Pāṇḍyas. Because Kakka II was hardly twelve months on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne, and hence could hardly have had time to lead campaign against the Pāṇḍyas.[3]

The next ruler who bore the title of Amoghavarṣa was Baddega. The few details available about this ruler do not help us to maintain that he was either a patron of Jainism or that he was a warrior.[4] We have likewise to dispense with Amoghavarṣa II, who ruled for about a year, and about whom there is nothing remarkable in records.[5]

We now come to Kṛṣṇa II. The only inscription which gives him the *biruda* of Amoghavarṣa is the Venkaṭeśvara temple stone inscription found at Venkaṭāpur, Gadag tāluka, Dharwar district. This record dated Śaka 828, Prabhava, Kārtika, ba. 10, Wednesday (= A.D. 907, Thursday, November, the 3rd, the week day not corresponding), styles him Amoghavarṣa. But this *biruda* seems to have been the scribe's error for Akālavarṣa,[6] which is the title given to him in all the known records of that monarch.

Since none of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers satisfies all the conditions necessary for the identification of Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti's patron Amoghavarṣa, we now turn to Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga. Of all the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers Nṛipatunga alone was called Amoghavarṣa—indeed, in some inscriptions he is called merely Amoghavarṣa.[7] Rice has shown that Amoghavarṣa was no other than Nṛipatungadeva, the author of the well-known Kannaḍa work *Kavirājamārga*.[8] One of the Hūvina-Hipparge stone inscriptions, dated A.D. 862, August 28, Friday, and the Gāvaravāḍ Nārāyaṇadeva temple record, dated A.D. 869, April the 29th, Friday, proves beyond doubt that Amoghavarṣa was the same as Nṛipatungadeva.[9]

King Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga not only wrote the Kannaḍa work called *Kavirājamārga*, but also a Jain work called *Praśnottamālā* or *Praśnottaramālikā*. Fleet was the first scholar to identify the Amoghavarṣa mentioned as the author of this work with Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga himself.[10]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 263; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 423.

[2] It is not denied that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs were not liberal minded, and that they did not give patronage to the Hindus and to the Jainas at the same time.

[3] Cf. Altekar, *The Rashtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 123.

[4] The date of his accession is disputed. Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 418; Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Altekar, *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

[5] Fleet denied that he ever ruled. *D.K.D.*, p. 416. Rice was also of the same opinion, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 67. But Dr. Altekar maintains that he ruled for one year. *Rashtrakūṭas*, pp. 105-106.

[6] Eighty-two of 1926-27; *South Indian Inscriptions*, XI, P.T. Bombay-Karnatak, No. 28, pp. 16-17.

[7] See, for example, the Kesarabhavi Hanuman temple stone inscription, dated A.D. 837, found at Hungunda Tāluka, Bijapur District (*59 of 1928-29; S.I.I.*, XI, No. 7, p. 4); the Hūvina-Hipparge inscription, dated A.D. 862, found at Huvina-Hipparge, Bāgevāḍi-tāluka, the same district (*92 of 1929-30; S.I.I., ibid.*, No. 8, pp. 4-5); the Bentur stone inscription, dated A.D. 864, Gadag Tāluka, Dharwar District (*152 of 1926-27; S.I.I., ibid.*, No. 10, p. 6), etc.

[8] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 71.

[9] *Ninety-three of 1929-30; 140 of 1926-27; S.I.I., ibid.*, Nos. 9, 13, pp. 5, 9.

[10] Fleet, *D.K.D.*, p. 403. Dr. Altekar repeats this but gives clearer proof as to why we can rely on the statement made by Amoghavarṣa that he had abdicated his throne. *Rashtrakūṭas*, p. 89. Hiralal, while commenting on the universal popularity of this work among the Digambaras and the Śvetambaras, maintained that its author Amoghavarṣa was a Digambara writer. *Cat.*

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An additional proof of the Jaina leaning of king Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga is furnished by Jinasena, who in his *Pārśvābhyudaya* describes himself as the *paramaguru* or chief preceptor of Amoghavarṣa. Jinasena calls his patron *Parameśvara*, thus showing that he lived in the reign of Amoghavarṣa I in A.D. 814-815.[1] The *praśasti* of the *Uttara-purāṇa* confirms our assumption that king Amoghavarṣa was pupil of Jinasena, because it says that that ruler bowed down at the feet of Jinasena, and considered himself to be purified thereby.[2] Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga, who was thus a Jaina by persuasion, could certainly have been a patron of Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti.

There are two more points to be considered—one relating to Amoghavarṣa's enemies, and the second relating to his terrifying or subjugating the Pāṇḍyas. It is well known that his accession was disputed, that he was once deposed but reinstated by powerful partisans, and that during his whole reign there were wars with the Eastern Cālukyas, with other rulers, and with the kings of Gujarat. But king Amoghavarṣa triumphed over all, and ultimately abdicated in favour of his son Kṛṣṇa II.[3]

The point to be decided is about his having defeated the Pāṇḍyas. There is no explicit statement in any of the records relating to him that he waged wars with the Pāṇḍyas. It cannot be made out whether they were the Pāṇḍyas of Madura or the Pāṇḍyas of Ucchangi. At any rate the statement in one of his records that he crossed the river Kāverī and invaded the territories beyond it,[4] suggests that he might have, as Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti maintains, frightened the Pāṇḍyas of the South.

Since Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga satisfies all the conditions necessary for the identification of the patron of the great Jaina grammarian Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti, we may reasonably conclude that it was under his patronage that the latter wrote his commentary called *Amoghavṛitti*. The composition of this work may be assigned to the latter part of Amoghavarṣa's reign, that is to say, to the second-half of the ninth century A.D. This, therefore, would also be the age in which Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti lived.

To revert to our main point concerning the celebrated Pūjyapāda. If Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti lived in the latter part of the ninth century A.D., obviously Pūjyapāda, who lived in the latter half of the fifth century A.D. and in the beginning of the sixth century,[5] could never have written a commentary on Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti's grammar. We have, therefore, to assume that the *nyāsa* which Pūjyapāda is reputed to have written was on the grammar of the famous Vedic grammarian Śākaṭāyaṇa, the predecessor of Yāska and Pāṇini. There is nothing strange in a renowned Digambara Jaina *guru* like Pūjyapāda having written a commentary on a work written by a Vedic teacher like Śākaṭāyaṇa. Indeed, the later inscription, dated A.D. 1530 cited above, asserts that Pūjyapāda wrote his famous work called *Śabdāvatāra* on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini.[6] If Pūjyapāda could have written a commentary on Pāṇini's famous work, we might as well credit him with another

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MSS., No. 7672, p. 673. I cannot make out whether Amoghavarṣa referred to by Mahāvīrācārya in his work *Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha*, also called *Ṣaṭtrimśikā* or *Uttara-chhattisi*, was Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga. See Hiralal, *ibid.*, Nos. 7129, 7146, p. 636.

1 Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 407.

2 Pathak, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIII, p. 224; Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 407, n(4). From the reputed *praśasti* of a work called *Jayadhavaḷa-ṭīkā* begun by Vīrasena and continued by Jinasena—only one single MS. of which is now known to exist at Mūdubidre in South Kanara—we know that Jinasena completed his work in Śaka 760 (= A.D. 838) in the reign of Amoghavarṣa Nṛipatunga. Hiralal, *Cat. MSS.*, Intr. p. xxiii. Mr. Krishnamacharlu gives A.D. 878 as the date of the completion of this work. *South Indian Inscriptions*, XI, p. 1, Intr. p. v. Dr. Altekar also gives this date. *Rashtrakūṭas*, p. 87.

3 Fleet, *D.K.D.*, pp. 401–403; Altekar, *ibid.*, pp. 71–75, 89.

4 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

5 Saletore, *Med. Jainism*, p. 23.

6 Saletore, *ibid.*, p. 20.

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grammatical composition on Pāṇini's predecessor Śākaṭāyaṇa. And, moreover, those were times when religious or sectarian differences were not allowed to spoil literary or cultural advancement. Hence until we come across definite proof of there having been a third Śākaṭāyaṇa, who immediately preceded Pūjyapāda, we have to conclude that the *nyāsa* which the latter wrote was on the grammar by the Vedic celebrity Śākaṭāyaṇa.[1]

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[1] This would mean that my statement relating to the eighth commentary on the later Śākaṭāyaṇa's work has to be rectified, and that Hiralal's assertion that there are only seven commentaries on Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti's work remains. (Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 22.) The identification of Amoghavarṣa mentioned by Śākaṭāyaṇa with Amoghavarṣa I was first made by Pathak (*JBBRAS.*, XVIII, *op. cit.*), and later on by Dr. Altekar (*Rashtrakūṭas*, p. 410). But Dr. Altekar adduces no proof to maintain the identity.

I do not know how far we can accept the statement made by Indrabhūti in his *Samayabhūṣaṇa* that Ēlācārya *alias* Padmanandi was the *guru* of Śākaṭāyaṇa (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 20. Cited by Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 31, n(1)). Indrabhūti mentions as great teachers Simhanandi, Ēlācārya, and Pūjyapāda. This would mean that, according to Indrabhūti, Ēlācārya preceded Pūjyapāda, and that Indrabhūti himself came after Pūjyapāda. But the identity of this Indrabhūti is a difficult matter. I do not know whether he could be identified with Indranandi whom I have provisionally assigned to A.D. 850 (Saletore, *Med. Jain.*, p. 36). There was an Indranandi, who is said to be 'learned in the *Samhitā-śāstra* delivered by Jinendra', in a record of about A.D. 1530 (*Ep. Car.*, VIII, No. 46, p. 118). The identity of this Jaina *guru* cannot be made out. Neither is it possible to say with certainty whether he is the same Indranandi Yogindra, who wrote *Jvālāmālinī Kalpa* and *Nītiśāstra*. In the former work he informs us that he wrote that work in Śaka-Saṃvat 861 (= A.D. 939) in the city of Mānyakhēṭa, during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Rāja (Hiralal, *op. cit.*, Nos. 7275, 7502–7504, pp. 647, 660). This ruler was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, who ruled from A.D. 939 till 968 (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 67). That Kṛṣṇa III was indeed a patron of both the Jains and the Hindus is proved by the Narēgal stone inscription, dated A.D. 950, found in the Rontaluka of the Dharwar District (*182 of 1926-27 ; S.I.I.*, XI, P.T. Bombay-Karnatak, No. 38, p. 23), the Soratur Vīrabhadra temple inscription, dated A.D. 951 (*71 of 1926-27 ; S.I.I., ibid.*, No. 39, p. 24), and the Halaravi stone inscription, dated (wrongly) Śaka 854 (A.D. 932), and found in the Aber Tāluka of the Bellary District (*540 of 1915 ; S.I.I., ibid.*, No. 62, p. 35).

If this Indranandi is the same as his namesake of *circa* A.D. 850, it appears as if we have to give him a pretty long span of life of 79 years (850–939). This is doubtful. At any rate it is evident that Indranandi came nearly four centuries *after* Pūjyapāda.

The name Ēlācārya, as I have pointed out, cannot be identified. The available evidence concerning this name does not go beyond A.D. 910 (Saletore, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 173, 239–41). The Śākaṭāyaṇa referred to by Indrabhūti as the pupil of Ēlācārya is a personage about whom likewise there is no information forthcoming in literature or epigraphs. If he were indeed an historical personage, he would have to be assigned to a period *after* the Vedic Śākaṭāyaṇa and *before* Śākaṭāyaṇa Pālyakīrti. But this is a matter of speculation for the present.

I may also mention here that Kittel long ago referred to a work called *Amoghavṛitti* by *Viśālakīrti* in the Mūḍubidre Collection. Kittel, Nagararmma's *Cchandhas*, Intr. p. xliv (Madras, 1875).

The *Purātattva*, II, p. 419; IV, p. 91, has some remarks on Śākaṭāyaṇa. See also Peterson's *Report on Skt. MSS.*, II, p. 124.

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TWO STANDARD SYMBOLS IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: JAR AND CLOTH

By DOROTHY A. L. STEDE

It is evident that the popularity of the 'commentary' is in a great measure responsible for the number of illustrations from daily life which abound in Sanskrit philosophical literature. So popular did the habit of quoting concrete examples become that not only were the controversial speculations themselves subjects of discussion among the different schools, but there was also a tendency to transfer the attention from the original object to the stock example which had been chosen to illustrate it; and such everyday *upamās* as the 'jar' (ghaṭa) and 'cloth' (paṭa) were used by writer after writer, and commentator after commentator, each of them eager to stress some fresh aspect of their illustration or to use it to worst an opponent.

Philosophers of all the schools constantly take the jar as an example, almost regardless of what it is that they wish to illustrate. The general and obvious qualities which are dwelt on are its material nature, its perceptibility, the fact that it is a product or effect (clay being the cause) and, as such, limited both in space and in duration; and the fact that, being produced from the unconscious, inanimate clay, it is itself unconscious and inanimate. These are the jar's common, objective qualities, about which most schools are agreed.

Let us now see how the various schools use this example to illustrate their particular theories and points of view. The most engrossing aspect is the ontological one—the relation of cause and effect. The Sāṅkhya school is particularly explicit on this subject. From one standpoint the effect (i.e. the jar) does not differ from the cause (i.e. the clay).[1] For the material is the same in both cases, and one could not exist without the other. But it is also emphasized that the jar, as effect, has a different function from the clay, as cause. The jar arises from the clay, not the clay from the jar, and a lump of clay cannot hold liquid, as a jar can.[2] This apparently contradicts the assertion of the superiority of *avyakta* ('un-unfolded', 'undifferentiated') over *vyakta* ('developed' or 'evolved') but is an example of the usefulness of the concrete manifested object, as opposed to the unmanifested, shapeless basic material. Things which are inseparably associated with certain special characteristics have as material cause something *avyakta* which has these characteristics latent in it. Thus, e.g. clay contains the characteristics necessary to a jar, and unbeaten gold contains those which will be manifested in a diadem or earrings. There can (according to the Sāṅkhya) be no manifestation of non-existent objects, or destruction of existent ones: '*Nāsato vidyate bhāvo nābhāvo vidyate sataḥ.*'[3]

This question, 'Does the existent arise from the existent, or from the non-existent?' or 'Does the effect exist prior to its manifestation, or not?' was one of the basic problems which occupied the attention of all the philosophical schools. The jar is, by common consent, the object which is taken as a cosmogonic symbol to illustrate the rival theories of *satkārya* and *asatkārya*.

The Nihilist asserts that a jar does not exist before its manifestation, and deduces that there was *nothing* before the origin of the world. If existence were the true nature of a jar, says he, then the activity of the potter would be superfluous. The same would apply if non-existence were its nature. And 'both existence and

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1 Cf. *Bṛh. Up.*, I, 6, 1.
2 *Sāṅkhyakārikā Comm.*, 15.
3 *Bhagavadgītā*, II, 16; cf. *ibid.*, II, 58; and *Kṣurikā Up.*, III.

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non-existence' and 'neither existence nor non-existence' may be rejected as mutually contradictory. Therefore everything is void (*śūnya*).[1]

The Naiyāyika admits that, although the effect (jar) is not manifest, yet the cause (clay) is not non-existent; but he maintains that the jar is not produced without destroying the lump of clay. The follower of the Vedānta and Sāṅkhya schools replies that it is only the form [2] that is changed, not the material; the effect must exist before its manifestation, for nothing can come out of nothing, and when the clay is absent, the jar is not produced. A further proof (*sic!*) of the pre-existence of an effect is the fact that the knowledge of gods and yogins regarding a future jar is infallible, i.e. since a superior being can visualize a jar as existing in the future, therefore that same jar cannot be entirely non-existent in the present. From a more realistic point of view, most schools say that when we see a jar in process of being made, we can safely assume its future existence, for the mind (*antaḥkaraṇa*) functions in all three modes of time—in contrast to the sense-organs of a normal person, which only function in the present.[3] The Buddhist *kṣaṇikavādin*, however, does not admit a judgment regarding a future jar, since he holds that everything perishes at every successive instant.

Clay is not the only material which is necessary for the making of a jar; and another Sāṅkhya proof for the pre-existence of an effect is 'the possibility of a skilled person's producing things'. For instance, a potter, by using clay, wheel, stick, iron filings, rope, water, etc. is able to produce a jar out of a lump of clay; and these materials cannot manifest the jar without the intervention of the independent potter.[4]

But, in the Indian view, there are exceptions to the rule that to make a jar one must have materials. In Chap. VIII of *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha* (Pratyabhijñā-darśana, 'recognitive' system) it is stated that Śiva can create the world by his will alone; and further, that the jar produced by yogins, without clay or other materials, serves the same purpose as the jar which comes from clay. Accordingly the clay, etc. cannot be regarded as the efficient cause of the jar, for it is not indispensable to its production. On the contrary, it is the *will* of the producer that is the chief factor. And it should not be objected that the yogin actually sets atoms in motion when he exercises his volition—for even then we should lack the other materials, potter's wheel and stick, etc. The point is noteworthy, for it is an outstanding example of emphasis on the concrete, when even what we should term 'figments of the imagination'—the products of the volition of a supernormal person—can serve their purpose as tangible objects in everyday life.

Turning to a specific theory of the Sāṅkhya school, we learn that the three *guṇas* (qualities) [which together, in their state of equipoise, constitute *prakṛti*] give rise to each other, as the clay gives rise to the jar; [5] and as the jar is a *vikāra* (modification) of clay, so the different elements, etc. are vikāras of prakṛti. . . .

With the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school, the jar is the stock example in connection with the atom theory. Each object is made up, according to its own nature, of different collocations of atoms, which are not perceptible individually, but which assume perceptibility when massed into a complete whole, e.g. a jar.[6] This whole, according to the Naiyāyika, is an entity which has its own special nature, apart from, and in addition to, the characteristics of its parts. The Sanskrit term for 'whole' is significant, for it epitomizes the Indian outlook: 'avayavin', 'having limbs or parts'. When a jar is fired, the Naiyāyikas maintain that there is simply a change of colour,

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1 *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, II.
2 Cf. the Nyāya theory of the classification of jars according to their form.
3 See e.g. Vṛtti on Nyāyasūtras, II, 80; *Sāṅkhyakārikā Comm.*, 33.
4 *Sāṅkhyakārikā Comm.*, 9.
5 *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 12.
6 *Nyāyasūtras*, II, 34 (*vṛtti*).

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i.e. the red jar becomes a black jar; but the Vaiśeṣika view is that there is a change in each separate atom during the baking process.[1]

An example of the Indian emphasis on the concrete is the controversy between the different schools on the subject of the jar's development. In the first place, it is evident that there is a distinct chain of evolution in the various stages between the appearance of the lump of clay and the manifestation of the completed jar. It is evident also that there is an inverse process of evolution when the jar is broken, the complete succession being as follows: powdered clay > lump of clay > jar > potsherd. Here each change is independent of the preceding one, and is perceptible to the senses. But what of the life of a jar between its manifestation and its destruction?

The Sāṅkhya and Yoga schools hold that a jar begins to grow old as soon as it leaves the potter's hands. Theirs is the doctrine of *pariṇāma* or constant change; and the Jains, from their relativity standpoint, are substantially in agreement with this idea of permanence-in-change.

The Buddhists go further, and use the jar as an example for their theory of *kṣaṇikatva*, 'momentariness'. According to them, a jar at one moment is completely distinct from the jar of the next moment, which is simply its successor; and origination is the sole cause of destruction, for from the moment of being manifested the jar travels steadily on the road to decomposition. The Naiyāyikas strive to overthrow this contention by saying, 'There can be no doubt as to constancy (of objects), nor as to perception . . . and the same proof which establishes the oneness of the object during a moment also establishes it during a longer period.' This is in reply to the Buddhist refutation of the plea of recognition ('This is the jar I saw yesterday') on the ground that there is a doubt as to its being the same jar. The Naiyāyika from the logical point of view says that if this *kṣaṇikatva* involves a jump from moment to moment, but a static condition *during* each moment, then the jar may just as well remain static in composition for a longer period. He adds: 'A jar, e.g. is one and the same, not different, even when it exists in different moments . . .'[2]

Turning to metaphysics, we find that the Naiyāyika uses the jar as a proof for the existence of a soul. He says: Since we see that the jar is always found where the clay or the two halves are, and is never found in the absence of the material, we learn that an effect must have a (material) cause. Hence by rejecting earth and other elements as the material cause of qualities such as knowledge, desire, and the like, we establish that they must have a cause other than the gross elements—i.e. soul (*ātman*). Alternatively, we can employ the argument from negative instances: 'that which is not a half-jar, or a lump of clay, has no jar connected with it by intimate relation; and similarly, that which is not soul (*ātman*) has no knowledge, etc. connected with it'.[3]

The Vedāntin exponent of non-duality says that as clay is the essence of various sorts of jar, so all beings are modifications of the indivisible Brahman; any supposed differences in the Universal Self belong only to 'name and form', and in reality a jar, a cloth, a cow, a tree, are but different names of the Supreme Spirit which dwells in all.[4] This doctrine was later carried to its logical extreme, when the entire empirical world was regarded as unreal, when contrasted with the sole transcendental reality, Brahman. For example, in *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, I: The rejection of jars, etc. as unreal follows upon realization of Brahman, i.e. for the purpose of everyday activity, we must accept material objects as virtually real; but when enlightenment is attained, it is understood that nothing has a real existence apart from Brahman.

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1 See e.g. Vṛtti on Nyāyasūtras, II, 40-1; also III, 115-6, 138; IV, 5; IV, 63. In the latter passage, the change of colour is an analogy for the throwing off of the bonds of *kleśa*, which need not be permanent.

2 See *Kusumāñjali*, I, 17, Comm.; cf. also *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, p. 49, etc. Cf. the classical dilemma of the arrow in flight!

3 *Kusumāñjali Comm.*, I, 19.

4 Cf. *Ch. Up.*, 6, 1, 4.

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One of the chief objections to the deduction that the earth (or the seas, mountains, etc.) must have had an intelligent creator, since it has the nature of an effect, like a jar, is that if the analogy is carried further, and the maker is assumed to have a body, like the potter, then he cannot be supposed to be omnipotent or omniscient. This argument is debated at great length among the Nyāya and other schools.[1] One way out of the difficulty is that propounded in the *Kusumāñjali*, I, 4, where the existence of a God who supervises the working of merit and demerit is sought to be established. 'But', says an objector, 'if the cause of a jar, etc., were eternal, there would be the (undesired) result that the jar, etc. would also be eternal; therefore we must assume the jar's cause to be itself only occasional (*kadācitkin*), and this would involve an uninterrupted succession of occasional causes (each dependent on its previous cause).' To meet this objection of a *regressus in infinitum*, the Naiyāyika adduces the example of the seed and shoot, i.e. the eternity of succession of cause and effect, an allowable *regressus in infinitum*.

In the Vedānta view, the jar is an object of the projection of mind. That is to say, the mind, through a mode or *vṛtti*, projects itself through the eye and assumes the form of the jar.[2] This action is further compared to the function of a lamp, which manifests the jar, and at the same time dispels the darkness enveloping it. In the same way the intellect and its underlying consciousness both come into contact with the jar: the intellect destroys the ignorance regarding it, while the discriminative consciousness (*viveka*) manifests it (*Pañcadaśī*, 7, 91).

The Bhaṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas hold that after the cognition of a jar has taken place, a quality called 'cognizedness' (*jñātatā*) is produced in the jar. They apply the rule that an action must produce some effect on its object, and therefore deduce that the act of cognition must likewise have an effect on the thing which is cognized. The Naiyāyika overthrows this contention, mainly on the ground that there is no visible effect produced on the jar by its contact with the sense-organs; and further, that action implies motion (*spandana*), and cognition is not a motion. The Nyāya view is that it is the cognition alone which distinguishes the particular knowledge of the jar, and not any surmised qualities such as '*jñātatā*'. The Mīmāṃsaka theory is noteworthy, however, as illustrating a belief in the concrete connection between sense-organ and sense-object.

Because the jar is gross and easily perceptible, it is conversely used to illustrate non-perception, i.e. when all the conditions of perceptibility are present, and the jar is still not perceived, it must be absent. This is with reference to *abhāva*, non-existence, as distinct from *anupalabdhi* (non-perception owing to defects of sense, etc.). We first imagine the jar as present in a certain spot, and then realize that it is absent; accordingly our negative judgment is preceded and conditioned by a positive one.[3] The schools which do not recognize *abhāva* as a separate proof (*pramāṇa*), e.g. the Sāṅkhya and Nyāya schools, seek to include it under perception (*pratyakṣa*) or inference (*anumāna*). The Sāṅkhya takes the cognition of a jar's absence to equal the cognition of the bare patch of ground on which it formerly stood. The argument is as follows: '*Abhāva* is simply *pratyakṣa*. The "non-existence" of a jar on a patch of ground is nothing but the particular modification of the ground which can be called its "being alone"; for everything, except *puruṣa*, is subject to modification at every moment.' This modification of the ground can be grasped by the senses, hence there is no need for a separate *pramāṇa*. The Naiyāyika works from the angle of the jar, not of the patch of ground. In replying to the Cārvāka's statement ('Just as we conclude that a jar is not existent when it is absent from a given patch of ground, so we conclude that God is not existent, because we cannot see Him'[4]) he says,

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[1] See e.g. *Kusumāñjali*, V, 1; *Syādvādamañjarī*, Stanza VI, pp. 21–41; *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, VII, pp. 67-8.

[2] *Kusumāñjali Comm.*, IV, 3-4.

[3] See e.g. *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, II, pp. 32–4; III, pp. 58, 87, etc.

[4] *Kusumāñjali*, III, 1, Introduction.

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'Non-perception cannot preclude the existence of God; moreover it is not a distinct proof at all.' He argues that the cognition of the jar's absence is preceded by a non-perception of which we are ourselves unconscious—and therefore it is a case of perception. If, on the other hand, the cognition were preceded by a *conscious* non-perception, it would be a case of inference. We cannot say that the senses are occupied in the perception of the patch of ground, for just as the ear can detect the cessation of sound in the ether, without a perception of its substratum, the ether, so the eye can detect the absence of a given shape, without a separate cognition of its substratum.[1]

The Naiyāyika does not, however, deny that the patch of ground has its part to play in the cognition; he merely emphazises that the senses are the true basis of the cognition. The perception of the substratum is inseparable from the operation (*vyāpāra*) of the senses—otherwise the eye, etc. would be superfluous. He further postulates a certain intimate relation between the jar's absence and its (former) substratum, and establishes the contention that the *abhāva* is *pramāṇa* is to be included in perception, by stating that the relation between the eye and its object, which is necessary in every act of perception, is here fulfilled by this indigenous (*svarūpa*) relation between the patch of ground and the absence (of the jar).[2]

Those schools which admit *abhāva* as a separate *pramāṇa* (Vedānta and Bhaṭṭa Mīmāṃsā) hold that the evidence which causes the apprehension of non-existence in the ground is non-perception, not perception, for we cannot *see* that which is absent (*sc.* the jar), nor can the perception of the patch of ground be said to lead to the inference of the jar's absence. We are aware that we do not perceive the jar, before we cognize the ground as possessing the jar's absence.[3]

From whichever angle we regard the cognition of non-existence, it is evident that a good deal depends on the imagination, which is carried to the extreme by the Buddhist logician when he says: 'When we wish to deny the identity of a visible object, such as a jar, with another object, it does not matter whether the latter is perceptible or not. For example, if we wish to arrive at the judgment, 'This is a jar, it is not a demon (*piśāca*), we must first imagine the demon as visible, and then deny its identity with the perceptible jar.' [4]

The jar enclosing a light (lamp = *dīpa*) is often mentioned, particularly in metaphysical examples. Thus when the individual soul has freed itself of its impediments (wrong notions), and has realized its identity with the Supreme Soul, it is comparable to the light of a lamp which shines forth unhindered when the enclosing jar is broken. The simile of the range of a lamp's light within a jar or within a mansion illustrates varying degrees of spiritual illumination, or alternatively (Jain theory) the expansion or contraction of a soul to accommodate itself to the body it inhabits.

A jar which is placed in the sun shines; similarly the 'aggregate of body and organs', though itself material and therefore unconscious, performs its functions, such as resting and working, as if it were conscious, because it is illuminated by the light of the Self. (*Bṛh. Up. Comm.*, 4, 3, 7.) In this connection, cf. *Vaiś. Sūtras*, II, 1, 7: (The body or senses are not the seat of perception), because it is not known (that any degree of consciousness exists in a jar, etc.). This is explained by the *Upaskāra* on III, 1, 6: 'If consciousness *did* exist in the ultimate atoms of the body, it would also exist in a jar, etc. (since both are *vikāras* [modifications] of earth).' By contrast, the Buddhist Vijñānavādin asserts that there is nothing apart from consciousness, which assumes its own form as well as those of objects.

The Sāṅkhya observes that a jar, although itself inanimate, becomes hot or cold through contact with the atmosphere, or with hot or cold water. In the same way, the principle of *buddhi* (*mahat*), and other modifications of *pradhāna* (= prakṛti)

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[1] *Kusumāñjali Comm.*, III, 20.
[2] *Kusumāñjali Comm.*, III, 21-2.
[3] See e.g. *Kusumāñjali Comm.*, III, 22, Introduction.
[4] See *Nyāyabinduṭikā*, II, p. 38.

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become possessed of consciousness, as it were, through their association with the conscious *puruṣa*.[1]

One of the less obvious functions of a jar is to act as the container of ether. This does not imply any real distinction in the indivisible ether, for the ether particularized by a jar in a house is not distinct from the ether that pervades the house, although jar and house, in the Vedānta view, are two different *upādhis* or limiting conditions of ether.[2] It may be noted that the illustration goes to show that a jar is dull and heavy, and impedes knowledge and illumination. This follows from the fact of its having limits, and being material and gross. And it is only a limited thing which is checked by another thing with which it is in relation, as a jar is checked by a post or a wall.

Only the Sāṅkhya system has noted a person's psychological reactions to a jar. One may feel *sattva* (contentment) towards a jar if one possesses it; *rajas* (desire) if one wishes to possess it; and *tamas* (indifference) if one is not interested in it.[3]

The Sāṅkhya system states that in our perception of a given object, e.g. a jar, the general notion (*ghaṭatva*) must come first, and then we become aware of the object's special characteristics. The sequence is as follows: first, 'thing' in general; second, 'jar' in general; third, 'jar' in particular (yellow jar, black jar, etc.). In the Sāṅkhya philosophy, this illustration shows the function of mind as distinct from the other senses; mind has the special faculty of 'discrimination', which sets it apart both from senses and sense-objects, such as jars, etc.

A puzzling problem was 'which comes first, the particular or the general (*ghaṭa* or *ghaṭatva*)?' This was supplemented by such questions as, is the universal, which is proper to a species, immanent in all existent objects of that species, or is it something external? Is it a substance in itself, or is it [something] intangible? The Vaiśeṣika seeks to solve the problem by postulating an intimate relation (*samavāya*) between the universal and its particulars. He asserts further that this *samavāya* is one, indivisible, and eternal. The Jain argues in reply: If the *samavāya* relation is one and eternal, etc., then the qualities of jar could reside in cloth; and when a jar perished, the *samavāya* would perish with it. The Buddhist, in his turn, says: 'If the universal is not a substance, it cannot be in intimate relation with the jar; while if it *is* a substance, it must be of limited dimensions, and cannot attach itself *ad lib.* to each fresh jar.' Accordingly he concludes that specific individuals alone exist, and that the universal has no reality. The Jain does not go quite so far. He says that the likeness between different individuals belonging to the same class is the real universal, and that there is no need to assume a universal class-essence.

As a kind of supplement to the idea of *ghaṭatva*, we may mention the Buddhist theory of *kurvadrūpatva*. From the biological point of view, the Buddhists hold that the occasional quality of *kurvadrūpatva* ('efficient form') resides in each object when that object is actively engaged in producing its effect, as a jar in holding water, or rice in producing a shoot. The Naiyāyikas retort, from the merely logical and not biological standpoint, that this would result in a confusion (*saṃkara*): i.e. the admission of this quality would involve a division or distinction between, e.g. rice that is growing, and rice in a granary—but a non-distinction between barley and rice (when both are growing). In their turn they urge that a species should be subdivided according to material, e.g. jars made of silver, earthenware, etc. But the real species, *ghaṭatva*, depends on the static *form*, not on material or function. The general appellation 'jar' arises from our viewing all jars as possessed of a common attribute, viz. the being composed of parts which (though of different composition) share a particular kind of arrangement (i.e. shape).[4]

Like the jar, the cloth is frequently cited in arguments about the destructibility of matter, e.g. *Kusumāñjali Comm.*, V, 1: 'The universe is destructible by an effort,

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[1] *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 20.
[2] *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, I.
[3] *Syādv.*, p. 32, St. VII.
[4] *Kusumāñjali Comm.*, I, 16.

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like cloth which can be torn apart.' Or *Bhagavadgītā*, II, 22: 'The embodied person (*dehin*) casts off bodies and assumes new ones, just as a man discards old, worn garments and puts on fresh ones.' There is a complicated argument in *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, XII: 'If you object that non-existence (*abhāva*) cannot be a cause (says the Mīmāṃsaka), then it must be asked whether non-existence is an effect or not? If it is not, then the eternity of (e.g.) a cloth must be admitted, since there is no proof of its destruction. If it *is* an effect, then what fault is there in its being a cause?'

Anyonya-abhāva or *itaretara-abhāva*, mutual exclusion, is exemplified by the relation of a jar to a cloth; while *sarva-abhāva*, complete non-existence, or destruction, is seen in a cloth which is burnt up.[1] The burnt cloth is also referred to in the *Vedāntasāra* (172): '(When the mental state of absolute oneness is attained) this modification of consciousness, accompanied by the reflection of pure thought (= Brahman), makes the (hitherto) unknown Supreme Brahman (from which the individual soul does not differ) its object and destroys the ignorance regarding it. Then, just as a cloth is burnt when the threads composing it are burnt, so all the effects of ignorance are destroyed when their cause, i.e. ignorance, is destroyed. And accordingly the mental state (*cittavṛtti*) of oneness or absorption (lit. "indivisibility"—*akhaṇḍa*) which has caused the destruction of the effects of ignorance, is itself destroyed' (and the individual soul is merged in Brahman).

With regard to *anyonyābhāva*, it should be noted that according to the Vedāntin, the cloth, although it is the negation of a jar, is a positive entity, not a non-entity. The Jain's view, however, is rather different. Propounding the doctrine of Syādvāda, he says that absolute existence or absolute non-existence cannot be predicated of any object. A jar, say, exists in a certain way—and in relation to other things. It exists in its own nature, but not as regards a cloth, for example. As far as the cloth is concerned, the jar is non-existent; accordingly each object is negative as well as positive. (Cf. the Buddhist theory of *apoha* [negation conveyed by word]: *ghaṭa* = *ghaṭa-itara-āvṛtti*.)

On the other hand, the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, III, p. 76, discussing a syllogism relating to omniscience, observes: 'If there were altogether no incompatibility (*virodha*) between omniscience and the faculty of speech, they could have been observed as co-existent, just as a jar and a cloth.' This is Stcherbatsky's rendering—it should be noted that it is also possible that the 'virodha' may be construed with *ghaṭa-paṭayor*, i.e. 'if there were no incompatibility or contradiction as between a jar and a cloth'.

All that has been said about the species jar (*ghaṭatva*) may of course equally apply to the species cloth (*paṭatva*). In this connection we may mention the following discussion in the Nyāya chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*. The Naiyāyika, anxious to establish a proof for the existence of a Supreme Being, produces his usual argument: 'The mountains, seas, etc. must have had a maker from their possessing the nature of effects just like a jar.' He adds: 'Our middle term cannot be rejected as *asiddha*, since it can be established by the fact of the subject's possessing parts.' His opponent objects: 'What are we to understand by "possessing parts"? (*Sāvayavatva*). Does it mean "Existing in contact with parts", or "in intimate relation (*samavāyitva*) with parts"? It cannot be the first, since this would equally apply to (eternal things) such as ether (*gagana*), nor can it be the second, since this would prove too much as applying to such cases as the species thread (*tantutva*) (which exists in intimate relation with the individual threads).' The Naiyāyika replies by suggesting that 'possessing parts' may be explained by 'belonging to the class of substances which exist in intimate relation (*samaveṭadravyatva*)'. ('Substances' excludes *tantutva*, and 'in intimate relation' excludes ether, etc.) Accordingly, it is implied here that the species or universal is *not* a substance.

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[1] *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 4.

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The Indian tendency to use concrete examples, such as those which we have discussed, to illustrate all manner of philosophical problems, had its advantages and also its disadvantages. On the one hand, it helped to popularize philosophy and to drive home truths which would otherwise have remained abstruse; but on the other hand, it might result in obscuring the issue, by tempting a thinker to dwell on one aspect of a thing at the expense of others. Though useful and indeed often indispensable, it should never be forgotten that a metaphor or simile is necessarily limited in its application.

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THE SERINGAPATAM CORRESPONDENCE AND THE CARNATIC NAWABI

By C. S. Srinivasacari

On April 7, 1800, the Governor-General forwarded to Madras certain letters and papers relating to a correspondence of Nawab Muhammad Ali and Umdatu'l-Umara with Tipu Sultan, which were found among the papers at Seringapatam. The Governor-General asked Lord Clive to conduct an inquiry into the circumstances of which the papers appeared to afford indication as to the exhibition of treachery on the part of the two Nawabs towards the English. Mill says that the Governor-General himself had prejudged the issue of the inquiry and suggested to Lord Clive to prejudge it in a similar manner, that 'the evidence resulting from the whole of these documents has not only confirmed, in the most unquestionable manner, my suspicions of the existence of a secret correspondence between the personages already named, but satisfied my judgment, that its object, on the part of the Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut-ul-Omrah, and especially of the latter, was of the most hostile tendency to the British interests'. He asked Lord Clive to proceed immediately to make arrangements preparatory to the actual assumption of the Nawab's administration, 'which now appears to have become inevitable', though his wish was to delay the actual assumption till the inquiry should be complete. The Governor-General was frank enough to add, 'while those orders lately conveyed by the Hon'ble Court of Directors relative to the Company's connection with the Nabob, were under my consideration, a combination of fortunate circumstances revealed this correspondence'.

The papers thus sent as the basis of inquiry consisted of certain letters between Tipu Sultan and his two vakils Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Reza Khan, who accompanied in 1792 the two hostage sons of the Mysore ruler to Madras, a letter from a subsequent vakil of Tipu at Madras, and another held to have been written by Nawab Umdatu'l-Umara under a fictitious name. In these letters there was not much to prove, which itself is proof that they had not been 'fabricated for the purpose of proving'. Tipu's vakils were required to communicate among other matters secret intelligence including an account of the defence works of Fort St. George and they were furnished with cipher for carrying on the correspondence. The vakils gave in their letters a description of the department of the Nawabs towards the hostage princes. The Nawab Muhammad Ali had been, according to the evidence of one of the letters, very intimate with Tipu Sultan.[1]

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[1] The vakils reported in their letter to the Sultan, dated the 16th of Jaffree of the year Shir, 1220 A.D., corresponding to 4th August, 1792, that when the Nawab was told that the Sultan addressed him as a prince, 'that your Majesty added, God preserve the Nawaub Walajah, who is a Prince, and one of the Leaders of the Faithful, and a Pillar of the Faith. At the term, "a Pillar of the Faith", the Nawaub could not suppress his tears, and said, "I am what I know myself to be". Tell the Sultan, that he is the pillar of the faith; and may God preserve him and grant him a long life, since I and all Mussulmen derive support from him; for otherwise the state of affairs here is evident—"That which is evident does not require explanation" . . . . . and he further added: "You are not acquainted with the state and order of affairs here. Consider me from my heart your well-wisher and sincere friend; and at all times be assured, that in whatever I may be able to effect your benefit either by word or deed, I will not decline my exertions. What I said and wrote to his Lordship upon the subject of making peace, God well knows who was then or is now desirous of it. His Lordship, however, possessed uncontrolled authority, was a man of wisdom, and listen to the advice of others, and my observations made no impressions upon him . . . . . and had accordingly suggested pacific measures, the expediency of which he urged in a thousand ways, they were so displeased that they went away without partaking of the entertainment, nay, that to their animosity might be attributed the assumption of His Highness country. That when the orders were received from the King of England to restore the

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Besides the reports of the vakils there were the letters of Tipu which did not contain anything more than 'a return to the civil expressions of the Nabob; vague declarations of good-will couch in a similar style'. The key to the cipher found among the records at Seringapatam shows that Nawab Walajah was designated by the term 'friend of mankind'; Tipu Sultan as the 'defender of the faith', the Marathas as 'despicable', the English as 'new-comers', the Nizam by that of nothingness, etc. The cipher was in the handwriting of one of the Munshis of Tipu.

A Commission composed of Messrs. Webbe and Close was constituted by the Governor-General to investigate into this affair. Reza Ali, one of the two vakils of Tipu, who was then residing at Vellore, was examined first. Of him the Commissioners say that 'we discovered an earnest disposition to develop the truth'. They accused Ghulam Ali, the second vakil, who was residing at Seringapatam, of efforts of concealment. Both testified that the expressions of good-will made by the Nawab Walajah or his son, in their hearing, were never understood by them as being other than complimentary. Ali Reza said they were much exaggerated as it was customary with the vakils 'to heighten the expressions of the guard which fell from Lord Cornwallis or the Nabob Wallajah for the purpose of gratifying the Sultan'. The secret intelligence which the Nawab is said to have conveyed through the vakils was for the preservation of peace between Tipu and the English which was greatly desired by the latter at the time and Wallajah advised Tipu, after having learnt that suspicions were caused by some negotiations between Sringapatam and Poona to suspend those negotiations at least during the administration of Cornwallis; also having learnt that Pondicherry was about to be attacked by the English the Nawab advised the Sultan to withdraw his vakil from Pondicherry and to stop his correspondence with the French.[1]

The lack of civil expressions and regard in reference to the English found in the Correspondence of the vakils was probably due to their knowing that such a display of lack of courtesy would be agreeable to their master. The designation of 'the affair you know' which frequently occurs and of which the English people conjectured so many deep laid plans on the part of the two Mussulman leaders was after all learnt to refer to the subject of a proposed marriage alliance between the Carnatic and the Mysore families. The Nawab's secret meetings with the vakils prior to their departure, his offer to establish a cipher for the purpose of private communication which was not utilized by Tipu, the further letters from the later envoys Muhammad

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country, they framed the presence among themselves that His Highness was too much attached to Tippoo Sultaun; and that the restitution of his Country would consequently be an impolitic measure; but his Lordship maintained his opinion singly, and, disregarding the animosity of all the others against His Highness, delivered to him (His Highness) the country, agreeably to the directions of His Majesty.'

Tipu wrote in one of his letters that the Nawab was the chief and principal of the professors of the Islamism. To Umdatu'l-Umara he made similar professions and was proud of the sincere friendship and cordiality existing between them.

Mill says of these letters that nothing could be extracted from them 'but declarations of friendly sentiments in a hyperbolical style'. In the letter above quoted there was a fabricated remark of Col. Doveton, which tends to weaken the validity of all their reports. The Persian translator Edmonstone N. B. himself says that 'if the evidence upon the Nawab's conduct rested solely upon these letters of the Mysore vakils, the proofs might be considered extremely defective and problematical'.

[1] The vakil's Report contains only these words regarding these two matters: 'What, in the judgment of this well-wisher, now appears expedient is this, in a short time his Lordship will go to Europe; the Princes, please God, will soon return, and the kists are in a course of payment; after his Lordship's departure the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever may be His Highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper; at present it is better to be silent upon everything, because at this time His Highness's honour would at all events be called in question.

'Although a friendly connexion has long subsisted with the French on the part of the Ahmedy Sircar, yet, considering the circumstances of the times, it is not advisable (that is to maintain an epistolary correspondence with the French); should there be any point of urgency to communicate, there is no objection to do it verbally.'

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Ghiyas and Muhammad Ghaus in the years 1795–97 do not reveal anything more than mere exchange of compliments. There are 21 letters published in the appendix to the declaration of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, dated 31st of July, 1801. The examination of witnesses in Vellore and Seringapatam by Messrs. Webbe and Close in the month of May 1800 was ordered to be printed by Parliament on the 21st of June among the Carnatic papers. The Commissioners did not record the evidence of Munshi Habibullah and Diwan Purniah as their testimony did not establish any fact of consequence. Mill is emphatic that the evidence of the letters and of the subsequent examination of the vakils did not and could not afford any proof of any criminal correspondence of the Nawab with Tipu and he significantly adds: 'but the total inability of the English to produce further evidence, with all the records of the Mysore government in their hands, and all the living agents of it within their absolute power, is a proof of the contrary; since it is not creditable that a criminal correspondence should have existed, and not have left more traces of itself'.

The Report of the Commissioners was drawn up and signed at Seringapatam on the 18th of May, 1800. It was not till over a year after that date during which the Governor-General was occupied by other matters, particularly the subsidiary treaty with the Nizam of October 1800, that he wrote a long Despatch to Lord Clive with an enclosure to the Nawab. In the Despatch, he said that the negotiations with the Nizam rendered it politic for the postponement of the Carnatic question for the time. But the delay enabled him to receive the opinions of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors on the subject of the Seringapatam Correspondence. He learnt with pleasure that these opinions accorded entirely with his own and with those of Lord Clive. He wrote that he confidently inferred from the evidence of the Correspondence and of the examination, 'the existence of a criminal correspondence between the Nabob and Tipu'; and he had consequently resolved on the dethronement of the Nawab and the transfer of his sovereignty to the Company. He had desired Webbe to go to Calcutta and convey to him all the personal knowledge that he had on the subject, and with that additional knowledge he had carefully revised the examination of the evidence. But he would still make an attempt to persuade the Nawab to acquiesce in the proposed arrangement by the form of a treaty; and he asked Lord Clive to let the Nawab know all the proofs of his correspondence with Tipu Sultan in the English possession, and at the same time offer him the inducement of a generous provision of a sum of three lakhs of pagodas annually for his personal expenses. The Governor-General was convinced of 'the criminal purpose, and of the actual endeavours of the late and present Nabob of Arcot to establish an union of interests with the late Tippoo Sultan, incompatible with the existing engagements between the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Company, and tending to subvert the British power in the peninsula of India'. He was specific in the direction to Clive that if the Nawab should refuse to acquiesce in the proposal the Madras Government was to assume the civil and military government of the Carnatic and exercise its full rights and power. If the Nawab should appeal to the Court of Directors against this proposal because the Secret Committee had already assented to the proposal for the extinction of the sovereignty, the Nawab's should not be admitted and he should not have the right of a formal investigation of his conduct. Thus the Governor-General decided, *ex parte* upon the basis of evidence furnished by the English themselves, and examined only by themselves and for themselves and upon which they could put any construction they pleased, without admitting the accused to offer a single article of counter-evidence or to sift the evidence brought to condemn him. The argument that Mill puts forward that the Nawab was a sovereign ruler who stood in treaty relations with the British power is controverted by Wilson, who says that the Nawab had never been a sovereign prince; but the Ministers of the British Crown had most *impolitically and mistakingly* treated him as such. But the history of his relations with the Company was a clear refutation of this assumption.

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Wilson added that the Nawab was nothing more originally than an officer of the Nizam of the Deccan appointed and removed at his pleasure. It was the English that secured him independence of the Nizam and it was to them that he owed his security. 'He was their creature and not their equal.' The dispute lay not between two potentates of equal status, but between master and servant, between sovereign and subject. It was the mistake of the English to have perpetuated in their own attitude the pretensions of the Nawab to sovereign rank. In Wilson's opinion, even Wellesley was generous and weak-minded in this respect, because he chose to treat the Nawab, not as a refractory dependent but as a sovereign prince in alliance with the English. He wrote in his Despatch: 'The case requires that we should act as against a state, on the basis of the general law of nations, and that we should employ the power of the British empire in India to demand, and if necessary, to enforce an adequate security for our rights and interests against the machinations of a faithless ally, who has violated the fundamental principles of a public alliance to the extent of placing himself in the light of a public enemy.' But even Wilson has got to modify his standpoint.[1]

The English people held at one convenient time that the Nawab was an independent sovereign prince. On another occasion they were at pains to prove his independence of the Nizam of Hyderabad and declare that his power was derived directly by grant of the Mughal Emperor. On a third occasion the Company condemned his attempt at equal correspondence with King George III and now Lord Wellesley conveniently holds up his definite subordination to and dependence on the Company in political status.[2]

To resume our narrative: Lord Wellesley put forward the high sounding plea of Imperialism, viz. the Company was justified in the interests of the people of the Carnatic in confiscating the administration from the Nawab's hands, because 'in proportion as the feelings of millions are of more value than the feelings of an individual' and because even if the English should only retain the administrative and judicial system of the Nawab, bad as it was, the people would suffer less than they would with the system continued to be administered by the Nawab's officials. Likewise the Company held that in the short period when they enjoyed undivided powers over the Carnatic though their administration had been marked neither by skill nor by success some efforts had been nobly intended and will be doubtlessly followed by more judicious expedients. Lastly, Mill thus finally puts his coping stone on the arch of the Company's move to take over the sovereignty. He says: 'Yet I

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1 'This means, it is to be presumed, that a sovereign who is an enemy, and who is too weak to resist, may be deprived of his sovereignty; but even if this doctrine were generally true, which it is not, the public hostility of the Nawab of the Carnatic had not been so decisively manifested as to justify such extreme punishment. The inconsistencies and unsoundness of many of our attempts to vindicate our political measures in India are undeniable. It would have been more honest and honourable to have confined ourselves to the avowal that the maintenance of the British dominion in India was the main-spring of all our policy. It might also have been safely asserted, on this occasion at least, that the interests of the people demanded the separation of the double administration of the affairs of the Carnatic, and an end being put to the misgovernment of the Nabobs of Arcot.'

2 Even on the first day of the Conference between the Commissioners of the Madras Government and the Regents of the boy-prince, Taju'l-Umara, on the very day of the demise of the Nawab, the former declared that disputed points between independent powers could be decided 'only by the means possessed by each party respectively to provide for its own security', and in the present case 'the most abundant proofs were in possession of the British Government of the violation of the alliance between the Company and the late Nabob, and particularly the express stipulations of the Treaty of 1792; and the British Government being satisfied of the sufficiency of those proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally; but being prepared to appeal, if necessary, to the established maxims of the public Law of Nations, it had resolved to demand from the late Nabob Omdut-ul-Omrah satisfaction for the violation of the alliance and security for its rights and interests against the future operations of His Highness's hostile Councils'. (Paper No. 4—Carnatic Affairs—House of Commons, Papers 128 of 1801-2.)

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believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of good-will towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe.' (Mill's *History of British India*, Vol. VI, p. 331.)

When the Governor-General's instructions reached Lord Clive the Nawab Umdatu'l-Umara was suffering from the illness that was to prove fatal. The Governor was generous not to agitate his mind with the communication of the despatch. But he posted as above noted an English force at the gates and in the grounds of the Nawab's palace on a requisition by Col. Barrett who reported that some of the armed peons who accompanied Husamu'l-Mulk Bahadur from Trichinopoly, perhaps at the instigation of Sultanu'Nisa Begam, with ulterior plans of a possible usurpation of power for her son, might create a tumult and effect a revolution in succession. The Governor concluded that these peons were brought to Madras for some evil purpose and anticipated it by occupying the palace himself. He had also suspected that the Nawab had accumulated a considerable treasure which might be attempted to be removed by interested persons. The Nawab himself, according to Muhammad Karim, had consented to Barrett making the requisition for English troops. But a paper of Taju'l-Umara to Messrs. Hall and Johnston with the request that they might present thier petition for his installation on his rightful throne says that the posting of English troops was advised and adopted without any communication either with the Nawab or with his ministers until the very moment of its execution on the 5th of July (No. 18; Papers concerning the late Nabob of the Carnatic, ordered to be printed on the 21st and 23rd of June, 1802).

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JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS (I)

By B. C. Law

A detailed study of the important sūtras of the Jain Canon is up till now a great necessity. In the following pages I have dealt with some of the important canonical texts, the *Uttarādhyayana, Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Ācārāṅga, Bhagavatī, Kalpasūtra, Nirayāvalī, Uvāsagadasāo, Nāyādhammakahāo, Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* and *Rāyapaseṇiya*. All these texts contain a variety of information, historical, geographical, philosophical, ethical, religious, social, and economical. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* is the second Aṅga and is probably much older than the *Uttarādhyayana* which resembles the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* with regards to its objects and some of the topics treated. The object of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* is to guard young monks against the heretical opinions and to guide them to obtain the highest good.[1] It may be treated as the most valuable guide for young monks. According to Jacobi it lays some claim to poetical art in the variety of the metres employed and in the artificial character of some verses. It may therefore be considered as the composition of one author. Jacobi is right in pointing out that the views of the agnostics (Ajñānavādins) are not clearly stated in the Jain texts and the explanation of the commentators is vague and misleading. But from Buddhist writings we may get a pretty correct idea of what agnosticism was like.[2] It must be admitted that the philosophic ideas current at the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra are of the greatest importance to the historian of that period. In the opinion of Jacobi, Mahāvīra has established the *Syādvāda* in opposition to the agnosticism of Sañjaya.

The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* has three commentaries: (1) Śīlāṅka's *Ṭīkā* which is the oldest commentary extant, (2) the *Dīpikā* composed in 1517 A.D., and (3) a Gujrati gloss known as *Bālāvabodha*.

The *Uttarādhyayana* is one of the Mūla sūtras. Śīlāṅka and Malayagiri include it under *Isibhāsiya* (utterances of the sages). Siddhasena holds this view. The *Uttarādhyayana* is one of the texts found among the *Aṅgabāhyas* occurring in the Canon of the Śvetāmbaras. It is one of the earliest sacred writings of the Jainas and one of the most valuable portions of the Canon. The work consisting of 36 sections is a compilation of various texts belonging to different periods. It is metrical in its main part. It is really not the work of a single author. This text is held in the same estimation as the Buddhist texts of the *Dhammapada* and the *Suttanipāta*. It contains admonitions to the pupils, explanations of four most precious things, of *karma* and sins, etc. Winternitz rightly holds that in this text we meet with a number of beautiful old *Itihāsa* dialogues and ballads of ascetic poetry.[3] The latter part of the *Uttarādhyayana* consists of chapters containing purely dogmatical expositions. There are legendary matters and matters of a general religious and moral character. The text contains scanty historical and geographical information. The *Uttarādhyayana-niryukti* which contains less than 600 verses gives us some help in understanding the meanings of some passages of the text. This text has been edited with an introduction, critical notes, and a commentary by Jarl Charpentier, Upsala, 1922. Śānti Ācārya's commentary published in *Devchand Lalbhai Jaina Pustakoddhāra Series*, Nos. 33, 36, and 41 is worthy of notice. Jacobi has translated this text and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* into English in the *Sacred Books of the East Series*.

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1 Jaina sūtra (*S.B.E.*), Pt. II, p. xxxviii.

2 Cf. the doctrine of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* of the Suttapiṭaka, and its elaboration in the *Brahmajāla sutta*.

3 *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 468.

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The *Ācārāṅga* is the first Jaina *Aṅga*. It contains important rules for the Jain monks and nuns. An attempt has been made here to compare these rules with those of the Hindus and Buddhists, noticing their main points of agreement and disagreement. This text is a mixture of prose and verse which we so frequently meet with in Buddhist literature. The sermons contained in it consist mainly of exhortations and warnings. This book has been edited for the P.T.S., London (1882) and translated into English by Jacobi in the *Sacred Books of the East Series* (Vol. XXII). It has also been edited by W. Schubring, Leipzig, 1910, and translated into German by him.

The *Bhagavatī* (or *Vyākhyāprajñapti*) which is undoubtedly an important text contains many valuable information, historical, geographical, philosophical and religious. All the important topics treated in this text have not escaped my attention. This text has not yet been translated into English. It has been edited with Abhayadeva's commentary and published in three volumes by the Āgamodaya Samiti of Bombay (1918–1921). Weber and Schubring have made much use of this text (*Ein Fragment der Bhagavatī*, 1865; *worte Mahāvīras*); some portions of this text have been translated into German by Schubring. This text contains questions and answers, Mahāvīra replying to the questions of his chief disciple, Indrabhūti, and partly in the form of dialogue legend (*Itihāsa saṃvāda*). It is a medley of ancient doctrines and traditions in a very crude form. It gives a very good account of the life and work of Mahāvīra whose dissertations on *saṃsāra* and *karma* are worth noticing.

The *Kalpasūtra* is supposed to have been composed in its original form by Bhadrabāhu. In its present form it is a compilation made in 980 [1] years after the passing away of Mahāvīra, i.e. A.D. 454, during the reign of Dhruvasena, king of Gujarat. Yaśovijaya, Devichandra, Jñānavimala, and Sāmayasundra wrote commentaries on this text. All of them were most probably written between fifteenth and seventeenth centuries according to Dr. Stevenson. Jacobi in the introduction to his edition of the *Kalpasūtra* says that the oldest commentary that he has used, is the *Pañjikā* written by Jina Prabhamuni. There are various printed editions of this text. This text has been translated by H. Jacobi in *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII and by Dr. J. Stevenson in 1848. There is an edition of this work by Hermann Jacobi with an introduction, notes and a Prākrit-Sanskrit Glossary published in 1879.

According to the Śvetāmbaras, the *Kalpasūtra* is a great authority and is always read publicly during the *Varṣāvāsa* or *Pujjuṣan*. The major portion of this work is devoted to the biography of Mahāvīra. The archaic style in which this portion is written has got much in common with the old sūtras written in prose. The *Jinacaritra*, the *Sthavīrāvalī* and the *Śāmācārīs* collected together in one book under the title of *Kalpasūtra* were, according to the tradition, included in Devarddhiganin's recension of the Jaina scriptures, though it is not contained in the *Siddhānta*. The *Kalpasūtra* is said to contain 1,216 *granthas*. A careful study of the text leads us to calculate more than 100 *granthas* above the fixed number. It is full of repetitions.

The entire *Kalpasūtra* was read on the first night of the *Pujjuṣan* but since it was read in the *sabhā* of king Dhruvasena to console him after the death of his beloved son, it was explained in nine *Vācanās*.

The text of the *Nāyādhammakahāo* has been edited with Abhayadeva's commentary by the Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay (1916). It contains narrations, legends, and parables. Steinthal[2] and Huttemann[3] have made an useful study of this text.

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[1] The date 980 corresponds with 454 of the Christian era on the supposition that at that time Nirvāṇa was placed 470 before Vikrama. But if at that time the older tradition, by means of which the date of Nirvāṇa was fixed, was still in use, the corresponding year of the Christian era would be 514 A.D.

[2] Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā, Diss. Leipzig, 1881.

[3] Die Jñāta-Erzählungen im sechsten Aṅga des Kanons der Jinisten, Strassburg, 1907.

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The *Uvāsagadasāo* is the seventh *Aṅga*. This has been edited with the Sanskrit commentary of Abhayadeva and translated into English with notes by Hoernle in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*. The Āgamodaya Samiti has also published an edition of this text with Abhayadeva Sūri's commentary. Leumann[1] and Barth[2] have studied this text. It contains mostly narratives. The legends are told after a set form in the most monotonous way. It contains the stories of pious householders who became lay adherents, the wealthy potter named Saddālaputta, who was at first a follower of Makkhali-Gosāla but afterwards went over to Mahāvīra. The whole work seems to have been compiled for devotional purposes.

The *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* is the sixth *Upāṅga* which contains the description of Jambudīpa or India. It gives us the mythical geography of the Jainas. It is a work on Jain cosmology, divided into seven sections. In the third section there is a description of Bhāratavarṣa. This text with Śānti Chandra's commentary has been published by the Seth Devchand Lalbhai Jaina Pustakoddhāra Samiti. Kirfel (*Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn und Leipzig, 1920) and Glasenapp (*Der Jainismus*) have studied this text.

Nirayāvalī Sūtra: The text of the *Nirayāvalī Sūtra* which is an *Upāṅga* gives an account of various hells. It has been edited by Warren in Amsterdam (1879). The Jaina Āgamodaya Samiti has brought out an edition of this Sūtra with Chandrasūri's commentary (Ahmedabad, 1922). This Sūtra relates how the ten half-brothers of the king of Campā, Kuṇiya or Ajātaśatru, were killed by their grandfather, Ceḍaga of Vesālī, and were reborn in various hells after their death.

Rāyapaseṇiya: The *Rāyapaseṇiya* or *Rāyapaseṇaijja*,[3] which is an *Upāṅga*, contains a long and tedious story of the pilgrimage of the god Suriyābha to Mahāvīra. It also deals with the birth of king Paësi as Suriyābhadeva. A monk named Kesī tries to prove to Paësi that there is a soul independent of the body, while Paësi thinks that he has established the contrary by means of experiments. King Paësi says that he has sentenced a thief to death, cut him up and hacked him to pieces but found no trace of any soul. Kesī has contradicted this view of the king. The Pali counterpart of this *Upāṅga* is known as the Pāyāsi Suttanta[4] which is throughout a dialogue between the chieftain Pāyāsi and the thera Kumārakassapa. Winternitz says that it has great importance as a piece of literature. The Āgamodaya Samiti of Bombay has published an edition of this text (*Rājapraśnīyasūtram*) with Malayagiri's commentary.

As for the contents of the Jaina canonical sūtras, they are traditionally known as the *pravacanas* of the Jinas, particularly those of Mahāvīra, precisely as the main contents of the Pali Nikāyas are known as the sayings of the Buddhas, particularly those of Gautama. Their chief interest therefore lies in the clear presentation of various topics relating to the lives of the Jinas and their teachings. An attempt may here be made to acquaint the reader with the fundamentals of early Jainism as they are outlined in the early texts of the Jainas. As regards Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, he is represented as the great teacher who possessed infinite knowledge and infinite faith and who put the law in a true light like a lamp. He saw everything. He had no impurity. He was virtuous, of a fixed mind, the highest and the wisest in the whole world. He had broken all ties and he was above danger. He shone forth, endowed with many virtues. After having taught the highest law, he practised the highest contemplation (*śukladhyāna*).[5] After having annihilated all his *karma*, he reached the unsurpassable highest perfection. He was omniscient and the best of those who have taught *nirvāṇa*. As chastity is the highest of austerity, so Mahāvīra is the highest of men. As *nirvāṇa* is the chief object of the law,

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1 Wiener Zeitschrift für die kunde des Morgenlandes, 3, 1889.
2 Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Paris, 19, 1889.
3 *Vide Āvassayacuṇṇi*, Pt. I, p. 142.
4 *Dīgha*, II.
5 *Śukladhyāna* is not only the highest but also the purest meditation. It is one of the two good ways of meditation.

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so there is no one wiser than Mahāvīra. He understood the doctrines of the *kriyā-vādins*, the *akriyāvādins*, the *vinayavādins*[1] and the *ajñānavādins*.[2] He mastered all philosophical systems and practised control as long as he lived. He abstained from women and from eating at night. He practised austerity for the removal of pain.

He led a religious life without using cold water for more than a couple of years. He realized singleness, guarded his body, got intuition and was calm. He did not use what had expressly been prepared for him. He well saw bondage coming through action. He did not use another's robe, nor did he eat out of another's vessel. He could walk attentively looking on his path. He did not seek sleep for the sake of pleasure. He sustained fearful and manifold calamities. Always well controlled he bore the different sorts of feeling. Always well-guarded he bore pains caused by grass, cold, fire, flies, etc. He travelled in the pathless country of the Rāḍhas in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi; he used there miserable beds and seats. He patiently endured the abusive languages of the peasants being perfectly enlightened. He was struck with a stick, his flesh was cut off and his hair was torn. But he sat there motionless. He was able to abstain from indulgence of the flesh, realizing that uncleanliness of the body, anointing of the body, shampooing, and bathing were considered useless. He did not drink for half a month or even for a month. He did not drink even for six months. Sometimes he ate stale food. He committed no sin, nor did he induce others to do so. He meditated being free from sin and desire and not attached to sounds or colour.[3]

Now let us pass from the teacher to the teachings, according to which a wise man should not be angry if reprimanded. He should be of a forbearing mood. He should not associate with mean persons. He should not do anything mean (*caṇḍāliya*).[4] He should meditate by himself after having learnt his lessons. He should never deny it if he has done anything mean. He should not commit any evil act. He should not speak unasked for. He should not tell a lie when asked. If the self is subdued a person will be happy. It is better to subdue one's own self by self-control and penance than be subdued by others with fetters and corporal punishment.[5] He should never do anything disagreeable to the superiors (*Buddhānaṃ*, enlightened ones) either in words or deeds openly or secretly. He should never remain silent if spoken to by the superior. He should always politely approach his teacher. An intelligent pupil will rise from his seat and answer the teacher's call modestly and attentively.[6]

A good pupil has the best opinion of his teacher, thinking that he treats him like his son or brother. He should not provoke his teacher's anger, nor should he himself grow angry. If the teacher is angry he should pacify him by kindness and appease him with folded hands. An intelligent man who has learnt the sacred texts takes his duties upon himself (*namati*, lit. bows down). When a worthy teacher is satisfied with a pupil, he will make over to him his vast knowledge of the sacred texts and the pupil will gladden the heart of his teacher by his good deeds.[7]

A wise man suffering from heat should not long for a bath or pour water over his body or fan himself. He should not care whether he gets alms or not. He should not long for pleasant things. He should comfort himself knowing the consequences of actions, as the actions productive of ignorance afterwards take effect.[8]

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[1] Cf. *Silabbataparāmāsa* in Buddhism—*Khuddakapāṭha*, p. 5.

[2] *Vide Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 5. The upholders of *ajñānavāda* are represented as those thinkers who, pretending to be clever, reason incoherently and do not get beyond the confusion of their ideas (*Sūtra K.*, I, 12 : 2). Inefficiency of knowledge is the real upshot of *ajñānavāda* (*Uttarādh.*, XVIII, 23).

[3] Cf. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, I, 8, 9.

[4] He should not behave like a Caṇḍāla. It really means places where people of low caste live.

[5] *Uttarādhyayana*, I, 16.

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 21.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, 47.

[8] *Ibid.*, II, 41.

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It is difficult for a living being to obtain four things of great value: (1) Human birth, (2) Instruction in the law, (3) Belief in it, and (4) Energy in self-control.[1] The universe is peopled by manifold creatures who are born in this world in different families and castes for having done various actions. Sometimes they go to the world of gods and sometimes to hells and sometimes they become *asuras* (demons) in accordance with their actions, sometimes they become Kṣatriyas or Caṇḍālas or worms or ants. Living beings of sinful actions who are born again and again are not disgusted with this *Saṃsāra*. By the destruction of *karma* living beings will reach in time a pure state and will be born as men.[2] Though born as human beings it will be difficult for them to hear the law; having heard it they will do penances, combat their passions, and abstain from killing living beings. It will be difficult for them to believe in the law though they may hear it. Many who are shown the right way are led astray.

The pious obtain purity and the pure stand firmly in the law. After having enjoyed in due time the unrivalled pleasures of human life, he will obtain true knowledge by his pure religious merit acquired in a former birth. Knowing that the four requisites are difficult to obtain, he will apply himself to self-control and he will be an eternal *Siddha* (perfected one) when he will be able to shake off the remnant of *karma* by his penances.[3]

One cannot prolong his life,[4] therefore he should not be careless. Men who acquire wealth by evil deeds, adhering to wrong principles will lose it. People in this world and in the next cannot escape the effect of their own actions. Wealth will never protect a careless man in this world. Like a wise man trust nobody but be always on the alert.

One cannot quickly arrive at discernment; therefore one should exert one's self, abstain from pleasures, understand the world, guard one's self, and be impartial like a sage. External things weaken the intellect and allure many; therefore keep them out of mind. Remove pride, delusion, greed, and deceit. Heretics who are impure and proud are always subject to love and hatred and they are wholly under the influence of their passions. Despising them as unholy men, one should desire virtues till the end of his life.[5]

There are two ways of life ending with death:[6] (1) Death with one's will, and (2) Death against one's will. Death against one's will is the death of an ignorant man and it happens to him several times. Death with one's will is the death of a wise man and it happens once as in the case of a Kevalin.[7] A fool being attached to pleasures does cruel actions. One who is attached to pleasures and amusements will be caught in the trap of deceit. The pleasures of this life are in your hand but the future pleasures are uncertain. It is doubted whether there is any next world. An ignorant man kills, lies, deceives, drinks wine and eats meat, thinking that this is the right thing to do. A man desirous of wealth and women accumulates sins by his act and thought. Fools who do cruel deeds will suffer violently. When death really comes, the fool trembles in fear. He dies the death against one's will. Some householders are superior to some monks in self-control. But the saints are superior to all householders in self-control. A faithful man should practise the rules of conduct for householders. He should never neglect the fast. Those who are trained in self-control and penance, monks or householders, who have obtained liberation by absence of passions, go to the highest regions. The virtuous and the learned do not tremble in the hour of death. A wise man will become calm through

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1 *Ibid.*, III, 1: *cattāri paramaṅgāni dullāhānīha jantuṇo/*
māṇusattaṃ sui saddhā saṃjamaṃmi ya vīriyaṃ//

2 *Ibid.*, III, 7.

3 *Uttarādhyayana*, III.

4 Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 2, 2, 21.

5 *Uttarādhyayana*, IV, 10–13.

6 *Ibid.*, V, 1–32.

7 He possesses *kevalajñāna* or Omniscience. He is all-seeing and all-knowing. He has obtained the fifth degree of knowledge. Cf. *Aparisesa* in Buddhism. *Vide Jaina Sūtras*, I, pp. 260–264. It is the highest and unlimited knowledge.

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patience with an undisturbed mind at the time of death. When the right time for death has come, a faithful monk should in the presence of his teacher suppress all emotions of fear or joy and wait for his end. When the time for quitting the body has come, a sage dies the death with one's will.[1]

All men who are ignorant of truth are subject to pain. A wise man who considers well the ways that lead to bondage and birth should search for the truth. A man of pure faith should realize the truth that he will have to suffer for his own deeds.[2]

Clever talking will not work salvation. Fools though sinking lower and lower through their sins believe themselves to be wise men. One should wander about carefully in this endless *Saṃsāra*. One should never desire worldly objects but sustain his body only to be able to annihilate his *karma*. Recognizing the cause of *karma* he should wander about waiting for his death.[3] He should conduct himself so as to commit no sin.

An ignorant man kills, tells lies, robs on the highway, steals goods, and deceives others.[4] He is to go to the world of the *asuras* (demons) against his will. Those men who through the exercise of various virtues become pious householders will surely reap the fruit of their actions. A virtuous man cheerfully attains the state of Gods. He who has not given up pleasures will not be able to reach the true end of his soul. He will go astray again and again though he has been taught the right way. A sinner will be born in hell and a virtuous man will be born in heaven.

The best of sages who is free from delusion and possesses perfect knowledge and faith speaks for the benefit and eternal welfare and for the final liberation of all beings.

Stupid sinners go to hell through their superstitious beliefs. One should not permit the killing of living beings. A careful man does not injure living beings. In thoughts, words, and acts he should not do anything injurious to worldly beings.

It is difficult to satisfy anybody. The more one gets the more he wants. A man's desire increases with his means. One should not desire women who continually change their minds, who entice men and then make a sport of them as of slaves.[5]

One who is ignorant of truth, egoistical, greedy, without self-discipline, and who talks loosely, is devoid of learning. Egoism, delusion, carelessness, illness, and idleness are the five causes which render good discipline impossible. Discipline is called virtue for eight causes: (1) not to be fond of mirth, (2) to control oneself, (3) not to speak evil of others, (4) not to be without discipline, (5) not to be of wrong discipline, (6) not to be covetous, (7) not to be choleric, and (8) to love truth.[6]

He who is well protected by the five *saṃvaras*[7] and is not attached to this life, who abandons his body, who is pure, and does not care for his body, wins the greatest victory.

Karma is produced by sinful thoughts and it is by the influence of this *karma* that Citra and Sambhūta were separated. All singing is but prattle, all dancing is but mockery, all ornaments are but a burden and all pleasures produce pains.[8] Pleasures which are liked by the ignorant and which produce pain do not delight pious monks who do not care for pleasures but are intent on the virtue of right

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1 Cf. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, I, 7, 8.
2 *Uttarādhyayana*, VI, 3; cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 9. 5.
3 *Uttarādhyayana*, VI, 10–14.
4 *Ibid.*, VII, 5.
5 *Ibid.*, VIII, 17-18.
6 *Ibid.*, XI, 4, 5.
7 *Saṃvara* is preventing by means of *samitis* and *guptis* the sins or influx of the *karma* upon the soul. *Saṃvara* is the practice of self-restraint with regard to the body, speech and mind. It is the other aspect of *dukkhakārikā* or *tapas*. It is included in the *Navatattva* or the doctrine of nine terms. B. C. Law, *Mahavira : His Life and Teachings*, pp. 89-90.
8 *Uttarādhyayana*, XIII, 8, 16, 17:

Sabbaṃ vilaviyaṃ gīyaṃ sabbaṃ naṭṭaṃ viḍambiyaṃ/
sabbe ābharaṇā bhārā sabbe kāmā duhāvahā// 16
Vālābhirāmesu duhāvahesu na taṃ suhaṃ kāmaguṇesu rāyaṃ/
virattakāmāṇ tavohaṇāṇāṃ jaṃ bhikṣuṇaṃ sīlaguṇe rayāṇaṃ// 17

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conduct. He who has done no good deeds in this life and who has not practised the Law, repents of it in the next world, when he has become a prey to death which leads off a man in his last hour. He alone will have to share his suffering, neither his kinsmen nor his friends, nor his sons, nor his relations will bear it, for *karma* follows the doer.[1] Life drags on towards death continuously, and old age carries off the vigour of man.[2] Time elapses and the days quickly pass. Pleasures of men are not permanent. They come to a man and leave him just as a bird leaves a tree devoid of fruits. If one is unable to give up pleasures then he must do noble actions, follow the law and have compassion on all creatures. Brahmadatta, king of the Pañcālas, did not act on the advice of the saint. He enjoyed the highest pleasures and afterwards sank into the deepest hell. Citra, the great sage of excellent conduct and penance, was indifferent to pleasures; after he had practised the highest self-control, he reached the highest place of self-perfection.[3]

The lot of man is transitory and precarious. His life does not last long. He finds no delight in domestic life.[4] Pleasures bring only a moment's happiness. But suffering for a long time brings intense suffering and no happiness. Pleasures are an obstacle to the liberation from existence, and are a mine of evils.[5] The soul cannot be apprehended by the senses because it possesses no corporeal form and since it has no corporeal form, it is eternal. The fetter of the soul has been ascertained to be caused by its bad qualities and this fetter is called the cause of worldly existence. Being ignorant of the law human beings formerly did sinful actions and through their wrong-mindedness they could not enter the Order. Mankind is harassed by death. It is taken hold of by old age. The day that goes by will never return. He who has acquired righteousness may look upon death as his friend.[6] Faith will enable him to put aside attachment.[7] The pleasures are causes for the continuance of worldly existence.[8] One should be cautious in this matter. He should learn the law thoroughly, practise severe penance, being of firm energy.[9]

A man of limited knowledge talks foolishly on these four heads: the existence of the soul, its non-existence, idolatry, and the inefficiency of the knowledge. The man who commits sins will go to hell but those who have walked the road of righteousness will obtain a place in heaven. One should live and walk about according to the rules of self-control.

A wise man believes in the existence of the soul. The Jains do not deny the existence of the soul but the unalterable character of the soul.[10]

The road to final deliverance depends on four causes and is characterized by right knowledge and faith. The road as taught by the Jinas consists of (1) right knowledge, (2) faith, (3) conduct, and (4) austerities. Human beings will obtain beatitude by following this road. Knowledge is five-fold: knowledge derived from the sacred books (*śruta*), perception (*ābhinibodhika*),[11] supernatural knowledge (*avadhi*),[12] knowledge of the thoughts of others (*manaḥparyāya*), and the highest and unlimited knowledge (*kevala*).

The knowledge of substances, qualities and all developments[13] has been taught by the Jinas. Substance is the substratum of qualities, the qualities are inherent in one substance but the characteristic of developments is that they inhere in substances or qualities. *Dharma*, *adharma*, space, time, matter, and souls are the six kinds of substances.[14] *Dharma*, *adharma* and space—each of them is a substance

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1 *Uttarādhyayana*, XIII, 21–23.
2 *Ibid.*, XIII, 26.
3 *Ibid.*, XIII, 34-35.
4 *Ibid.*, XIV, 7.
5 *Ibid.*, XIV, 13.
6 *Ibid.*, XIV, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27.
7 *Ibid.*, XIV, 28.
8 *Ibid.*, XIV, 47.
9 *Ibid.*, XIV, 49-50.
10 Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12, 21; *Majjhima*, I, 483; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 6, 27; I, 10, 17.
11 Knowledge which is derived from one's experience, thought or understanding.
12 Cf. *Kalpasūtra*, 15.
13 *Dravya*, *guṇa* and *paryāya*. Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12, Bom. Ed., 482.
14 They are imperishable and eternal by their very nature—*Sūtrakr.*, I; i, I, 15-16.

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but time, matter, and souls form an infinite number of substances. The characteristic of *dharma* is motion, that of *adharma* is immobility[1] and that of space (*ākāśa*) is to make room. The characteristic of time is duration, that of soul is the realization of knowledge, faith, conduct, austerities, energy and realization of its developments. The characteristic of matter is sound, darkness, lustre, etc. The characteristic of development is singleness.[2]

Soul (*jīva*), the inanimate things (*ajīva*), the binding of the soul by *karma*, merit (*puṇya*), demerit (*pāpa*), that which causes the soul to be affected by sins (*āśrava*), the prevention of sins by watchfulness (*saṃvara*), annihilation of *karma* and final deliverance are the nine truths.[3]

Faith is produced by nature (*nisarga*), instruction (*upadeśa*), command (*ājñā*), study of the *sūtras*, suggestion (*bīja*), comprehension of the meaning of the sacred lore (*abhigama*), complete course of study (*vistāra*), religious exercise (*kriyā*), brief exposition (*saṃkhepa*) and *Dharma* (law).[4]

He who truly understands by a spontaneous effort of his mind the nature of soul, inanimate things, merit and demerit and who puts an end to sins (*āśravasaṃvara*) believes by nature. He who believes the four truths taught by the Jinas believes by nature. He who believes these truths having learnt them from somebody else believes by instruction. He who has got rid of love, hatred, delusion and ignorance believes by command. He who obtains righteousness by the study of the *sūtras* believes by the study of the *sūtras*. He who knows the sacred lore believes by the comprehension of the sacred lore. He who understands the true nature of all substances believes by a complete course of study. He who sincerely performs all duties by right knowledge, faith, etc., believes by religious exercise. He who is not versed in the sacred doctrines believes by brief exposition. He who believes in the truth of the realities believes by the Law. There is no right conduct without right belief, it must be cultivated for obtaining the right faith; righteousness and conduct originate together or righteousness precedes conduct.[5] Without right faith there is no right knowledge, without right knowledge there is no virtuous conduct, without virtues there is no deliverance and without deliverance (*mokṣa*) there is no perfection.[6]

Conduct which produces destruction of *karma* is the avoidance of everything sinful, the initiation of a novice, purity produced by peculiar austerities[7] and destruction of desire and sins.

Austerities are two-fold: external and internal. By knowledge one knows things, by faith one believes in them, by conduct one gets freedom from *karma* and by austerities one reaches purity.[8] Great sages whose object is to get rid of all misery proceed to perfection having destroyed their *karma* by control and austerities.

Mahāvīra has given instructions regarding exertion in righteousness. Those who believe in it, accept it, practise it, comply with it, study it, and understand it, have obtained perfection, enlightenment, deliverance and final beatitude. He has dealt with the following subjects: (1) *Longing for liberation.* By longing for liberation,

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[1] *Sūtrakr.*, I, 1, 2, 2, 3; I, 1, 4, 2. [2] *Uttarādh.*, XXVIII, 6–12.

[3] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 14. *Jīva* and *ajīva* comprehend the world of existence as known and experienced. The world of life is represented by the six classes of living beings, while the movable things are the fire lives, wind lives, and those with an organic body. *Saṃvara* is the principle of self-control by which the influx of sins is checked. The category of *Saṃvara* comprehends the whole sphere of right conduct.

[4] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 16. [5] *Uttarādh.*, XXVIII, 29.

[6] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 30. *Mokṣa* is the essential point in the teachings of Mahāvīra, which is generally understood as emancipation. It really means the attainment of the highest state of sanctification by the avoidance of pains and miseries of worldly life. Even at this stage the soul appears to be the same without the least change in its condition. It is the *summum bonum* or the state of perfect beatitude as attained. It may also mean final deliverance or liberation from the fetters of worldly life and total annihilation or extinction of human passion.

[7] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 32-33. [8] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 34.

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the soul obtains an intense desire of the Law. By an intense desire of the Law, he quickly arrives at an increased longing for liberation. He destroys anger, pride, deceit and greed. He becomes possessed of right faith and by the purity of faith, he will reach perfection after one birth. (2) *Disregard of worldly objects.* By disregard of worldly objects, the soul quickly feels disgust for pleasures enjoyed by men, gods and animals. He becomes indifferent to all objects; thereby he ceases to engage in any undertaking with the result that he enters the road to perfection. (3) *Desire of the Law.* By the desire of the Law, the soul becomes indifferent to pleasures. He abandons the life of householders and as a houseless monk, he puts an end to all pains, mental and bodily. (4) *Obedience to the co-religionists and to the guru.* By obedience to them, the soul obtains discipline. By discipline and avoidance of misconduct he avoids being born as a denizen of hell; by devotion to the *guru*, he obtains truth as a good man and gains perfection and beatitude. (5) *Confession of sins before the guru.* By this act the soul gets rid of the thorns of deceit, wrong belief, etc. He obtains simplicity and annihilates *karma*. (6) *Repenting of one's sins to oneself.* By this act, the soul obtains repentance and becoming indifferent by repentance, he prepares for himself an ascending scale of virtues by which he destroys *karma*. (7) *Repenting of one's sins before the guru.* By this act the soul obtains humiliation. He will leave off all blamable occupations and apply himself to praiseworthy occupations. (8) *Moral and intellectual purity of the soul.* By such purity the soul ceases from sinful occupations. (9) *Adoration of the 24 Jinas.* By this adoration, the soul arrives at purity of faith. (10) *Paying reverence to the guru.* By this act the soul destroys such *karma* as leads to birth in low families. He wins the affection of the people and brings about general good-will. (11) *By expiation of sins*, the soul obviates transgressions of the vows; thereby he stops the *āśravas* or sins. (12) *By a particular position of the body* (*kāyotsarga*), the soul gets rid of past and present transgressions which require *prāyaścitta* (expiatory rites). (13) *By self-denial*, the soul shuts the doors of the *āśravas*[1] and prevents desires arising in him. (14) *By praises and hymns*, he obtains wisdom consisting in knowledge, faith and conduct. (15) *By keeping the right time*, he destroys *karma* which obstructs right knowledge. (16) *By practising penance*, he gets rid of sins and commits no transgressions. (17) *By begging forgiveness*, he obtains happiness of mind. (18) *By study*, he destroys *karma* which obstructs right knowledge. (19) *By the recital of the sacred texts*, he obtains destruction of *karma* and preserves the sacred lore. (20) *By questioning the teachers*, he arrives at a correct comprehension of the *sūtra* and its meaning. (21) *By repetition*, he reproduces the sounds or syllables and commits them to memory. (22) *By pondering* on what he has learnt he loosens the firm hold which the seven kinds of *karma* have upon the soul; he shortens their duration and mitigates their power. (23) *By religious discourses*, he obtains destruction of *karma*, he exalts the creed and by exalting the creed he acquires *karma* for the future bliss. (24) *By the acquisition of sacred knowledge*, he destroys ignorance. (25) *By concentration of his thoughts*, he obtains stability of the mind. (26) *By control*, he obtains freedom from sins. (27) *By austerities*, he cuts off *karma*. (28) *By cutting off karma*, he obtains freedom from actions. (29) *By renouncing pleasures*, he obtains freedom from false longing. (30) *By mental independence*, he gets rid of attachment. (31) *By using unfrequented lodgings and beds*, he obtains *gupti* or conduct. He will be steady in his conduct. (32) *By turning from the world*, he will strive to do no bad actions. (33) *By renouncing collection of alms in one district only* (*ekamaṇḍalyām āhārakaraṇam*), he overcomes obstacles. (34) *By renouncing articles of use*, he obtains successful study. (35) *By renouncing forbidden food*, he ceases to act for the sustenance of his life. (36) *By conquering his passions*, he becomes free from passions. (37) *By renouncing activity*, he obtains inactivity. *By ceasing to act*, he acquires no new *karma*. (38) *By renouncing his body*, he acquires the pre-eminent

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1 *Āśrava* is that which causes the soul to be affected by sins.

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virtues of the *siddhas* (perfected ones). (39) *By renouncing company*, he obtains singleness and avoids disputes, quarrels, passions, etc. (40) *By renouncing all food*, he prevents his birth many times. (41) *By perfect renunciation*, he enters the final stage of pure meditation wherefrom there is no return. (42) *By conforming to the standard of monks*, he obtains ease and will be careful. He will inspire all beings with confidence and practise austerities. (43) *By doing service*, he acquires *karma* which brings about for him the name and family name of a *Tīrthakara*. (44) *By fulfilling all virtues*, he will not be born again. (45) *By freedom from passions*, he destroys the ties of attachment and desire. (46) *By patience*, he overcomes troubles. (47) *By freedom from greed*, he obtains voluntary poverty. (48) *By simplicity*, he will become upright. (49) *By humility*, he will acquire freedom from self-conceit. (50) *By sincerity of mind*, he will obtain purity of mind. (51) *By sincerity in religious practice*, he obtains proficiency in it. (52) *By sincerity of acting*, he will become pure in his actions. (53) *By watchfulness of his mind*, he concentrates his thoughts.[1] (54) *By watchfulness of speech*, he is free from prevarication. (55) *By watchfulness of the body*, he obtains *saṃvara* (restraint). (56) *By discipline of the mind*, he obtains concentration of his thoughts. (57) *By discipline of the speech*, he obtains development of faith. (58) *By discipline of the body*, he obtains development of conduct. He may obtain perfection, enlightenment and deliverance. (59) *By possession of knowledge*, he acquires an understanding of words and their meanings. (60) *By possession of faith*, he destroys wrong belief. (61) *By possession of conduct*, he obtains stability. (62) *By subduing the organ of hearing*, he overcomes his delight in all pleasant or unpleasant sounds, he acquires no new *karma* and destroys the old one. (63–66) *All* these apply also to his subduing the organs of sight, smell, taste and touch with regard to pleasant colours, smells, tastes and touches. (67–71) *By conquering anger*, he obtains patience. *By conquering pride*, he obtains simplicity. *By conquering deceit*, he obtains humility. *By conquering greed*, he obtains content. *By conquering love, hatred and wrong belief*, he exerts himself for right knowledge, faith and conduct. After destroying various kinds of *karma*, he obtains absolute and complete knowledge and faith. (72) *Stability* (*sailesī*).[2] He first stops the functions of his mind, then the functions of the speech, then those of the body, at last he ceases to breathe. During the time required for pronouncing five short syllables, he is engaged in the final pure meditation in which all functions of his organs have ceased and he at the same time destroys the four remnants of *karma*.[3] (73) *Freedom from karma*. The soul after having got rid of his *audārika kārmaṇa* bodies takes the form of a straight line, goes in a moment without touching anything and taking up no space, and then the soul develops into the natural form and obtains perfection.[4]

A person becomes free from sins by abstaining from life-slaughter, falsehood, theft, and sexual indulgence. He becomes free from sins by possessing five *samitis* and three *guptis*, by freedom from passions, by subduing the senses, by conquering conceit, and avoiding delusion.[5]

As pointed out before austerities are of two kinds: external and internal. External austerities are fasting, abstinence, collecting alms, abstention from dainty food, mortification of the flesh, and taking care of one part of the body. Fasting is of two kinds: temporary fasting and fasting which precedes and ends with death.

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1 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIX, 1–53.

2 Lit. the state of a mountain. *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIX, 54–72.

3 B. C. Law, *Jain View of Karma*, Bhāratīya Vidyā, VI, 7 and 8.

4 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXIX, 73. Every *jīva* has two bodies, *kārmaṇa* and *taijasa*, and also a third which may be *audārika* or *vaikreya*. Every *jīva* save and except a Perfected One forms round it through its *karma* a body which is called its *kārmaṇa* body and another invisible body, *taijasa*, which at its death will enable it to assume a new form. These two unseen bodies are indestructible. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 206. Cf. the Upanishadic conception of the *sthūla*, *sūkṣma* and *kāraṇa* bodies assumed by the soul.

5 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXX.

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The temporary fasting is of six kinds: (1) in the form of a line—if four fasts of two, three, four and five days are performed in this order, they form a line, (2) in the form of a square, (3) in the form of a cube, (4) of a sixth power, (5) of a twelfth power, and (6) of any arrangement. Fasting which is to precede death is of two kinds with regard to the motions of the body: with change of position and without change.

Abstinence is briefly of five kinds: with regard to substance, place, time, state of mind and development. He who takes less food than he usually does, performs abstinence with regard to substance.

Place means a village, capital, mine, settlement of a wild tribe, poor town, town with a harbour, a large town, an isolated town, a hermitage, a halting place, a resting place, garden house, etc.[1]

Abstinence with regard to time is observed by him who goes about in the time of the four *Paurūshīs* [2] of the day. If he collects alms in a part of the third *Paurūshī* or in its last quarter, he observes abstinence with reference to time.

Abstinence with regard to the state of mind is observed by him who accepts alms from a man or a woman, from an adorned or unadorned person, if that person does not change his disposition or condition.

The ten persons entitled to service are: (1) *ācārya*, (2) *upādhyāya*, (3) *sthavira*, (4) *tapasvin*, (5) *glāna*, (6) *saiksha*, (7) *sādharmika*, (8) *kula*, (9) *gaṇa*, and (10) *saṅgha*.[3]

Study is five-fold: Saying or learning one's lesson, questioning the teacher about it, repetition, pondering, and religious discourse.

One should abstain to meditate on painful and sinful things, one should meditate on the Law with a collected mind. This is meditation. If a monk remains motionless while lying down, sitting or standing upright, this is called abandoning of the body which is one of the internal austerities.[4]

One should practise self-control. Love and hatred are two evils which produce bad *karma*. If a monk always avoids them, he will not be subject to transmigration. A monk, who always avoids the thrice three-fold hurtful, conceited and delusive acts, will not be subject to transmigration. Hurtful acts (*daṇḍa*) are three-fold as referring to thoughts, words and acts. Conceited acts (*gārava*) are pride of riches, of taste and of pleasure or fashion. Delusive acts are *māyā*, *nidāna*, and false-belief (*mithyādarśana*). A monk who well bears calamities will not be subject to transmigration. A monk, who always avoids the four different kinds of praises, passions, expressions of the emotions, and of the four meditations, will not be subject to transmigration. A monk, who always exerts himself with regard to the five vows, the five objects of sense, the five *samitis* and the five actions, will not be subject to transmigration. A monk, who always exerts himself with regard to the six *leśyās*,[5] the six kinds of bodies and the six regular functions as eating, will not be subject to transmigration. A monk, who always exerts himself with regard to the seven rules of accepting alms and the seven causes of danger to others, will not be subject to transmigration. A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the eight objects of pride, and the ten-fold Law of the monks, will not be subject to transmigration. The eight objects of pride are: caste, family, beauty, etc.[6] A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the eleven duties of the *upāsakas* (lay disciples) and the twelve duties of the *bhikkhus* will not be subject to transmigration. A monk, who always exerts himself with regard to the thirteen actions productive of *karma*, fourteen kinds of the living beings, and the fifteen places of punishment of the

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1 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXX.

2 A *paurūshī* is the fourth part of a day or a night; about the time of the equinoxes when the day or the night contains 12 hours, the *paurūshī* contains 3 hours.

3 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXX, 33.

4 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXX, 35-36.

5 *Leśyā* is said to be that by means of which the soul is tinted with merit and demerit. It arises from *yoga* or *kashāya*, namely, the vibrations due to the activity of body, mind or speech or passions.

6 Cf. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 2, 17.

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wicked, will not be subject to transmigration. A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the sixteen *gāthās*, eighteen kinds of continence and nineteen *jñātā-dhyayanas*[1] will not be subject to transmigration. A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the twenty-one forbidden actions, and the twenty-two troubles, will not be subject to transmigration. A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the twenty-three lectures of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, the twenty-five clauses, and the twenty-six chapters of the *daśās*,[2] will not be subject to transmigration. A monk who always exerts himself with regard to the twenty-seven virtues of the laity and the twenty-eight lectures of the *Prakalpa*,[3] twenty-nine causes of wrong knowledge, the thirty causes of delusion, the thirty-one qualifications of the perfected ones, the thirty-two pure operations of mind, speech and body, and the thirty-three articles regulating the intercourse between monks specially pupils and teachers, will not be subject to transmigration.[4]

By the teaching of true knowledge, by the avoidance of ignorance and delusion and by the destruction of love and hatred one arrives at deliverance which is nothing but bliss. One should serve the *guru* and the old teachers, avoid foolish people, apply oneself earnestly to study, and to ponder jealously on the meaning of the *sūtras*. A monk engaged in austerities, who longs for righteousness, should eat the proper quantity of allowed food, should select a companion of right understanding, and should live in a solitary place. If he does not meet with a suitable companion, he should live by himself abstaining from sins and not devoted to pleasures. Love and hatred are caused by *karma* which has its origin in delusion. *Karma* is the root of birth and death. Misery consists in birth and death. Misery ceases on the absence of delusion, delusion ceases on the absence of desire, desire ceases on the absence of greed, and greed ceases on the absence of property.[5] Pleasant food (*rasa*) should not be enjoyed with preference for it generally makes men overstrong (*driptikara*), and desires rush upon the strong. The mind of those who always live in unfrequented lodgings, who eat low food, and who subdue their senses, will not be attached by love, who are vanquished as disease is by medicine. A monk engaged in penance should not allow himself to watch the shape, beauty, coquetry, laughter, prattle, gestures, and glances of women nor retain a recollection of them in his mind. Not to look at, not to long for, not to think of, not to praise womankind—this is fit for the meditation of the noble ones and it is always wholesome to those who delight in chastity.[6] Those who possess the three *guptis* cannot be disturbed by well-adorned goddesses. To a man who longs for liberation, who is afraid of *saṃsāra* and lives according to the Law, nothing in the world offers so many difficulties as women who delight the mind of the ignorant. To those who have overcome the attachment of women, all others will offer no difficulties. From the desire of pleasure arises the misery of the whole world. Whatever misery of mind and body there is, the dispassionate will put an end to it. A monk who is engaged in austerities, who longs for righteousness, should not fix his thoughts on the pleasant objects of the senses. He who is passionately fond of colours will come to untimely ruin. He who passionately hates a colour will, at the same moment, suffer pain. He who is very fond of a lovely colour hates all others, hence a fool suffers misery. He who has a passion for colour will kill many movable and immovable beings. A passionate fool intent on his personal interest torments those beings in many ways. When he is not satisfied with these colours and his craving for them grows stronger and stronger, he will become discontented. Misled by greed he will take another's property. When he is overcome by a violent desire, he takes another's property and when he is not satisfied with those colours, then his deceit and falsehood increase

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1 *Nāyādhammakahāo.*
2 *Uvāsagadasāo.*
3 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra.*
4 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXXI.
5 Cf. B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 28ff.
6 Cf. Instructions to Nanda—*Saundarananda Kāvya*, Cantos 8 and 9.

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on account of his greed; yet he will not get rid of his misery. A man who is indifferent to true colours is free from sorrows. All such passions, as anger, pride, deceit, disgust, aversion to self-control, delight in sensual things, mirth, fear, sorrow, carnal desire for women, arise in a man who is attached to pleasures. When he ceases to desire the objects of the senses, his desire for pleasures will become extinct. A dispassionate man, who has performed all duties, will quickly remove the obstacles to right knowledge and right faith. Then he knows and sees all things. He is free from delusions, hindrances and sins. He is proficient in meditation and being pure he will arrive at beatitude. He will get rid of all misery which always afflicts mankind. He becomes infinitely happy and obtains the final aim.[1]

There are eight kinds of *karma*:[2] (1) which acts as an obstruction to right knowledge (*jñānāvaraṇīya*), (2) which acts as an obstruction to right faith (*darśanāvaraṇīya*), (3) which leads to experiencing pain or pleasure (*vedanīya*), (4) which leads to delusion (*mohanīya*), (5) which determines the length of life (*āyuḥkarma*), (6) which determines the name or individuality of the embodied soul, (7) which determines *gotra* or family name, and (8) which prevents a person from entering the path leading to eternal bliss (*antarāya*).[3]

Obstruction to knowledge is five-fold: (*a*) obstruction to knowledge derived from the sacred books (*sūtra*); (*b*) obstruction to perception (*ābhinibodhika*), (*c*) obstruction to supernatural knowledge (*avadhijñāna*), (*d*) knowledge of the thoughts of other people (*manahparyāya*), (*e*) the highest, unlimited knowledge (*kevala*).[4] The following are the different kinds of obstruction to right faith: sleep, activity, very deep sleep, a high degree of activity, a state of deep-rooted greed. *Vedanīya* is two-fold: pleasure and pain. *Mohanīya* is two-fold as referring to faith and conduct. The three kinds of *mohanīya* referring to faith are right faith, wrong faith and faith, partly right and partly wrong. The two kinds of *mohanīya* referring to conduct are (1) what is experienced in the form of the four cardinal passions, and (2) what is experienced in the form of feelings different from them.[5] *Āyushka* is *four-fold:* denizens of hell, brute creation, men and gods. *Nāma* is two-fold: good and bad. *Gotra* is two-fold: high and low. *Antarāya* is five-fold as preventing gifts, profits, momentary enjoyment, continuous enjoyment, and power. The number of atoms of every *karma* is infinite. The *karma* in the six directions of space binds all souls. The six directions of space are the four cardinal points. The number of perfected souls is infinite.

The *leśyās* are different conditions produced in the soul by the influence of different *karma*. They are, therefore, not dependent on the nature of the soul, but on the *karma* which accompanies the soul. They are named in the following order: black, blue, grey, red, yellow, and white.[6] The black *leśyā* has the colour of a rain-

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1 *Uttarādh.*, XXXII.

2 *Karma* is the deed of the soul. It is a material forming a subtle bond of extremely refined Karmic matter which keeps the soul confined to its place of origin or the natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace.

3 *Uttarādh.*, XXXIII, 1–3.

4 The first kind of knowledge corresponds to what the Buddhists call *Sutamayapaññā*; the second kind to what they call *cintāmayapaññā*; the third kind to what they call *vilokana*; the fourth kind to what they call *cetopariyāññāna*; and the fifth kind to what they call *sabbaññutā* or omniscience consisting in three faculties: of reviewing and recalling to mind all past existences with details, of perceiving the destiny of other beings according to their deeds, and of being conscious of the final destruction of sins. Cf. *Tattvārtha-Sūtra*, i. 9. *Kevala* means that which is limited by the object, that which is sufficient to survey the field of observation, cf. *Kalpasūtra*, 15. *Manahparyāyajñāna* is defined in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (II, 15, 23) as a knowledge of the thoughts of all sentient beings. *Kevalajñāna* is defined in the same text as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects and to know all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons (II, 15, 25).

5 *Uttarādh.*, XXXIII, 5–10.

6 The Buddhist idea of contamination of mind by the influx of impurities from outside, illustrated by the simile of a piece of cloth dyed blue, red, yellow or the like, would seem to have some bearing on the Jain doctrine of the six *leśyās*, which is merely hinted at in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*

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2 *Uvāsagadasāo.*
3 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra.*
4 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXXI.
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2 *Karma* is the deed of the soul. It is a material forming a subtle bond of extremely refined Karmic matter which keeps the soul confined to its place of origin or the natural abode of full knowledge and everlasting peace.

3 *Uttarādh.*, XXXIII, 1–3.

4 The first kind of knowledge corresponds to what the Buddhists call *Sutamayapaññā*; the second kind to what they call *cintāmayapaññā*; the third kind to what they call *vilokana*; the fourth kind to what they call *cetopariyāññāna*; and the fifth kind to what they call *sabbaññutā* or omniscience consisting in three faculties: of reviewing and recalling to mind all past existences with details, of perceiving the destiny of other beings according to their deeds, and of being conscious of the final destruction of sins. Cf. *Tattvārtha-Sūtra*, i. 9. *Kevala* means that which is limited by the object, that which is sufficient to survey the field of observation, cf. *Kalpasūtra*, 15. *Manaḥparyāyajñāna* is defined in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (II, 15, 23) as a knowledge of the thoughts of all sentient beings. *Kevalajñāna* is defined in the same text as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects and to know all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons (II, 15, 25).

5 *Uttarādh.*, XXXIII, 5–10.

6 The Buddhist idea of contamination of mind by the influx of impurities from outside, illustrated by the simile of a piece of cloth dyed blue, red, yellow or the like, would seem to have some bearing on the Jain doctrine of the six *leśyās*, which is merely hinted at in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*

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cloud, a buffalo's horn. The blue *leśyā* has the colour of the blue *aśoka* (*Jonesia-asoka*) having red flowers. The grey *leśyā* has the colour of the flower of *atasī* (*Linum usitatissimum*) having blue flowers. The red *leśyā* has the colour of vermilion. The yellow *leśyā* has the colour of orpiment. The white *leśyā* has the colour of conch-shell. The taste of the black *leśyā* is more bitter than that of *tumbaka* (*Lagenaria Vulgaris*). The taste of the blue *leśyā* is more pungent than black pepper and dry ginger. The taste of grey *leśyā* is sourer than that of unripe mango. The taste of red *leśyā* is more pleasant than that of ripe mango. The degrees of the *leśyās* are three or nine or twenty-seven or eighty-one or two hundred and forty-three. Each of these degrees is three-fold: low, middle and high. A man who acts on the impulse of the five sins, who commits cruel acts, who is wicked and mischievous, develops the black *leśyā*. A man who has anger, ignorance, hatred, wickedness, deceit, greed, carelessness, love of enjoyment, etc. develops the blue *leśyā*. A man who is dishonest in words and acts, a heretic, a deceiver, a thief, etc. develops the grey *leśyā*. A man who is humble, well-disciplined, restrained, free from deceit, who loves the law, develops the red *leśyā*. A man who controls himself, who is attentive to his study and duties develops the yellow *leśyā*. A man who controls himself, who abstains from constant thinking about his misery, who is free from passion, who is calm and who subdues his senses, develops the white *leśyā*. The black, blue and grey *leśyās* are the lowest *leśyās*, through them the soul is brought into miserable courses of life. The red, yellow and white *leśyās* are the good *leśyās*, through them the soul is brought into happy courses of life. In the first and last moment of all these *leśyās*, when they are joined with the soul, the latter is not born into a new existence.[1]

Things without life are (1) possessing form, and (2) formless. There are ten kinds of formless things, e.g., *dharma, adharma*, space, division, time (*addhāsamaya*), etc.[2] *Dharma, adharma* and space are ever without beginning and end. The four kinds of things possessing form are compound things, their divisions, their indivisible parts and atoms. Subtile things occur all over the world. Living beings are of two kinds: those still belonging to the *saṃsāra*, and the perfected souls. The perfected souls have no visible form. They are developed into knowledge and faith and they possess paramount happiness. Living beings are of two kinds: movable and immovable. The earth-lives are of two kinds: subtile and gross. The subtile earth is but of one kind as there is no variety. Plants are of two kinds: subtile and gross. There are three kinds of immovable living beings and three kinds of movable beings. The fire-lives are of two kinds: subtile and gross ones. Denizens of hells are of seven kinds according to the seven hells. Animals are of three kinds: aquatic, terrestrial, and aerial. These souls who cherish wrong views, who commit sins and kill living beings, will not reach enlightenment at the time of death. Those who cherish right views, do not commit sins and are enveloped in white *leśyā*, will reach enlightenment at the time of death. Those who love the creed of the Jinas and piously practise it, will be pure and free from passions and will in due time get out of the circle of births. Miserable men who do not know the creed of the Jinas will many times commit unholy suicide and die against their will. Those who are well-versed in the sacred lore and possess much knowledge, who awaken piety in others and appreciate the good qualities, are worthy to hear the doctrine of salvation. Those who practise spells and besmear their bodies with ashes for the sake of pleasure realize the *ābhiyogika-bhāvanā*.[3] Those who use weapons, eat poison, throw themselves into fire and water and use things not prescribed by the rules of conduct, are liable to be born and to die again and again.

(I, 4, 21) where a Jain saint is described as a person whose soul is in a pure condition (*leśyā*), and fully explained in the *Uttarādhyayana* (XXXIV). The Jaina religious efforts are directed towards the acquisition of pure *leśyā* (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 10, 15).

1 *Uttarādh.*, XXXV. 2 *Ibid.*, XXXVI.

3 The *ābhiyogidevas* are genii who serve the gods. This *bhāvanā* leads one to birth as an *ābhiyogi deva*.

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A person who owns a small property in living or lifeless things or consents to others holding it will not be delivered from misery.[1] If he kills living beings or causes other men to kill them or consents to their killing them, his iniquity will go on increasing. A sinner who makes the interest of his relations and companions his own will suffer much. His wealth and his nearest relations cannot protect him from future misery. According to Atheists the five gross elements, earth, water, fire, wind, and air, are the original causes of things, from them arises *ātman*; on the dissolution of these five elements, living beings cease to exist. Every body has an individual soul. These souls exist as long as the body exists but after death they are no more. There are no souls which are born again. There is neither virtue nor vice, there is no world beyond, on the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be.[2] Some hold that when a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act. The fatalists hold that pleasure and pain, final beatitude, and temporal pleasure and pain are not caused by the souls themselves nor by others, but the individual souls experience them. It is the lot assigned to them by destiny. According to Mahāvīra, those who hold this view do not understand that things depend partly on fate and partly on human exertion. The doctrine of the *akriyāvādins*[3] augments the misery of worldly existence, of those people who do not well consider the nature of acts. He who intends to kill a living being, but does not do it by his bodily act, and he who unknowingly kills one, both are affected by that act. There are three ways of committing sins: by one's own action, by commission, and by approval of the deed. One reaches *Nirvāṇa* by the purity of heart. Some hold that the soul of a person who is pure will become free from bad *karma* on reaching beatitude. The world is boundless and eternal. In this world living beings suffer individually for their deeds. A learned or a virtuous man will be punished for his deed when he is given to actions of deceit. Men who are drowned in lust and addicted to pleasures will be deluded for want of control. One should exert and control oneself and follow the commandments proclaimed by the Arhats. Heroes of faith who do not commit sins, and exert themselves aright, who subdue anger and fear, will never kill living beings. A worthy and wise man should be careful in this world. He who has entered the road leading to the destruction of *karma*, who controls his mind, speech, and body, who has given up his possessions and relations, should walk about subduing his senses. A sage bears pleasant and unpleasant things. He also bears three kinds of calamities arising from beasts, men and gods. He should not fear for his life. A wise man should not quarrel, should possess right conduct, should be guarded in his words and thoughts. He should adopt for his welfare the best and the highest law proclaimed in this world by the Jina. A person should look at beatitude as the end in view. Virtuous men regard pleasures as equal to diseases. The unhappy suffer again and again from delusion. When calamity befalls a man or the end of his life draws near, he must go. The wise believes that there is nothing to protect him. All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own *karma*. The wicked suffering latent misery err about in the circle of births, subject to birth, old age and death. One should not kill living beings in the three-fold way (by

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1 *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 2.

2 *Ibid.*, I, 11, 12, 13.

3 Both Mahāvīra and Buddha declared themselves as *kriyāvādins* or upholders of a doctrine of action. The doctrine of action which Mahāvīra taught makes men conscious of their responsibility for all their acts, mental, vocal or bodily. This doctrine has also awakened the consciousness that salvation is not a gift of favour but an attainment within human possibility. In the teachings of Mahāvīra *kriyāvāda* is sharply distinguished from *akriyāvāda* (doctrine of non-action), *ajñānavāda* (scepticism) and *vinayavāda* (formalism), precisely as in the word of the Buddha. Buddhism has been promulgated as a form of *kriyāvāda* or *karmavāda*. In order to arrive at a correct understanding of the doctrinal significance of *kriyāvāda* in Jainism it is necessary not only to see how it has been distinguished from *akriyāvāda*, *ajñānavada* and *vinayavāda* but also other types of *kriyāvāda*.

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thoughts, words, and acts) being intent on spiritual welfare and abstaining from sins.[1]

A sinner does not confess his wrong but rather boasts of it when reprimanded. The adulterers are severely punished. A fool who is bound in the fetters of sensuality will be subject to delusion again and again.

The following classes of living beings have been declared by the Jinas: earth, water, fire, wind, grass, trees, corn and movable beings, viz. oviparous and viviparous, those generated from dirt and those generated in fluids. People are wicked who kill beings for the sake of their own pleasure. Reckless men, who cut the sprouts down out of regard for their own pleasure, destroy many living beings. Sprouts are beings possessed of natural development. People are wicked who destroy seeds for their own pleasure. A wise man who knows the truth should know and understand that all beings desire happiness. All creatures who have committed sins will suffer. A miserable man who becomes a monk in order to get food from others and a flatterer by the desire of filling his belly will come to grief. Wrong beliefs and bad conduct are worthless. A servile man should not desire pleasant sounds and colours but conquer his longing for all kinds of pleasures.

Sinners, subject to love and hatred and doing wrong, acquire *karma* arising from passions and commit many sins. The careless commit sins by thoughts, words, and acts. A cruel man does cruel acts and is thereby involved in other cruelties. Sinful undertakings will in the end bring about miseries. A pious monk, who is free from bonds and has done away with all fetters, annihilates his bad *karma* and removes the thorn of sin. Following the right conduct he exerts himself. A wise man can conquer his greed and enter upon the noble path. When a wise man comes to know that the apportioned space of his life draws towards its end, he should in the meantime quickly learn the method of dying a religious death.[2] The virtuous exert themselves with regard to the distant end, i.e. liberation. One should live indifferent to one's own happiness, calm and without attachment. The iniquity (*vaira*) of all men, who cling to property, goes on increasing. A wise man should be content with such food and drink as will sustain his life. He knows all worldly vanities and renounces them and thus brings about his final liberation.

He should mortify his flesh thinking of his duty and giving up his sorrows, without regard to worldly interests. One should try to realize that he is single and alone, thereby he will obtain liberation which is not anything unreal but the best thing. A man possessed of carefulness will be a saviour to others in all circumstances. A pious monk, free from bonds, should wander about desiring neither honour nor fame.

The *akriyāvādins* who do not understand the truth bring forward various opinions. They, having a perverted intellect, do not recognize the action of the soul, though it does exist and act.

Those men whom women cannot seduce are directed towards liberation by their pious acts and they show the way to others. One should not yield to temptation; being free from faults, he has reached the incomparable cession of *karma*.[3]

He is a *Brāhmaṇa* because he has abstained from all sinful actions, viz. love, hatred, quarrel, calumny, backbiting, deceit, untruth, aversion to love of pleasures, etc. He possesses *samitis*, always exerts himself, and he is not angry nor proud.

He is a *Nirgrantha* (Jaina) because he is single, awakened and well-disciplined. He knows the absolute *atman*, possesses *samitis* and equanimity; he knows the true nature of self; he has renounced the causes of sin; he does not desire fame, respect and hospitality; he knows the law and endeavours to gain liberation; he lives well-restrained.

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1 *Sūtrakṛ.*, I, 21.
2 Cf. *Uttarādhyayana*, Ch. V.
3 *Sūtrakṛ.*, I, 15.

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The Atheists contend that those who maintain that the soul is something different from the body cannot tell whether the soul is long or small, globular or circular, triangular or square, whether black or blue or red or yellow or white, whether bitter or pungent, whether hard or soft.[1]

A man cannot experience what another has done, that is, his *karma*. Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls from the state of existence, and individually he rises.[2] His passions, consciousness, intellect, perception and impression belong to the individual exclusively.[3]

Sentient beings practise the following kinds of activity: sinning for one's own interest, sinning without a personal interest, sinning by slaying, through accident, by error or sight, by lying, by taking what is not freely given, by mere conceit, through pride, through greed, through deceit, through bad treatment of one's friends, and actions referring to a religious life.[4]

A wise man should neither himself commit violence nor order others to do so nor consent to the violence done by somebody else. A clever man should not be defiled by sin. All beings are fond of life, like pleasure, hate pain, shun destruction and desire to live.[5] To all life is dear. The clever one who adopts the true faith stands in the right place. The world is greatly troubled by women. He is called a hero who is not vexed by the hardships caused by control. The hero does not tolerate discontent and lust; he is not careless; he is not attached to the objects of the senses. A sage who adopts the life of wisdom should treat his gross body roughly. He who has right intuition uses mean and rough food. A wise man who knows the world and has cast off the idea of the world should prudently conquer the destruction to righteousness. Giving up all gaiety, circumspect, and restraint, one should lead a religious life. The liberated conquers wrath, pride, deceit, and greed. He who conquers one passion, conquers many and he who conquers many, conquers one. A wise man should avoid love, hatred, delusion, conception, birth, death, hell, animal existence, anger, pride, deceit, and greed. For the liberated and inactive there is no passage from birth to birth. The greatest temptation in this world is woman. When strongly vexed by the influence of the senses he should mortify himself, stand upright, wander from village to village, take no food at all, and withdraw his mind from women. The self is the knower or experiencer and the knower is the self. Some who embrace the law will practise it, being careful about its outward signs, not giving way to worldliness, but being firm. Quitting all worldliness, one should bear all disagreeable feeling being possessed of the right view (*samyak-darśana*).[6] Those who deserve to be called fools are born again and again. The learned, wise, and steadfast hero will always be victorious in right faith. A

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1 *Sūtrakṛ.*, II, 1.
2 Cf. the Buddhist idea of rises and falls of beings as individuals according to their deeds.
3 *Sūtrakṛ.*, II, 1.
4 *Sūtrakṛ.*, II, 2.
5 Cf. *Sabbe tasanti daṇḍassa sabbe bhāyanti maccuno, attānaṃ upamaṃ katvā na haneyya na ghātaye. Sabbesaṃ jīvitaṃ piyaṃ* (*Dhammapada, Daṇḍavagga*, vv. 129-130).
6 *Samyak-darśana* or right faith consists in an insight into the meaning of truths as proclaimed and taught, a mental perception of the excellence of the system as propounded, a personal conviction as to the greatness and goodness of the teacher and a ready acceptance of certain articles of faith for one's guidance. It is intended to remove all doubt and scepticism from one's mind, and to establish or re-establish faith. It is such a form of faith as is likely to inspire action by opening a new vista of life and its perfection. Right faith on the one hand, and inaction, vacillation on the other, are mutually incompatible. Cf. the Buddhist idea of right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) which conveys the sense of faith or belief rather than that of any metaphysical view or theory. It is precisely in some such sense that the Jains use the term *sammādaṃsana*. *Sammādiṭṭhi* suggests an article of faith which consists in the acceptance of the belief that there is such a thing as gift, that there is such a thing as sacrifice, etc. (Cf. Sāleyyaka Sutta, *Majjhima*, I, pp. 285ff.) There cannot be right faith unless there is a clear pre-perception of the moral, intellectual or spiritual situation which is going to arise. Right faith is that form of faith which is only a stepping stone to knowledge (*paññā*). It is the faith or conviction acquired by a Buddhist stream-attainer who is sure to reach the goal.

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saint with right intuition, who cherishes compassion for the world, should preach, spread and praise the faith, knowing the sacred law (*vedavid*). He should proclaim it among those who exert themselves, not neglecting tranquillity, indifference, patience, liberation, purity, uprightness, gentleness and freedom from worldly cares. One should preach the law of the mendicants to all kinds of creatures. A man who exerts himself is of a steady mind without attachment, unmoved by passion, having no worldly desires he should live the life of an ascetic. The noble ones having impartially preached the law, those who are awakened should not wish for pleasure. One who is free from passions is self-controlled, knowing birth in the upper and nether regions. One who is free from desire cherishes piety.

The first great vow of the Jains is abstinence from killing living beings.[1] A Jain is careful in his walk. He searches into his mind and speech. He is careful in laying down his utensils of begging. He eats and drinks after proper inspection. The second great vow is avoidance of falsehood.[2] A Jain speaks after deliberation. He comprehends and renounces anger, greed, fear, and mirth. The third great vow is avoidance of theft.[3] A Jain begs after deliberation for a limited space. He consumes his food and drink with the permission of his superior. A Jaina who has taken possession of some space should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time. He should constantly have his grant renewed. He may beg for a limited ground for his co-religionists after deliberation. The next vow is avoidance of sensual pleasures.[4] A Jaina should not continually discuss topics relating to women. He should not regard and contemplate the lovely forms of women. He should not recall to his mind the pleasures and amusements he formerly had with women. He should not eat and drink too much. He should not drink liquor or eat highly seasoned dishes.[5] He should not occupy a bed or a couch belonging to women. The last great vow is freedom from possessions.[6] If a living being with his ears hears agreeable or disagreeable sounds, he should not be attached to them. If he with his eyes sees agreeable or disagreeable forms, he should not be attached to them. If he with his nose smells agreeable or disagreeable smells, he should not be attached to them. If he with a tongue tastes agreeable or disagreeable things, he should not be attached to them. If he with an organ of feeling feels agreeable or disagreeable touches, he should not be attached to them.

Harikeshabala was born in the family of Caṇḍālas. He became a monk and sage possessed of the highest virtues. He subdued his senses. He observed the rules of walking, begging, speaking, etc. He controlled himself and was always attentive to his duty. He protected his thoughts, speech, and body from sins. He had a quarrel with the *Brāhmaṇas* and was beaten.[7]

There was a famous Brahmin named Gayaghoṣa who was pledged to perform the great vows of the Jainas. This great sage who subdued all his senses came to the town of Benares. He took up his abode in a pure place outside Benares. At the same time another Brahmin named Vijayaghoṣa who was well versed in the *Vedas* offered a sacrifice in Benares. Gayaghoṣa went to the sacrifice of Vijayaghoṣa to beg alms. He was refused alms by the priest. On account of this he was neither angry nor pleased as he always strove for the highest good. He spoke the following words to the priest who refused to give him alms: 'You do not know what is most essential in the *Vedas* nor in sacrifices, nor in the heavenly bodies, nor in duties. You do not know those who are able to save themselves and others.' The priest kept quiet. He together with those assembled requested the great sage to tell

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1 Cf. the ten precepts of the Buddhists, *pāṇātipātā-veramaṇī*.
2 Cf. *Musāvādā-veramaṇī* of the Buddhists.
3 *Adinnādānā-veramaṇī*.
4 *Abrahmacariyā-veramaṇī*.
5 Cf. *Surāmerayamajja-pamādaṭṭhānāveramaṇī*.
6 Buddhist *Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇā veramaṇī*.
7 *Uttarādhyayana*, XII.

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them the most essential subject in the *Vedas* and the most essential in the sacrifice, etc. The great sage replied, 'The most essential subject in the *Vedas* is the *Agnihotra* and that of the sacrifice is the purpose of the sacrifice, the first of the heavenly bodies is the moon and the best of *Dharmas* is that of Kāśyapa. He who has no worldly attachment after entering the Order, who does not repent of having become a monk and who takes delight in the noble words is called a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who is free from love, hatred, and fear is called a *Brāhmaṇa*. A lean, self-subduing ascetic who reduces his flesh and blood, who is pious, and who has reached *Nirvāṇa* is a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who thoroughly knows living beings and does not injure them in any of the three ways (by thoughts, words, and deeds) is a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who does not speak untruth from anger, or from greed or from fear is a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who does not take anything which is not given to him is a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who does not carnally love divine, human, and animal beings in thoughts, words, and deeds is a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who is not defiled by pleasures is a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who is not greedy, who lives unknown, who has no house, and who has no friendship with householders is a *Brāhmaṇa*. He who has given up his former connections with his relations and parents and who is not given to pleasures is a *Brāhmaṇa*. One does not become a *Śramaṇa* by the tonsure, nor a *Brāhmaṇa* by the sacred syllable *Om*, nor a *Muni* by living in the forest, nor a *Tāpasa* by wearing clothes of Kuśa-grass. One becomes a *Śramaṇa* by equanimity, a *Brāhmaṇa* by chastity, a *Muni* by knowledge, and a *Tāpasa* by penance. One becomes a *Brāhmaṇa* or a *Kṣatriya*, or a *Vaiśya*, or a *Śūdra* by one's actions. He is a *Brāhmaṇa* who is exempt from all *karma*.[1] The most excellent Brahmins who possess good qualities are able to save themselves and others.' Vijayaghoṣa spoke to Gayaghoṣa with folded hands: 'You have well declared to me what true *Brāhmaṇhood* consists in. You are a sacrificer of sacrifices. You are the most learned of those who know the *Vedas*. You know *Jyotiṣāṅga*. You know the Law perfectly well.' Vijayaghoṣa requested him to accept alms. Gayaghoṣa replied thus: 'I don't want any alms but Oh Brāhmaṇa! enter the Order at once lest you should be drifted about on the dreadful ocean of the *saṃsāra* whose eddies are dangers. The fools who love pleasures will be fastened to *karma* but the passionless will not.' Vijayaghoṣa learnt the excellent Law from Gayaghoṣa and then he entered the Order. Gayaghoṣa and Vijayaghoṣa both destroyed their *karma* by self-control and penance and reached perfection.[2]

Ānanda, a householder, in the presence of Mahāvīra renounced all gross ill-usage of living beings. He renounced all grossly lying speech, all gross taking of things not given. He lived quite contented with his own wife. He desired to have the actual possession of his gold. He limited himself to his actual possession of four-footed animals, landed property, carts and boats. He made use of tooth-cleaners, fruits, unguents, powders, clothes, perfumes, flowers, incense, boiled rice, clarified butter, vegetables, liquor, drinking water, washing water and fritters. He renounced the four kinds of unprofitable employments, namely, malevolent conduct, inconsiderate conduct, giving of dangerous objects, and directing of sinful deeds. Ānanda mastered the discrimination of the living and the lifeless and he desired not to be betrayed into any transgression of the *Nirgrantha* doctrine. He knew and avoided the following five typical offences against the law of right-belief, viz. scepticism, unstableness, distrustfulness, praising of heterodox teachers, and intimacy with heterodox teachers. He avoided the five typical offences against the law of abstention from gross ill-usage of living beings, viz. tying them, overloading them, starving them in food and drink, etc. He also avoided the five typical offences against the law of abstention from grossly lying speech, viz. false accusation made under the influence of passion, made under the cover of secrecy,

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1 Cf. *Suttanipāta*, Vāseṭṭhasutta: *Kammanā brāhmaṇo hoti, kammanā hoti abrāhmaṇo*, V, 650.
2 *Uttarādhyayana*, XXV.

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betrayal of the confidences of one's wife, falsification of documents, etc. He discarded the five typical offences against the law of the vow of the quarters, the five typical offences against the law of inward peace,[1] against the law of right distribution of alms,[2] against the law of a determined self-mortification by the last mortal emaceration, namely, longing after this world, the next world, life, death, and sensual enjoyments.

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1 Ill-behaviour in thought, word, and act, unstable attention to the law of inward peace, etc.
2 Putting away among living things, neglecting the appointed time, covering up with living things, etc.

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MISCELLANEA

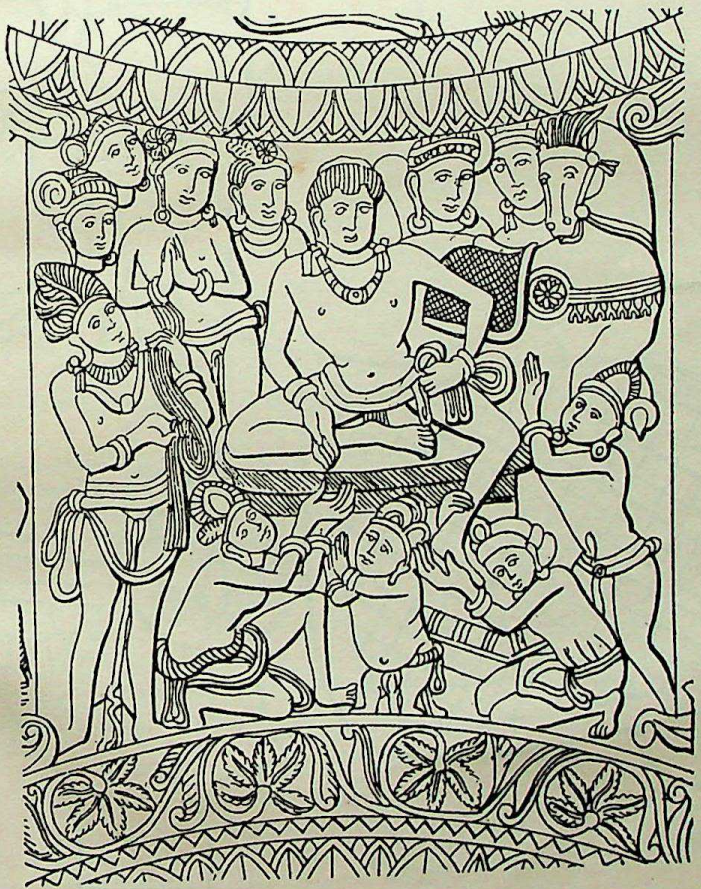
A NOTE ON LAVAṆA-KALĀYĪ

Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harshacharitra* while describing the complete trappings of horses in the army of king Harsha refers to several decorative pendants hanging from the coverlet or housing of horses. The text is as follows:—

स्थानपालपर्याणलम्बमानलवणकलायी-किंकिणी-नालीसनाथसंकलिततलसारके

(Ch. VII.)

'To the saddles of marshals were fastened martingales with wooden figures of deer, bells, and reeds attached' (Cowell, p. 200). The Sthānapālas appear to be cavalry officers of some standing (*aśvapālas*) and this explanation seems preferable



to that of officers in charge of cavalry stores (*aśvabhāṇḍāgārika*) which is noted as an alternative by Śaṅkara. The trappings in the case of the horses of high officers only would be of an ornamental nature. From their saddles (*paryāṇa*) were

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pendant three things, viz. *lavaṇa-kalāyī, kiṅkiṇī* and *nālī*, and a *talasāraka* was also fastened.

The commentator Śaṅkara offers the following explanation of the various technical words in this context:—

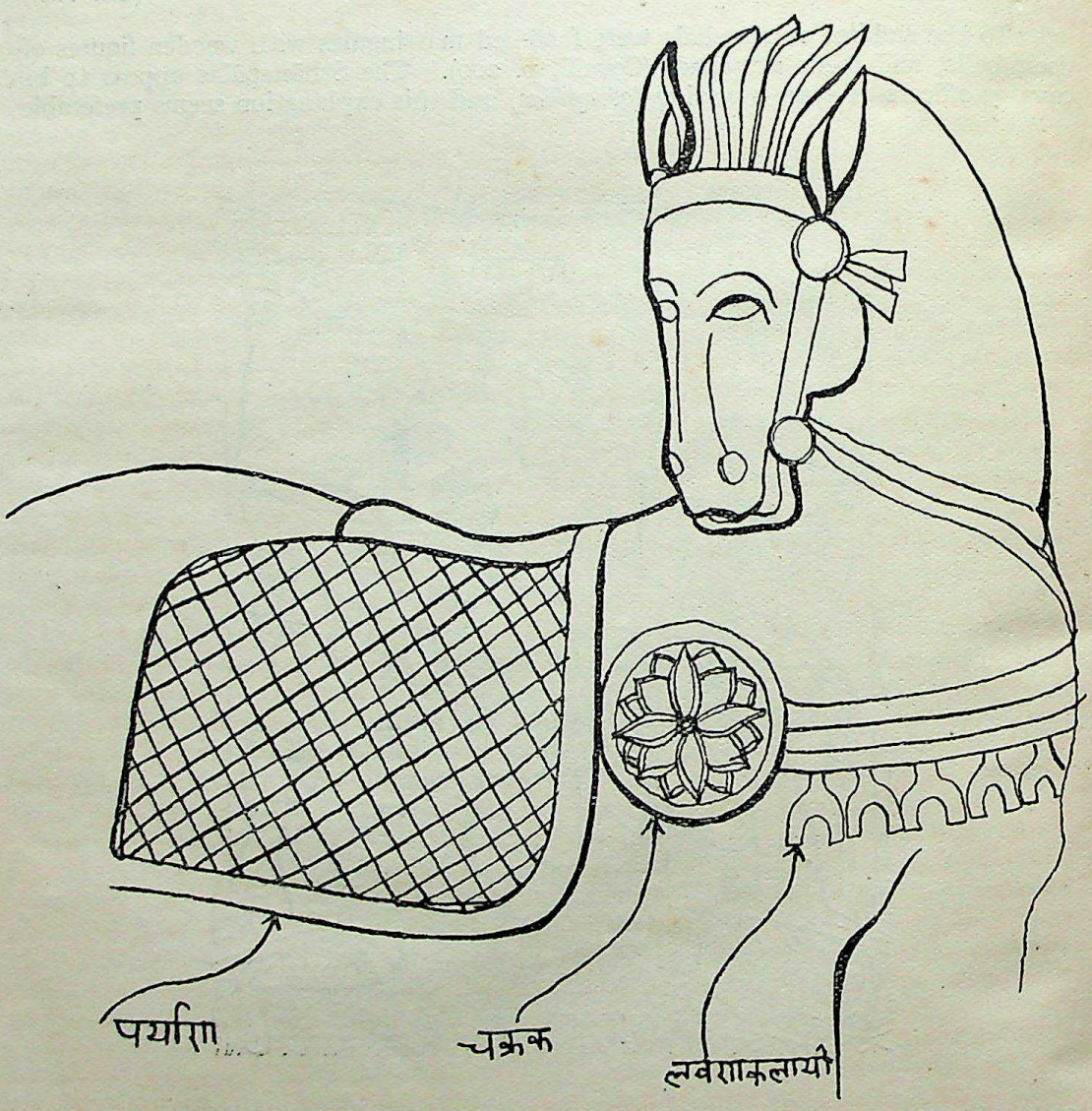
(1) लवणकलायी मृगाकृतिरश्वानां दारुमयी क्रियते ।

(2) किंकिण्यः सूक्ष्मघंटाः ।

(3) नाली प्रधानार्थं वैणवी नाडिरुच्यते ।

(4) तलसारकः अश्वमुखपट्टिका उर्णादिसूत्रमयी । उरःपट्टिका इत्यन्ये ॥

Item No. 2 in the above refers to small jingling bells attached to the saddle or pendant from the side straps and the breast strap. These are noticeable on many



figures of horses portrayed in Gupta paintings and coins (cf. Allan, *Gupta Coins*, XIII, 3). *Nālī* which is explained as a bamboo tube (*vaiṇavī nāḍi*) for pouring

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liquids in the mouth of a horse is still known as *nāla* in Hindi. I have not been able to detect its presence in the actual trappings of ancient horse figures. The word *talasāraka* according to one explanation denoted the mouth-band (*aśvamukha-paṭṭikā*) and according to another the martingale (*uraḥpaṭṭikā*), i.e. the strap fastened at one end to the nose-band and at the other to the girth to prevent rearing or rising on hind feet. The latter explanation seems to be the right one and the device is found generally in the figures of horses depicted on the horseman type of Gupta coins. (*Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 2, 4.)

The first word *lavaṇa-kalāyī* is difficult and not properly explained. As Śaṅkara puts it *Lavaṇa-kalāyī Mṛigākṛitiḥ aśvānāṁ dārumayī kriyate.*

This means that *Lavaṇa-kalāyī* was a pendant made of wood and having the form of a deer. This kind of decorative wooden figures does not seem to be a common feature in the trappings of horses generally seen in art. However, in the figure of a horse at Amarāvatī, the deer-like figurines can be recognized. This is reproduced by Fergusson in his *Tree and Sepent Worship*, Plate LXVII in the outline drawing of a pillar. In the centre of the picture is a king seated on a chair and at its back is the standing figure of a horse with a coverlet on the back. Near the front line of the saddle is a round plaque called *chakraka*. Connecting these two rosette-like plaques on either side there is a leather strap running round the breast of the horse known as *kakshyā*. From this is shewn hanging a row of little figurines just like the toy figurine of a deer facing front. It appears that it is exactly the object mentioned by Bāṇabhaṭṭa as *lavaṇa-kalāyī*. My friend Sri Sivaramamurti, to whom I referred the above explanation, has drawn my attention to another figure of a horse in Pl. LXIX of the same book which also has similar decorative pendants. Its purpose appears only to be decorative. It is not yet definite whether this feature of decorating horses continued into the mediaeval period.

Why this particular object was called *lavaṇa-kalāyī* is a philological question and not very clear. Perhaps the Sanskrit word transliterates in its own phonetic way some foreign word, possibly Sassanian, or translates an unknown word into our language. A study of trappings of horses in contemporary Iran is likely to throw some light on the origin of this word. It is a fact of history that with the coming of the Śakas from about the first century A.D. the development in the organization and equipment of the cavalry branch of the Indian army took a new turn and specially the cavalry arm of the Gupta forces came under the influence of that model.

P.S.: After writing the above, I happened to examine the Gupta gold coins in the collection of Dewan Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan of Patna. On a remarkably clear specimen of Horseman type gold coin of Chandragupta II, the trappings are quite distinct and we see hanging from the side straps near the thigh of the front and hind legs a figurine similar to the one we find in Amarāvatī reliefs. It has the form of an inverted Brāhmī '*Ma*'. The lower semicircle corresponds to the legs of a standing deer and the upper dot to its head. It can be said to look like a deer standing facing. We may also compare in this connection the figures of horses on Gupta gold coins as illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue*, Pl. IX, 17 and XII, 13, 14, where similar figures can be identified.

V. S. Agrawala.

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A NOTE ON KHAMSAH-I-NIZAMI[1]

Nizami, Abu Muhammad bin Yusuf bin Muid, and his title Shaikh Nizamuddin, the famous romantic poet of Persia, was born in the year 1141 A.D. at Ganjah and died in the year 1203 A.D.

Nizami became an orphan at an early age; this early death of his parents made him sad and gloomy, but infused in him piety. He loved solitude, which has left everlasting traces in his works. This love for secluded life acted as an antidote against the favours of the kings in whose courts he never felt happy. Although Nizami seldom visited the kingly courts, yet the sovereigns considered it as an honour to be mentioned in his poems, and from time to time invited him, and thus we see the praises which he has bestowed upon them in his poems. The religious tendencies of the common people at Ganjah were responsible to a very great extent for the adoption of an ascetic life by Nizami, who in due course of time became 'dry to others and unprofitable to himself'. But his inborn genius saved him from this idle life, and later on he became enlightened, benevolent, liberal and independent. Nizami strictly observed the injunctions of Islam as regards the taking of wine. In a word he may justly be described as 'combining lofty genius and blameless character in a degree unequalled by any other Persian poet'. Daulat Shah in his Memoirs of the Poets, says 'that it is impossible either for tongue or for pen to describe Nizami's sanctity, his excellence, or his science. He passed above all poets that peculiarity of attractive conversation so sought after by the virtuous of all ranks'.

Nizami is universally acknowledged master of Romantic Masnavi. His poems have remained and will remain the classic literature of that type of composition. He started composing poetry at the personal request of kings and princes, who were anxious to immortalize their names by having been praised in his poems, and although most of these poems are apparently romances, still they 'embody moral lessons of piety and wisdom, and also depict human good and bad tendencies, the struggle and passions of man'.

The first poetical piece, wherein Nizami depicted his thoughts on God and man, was of a didactic character, and rightly named Makhazan-ul-Asrar or Storehouse of Mysteries, dealing with philosophic meditations. Exclusive of Khamsah, Nizami composed a Divan, or collection of odes and elegies of nearly 20,000 couplets in fine and sonorous versification.

The paintings.—The manuscript which is entitled *Khamsah*, or works complete as a quintet, or *Panj Gang*, or Five Treasures, of Nizami of Ganjah, is a nicely illuminated and richly illustrated manuscript of the middle of ninth century A.H. The first two pages of the manuscript are decorated with gold and blue arabesque designs. The headings of all the five poems are illuminated. But the charm of the manuscript is in the full page paintings as illustrations of the text. There are eleven of these, executed at the time when the manuscript was transcribed, and seem to be from the brush of a single artist, who remains anonymous.

The glories of Persian painting are illustrations to manuscripts. Small paintings were also prepared, but before the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. these were exceptional. Under the Mogul Emperors in India such miniatures became common, and these Mogul paintings, modelled at first on Persian style, are often confused with Persian works. Meanwhile the classics of Persian art, adorning the pages of manuscripts, remain unfamiliar to the world outside the small circle of collectors and students.

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[1] Through the munificence of Dr. B. C. Law of Calcutta, R.B. K. N. Dikshit acquired five valuable manuscripts in Persian, Arabic and Turkish for the Archaeological Department. The manuscripts are at present in the Delhi Fort Museum of Archaeology, and the one under study forms part of that unique lot.

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The size.—The size of the manuscript is $11 \times 7\frac{1}{3}$ inches. The written surface of the book is 8×4 inches. It has 372 folios. Folios (*a*) and 372(*b*) being left blank to serve as fly-pages. The binding is not original.

Writing and Paper.—The manuscript is elegantly written in medium size Nastaliq characters. There are 19 lines to a page in four columns, ruled out in gold with blue and light brown lining. The paper of the book is light and of fine quality with bright get-up.

Date of the Manuscript.—There is some controversy regarding the date of transcription of this manuscript. The first poem in the book, Makhzan-ul-Asrar, has no date in the colophon, but the dates even in the colophons of other poems hardly correspond with each other. The colophon at the end of poem, Khusrau and Shirin, gives the date as 855, but the figure 8 is somewhat doubtful. Laila and Majnun's colophon contains the date as 955, which is beyond any doubt, later addition. At the end of the fourth poem, Haft Paikar, the date is given in letters and figures, as 855, Jamadi-us-Sani, the word Sani is mis-spelt. The colophon of the last poem, Sikandar Namah, is somewhat damaged, and complete date is not decipherable. The name of Arabic month Jamadi-us-Sani, and the unit and tenth of the date, i.e. 55 are quite clear. Taken together the name of month Jamadi-us-Sani, and the units and tenths, in two poems, Haft Paikar and Sikandar Namah, correspond with each other. Therefore keeping in view this striking resemblance of the fragmentary dates of the two poems, we can with some reservation infer the date of transcription of the manuscript as 855 A.H. Unfortunately the name of the transcriber is not known.

The Seal-impressions.—On different folios of the manuscript, there are Royal Seal impressions of Mogul Emperors and their nobles. On folio 1(*a*) there are eight seal-impressions with royal titles and names of emperors and noblemen. The text of each seal-impression is arranged chronologically.

Babur.—'Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur Badshah ibn Sultan Shaikh Mirza.' The impression of this royal seal is stamped on folios 1(*a*) and 32(*b*) of Makhzan-ul-Asrar, and 112(*a*) of poem Khusrau and Shirin.

Akbar.—'Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah bin Muhammad Hamayun Badshah Ghazi (inside the circle), bin Omar Shaikh Mirza bin Sultan Abu Said bin Sultan Muhammad bin Miran Shah bin Timur (round the circle).' The impression of this 'Great Seal' occurs on folio 1(*a*) of Makhzan-ul-Asrar.

Abdur Rahim.—He was son of Bairam Khan, the first prime minister of Emperor Akbar, and on Todar Mal's death he was made prime minister. This is a small square seal and its impression is stamped on folio 1(*a*) of Makhzan-ul-Asrar.

Mehvi.—This is a small round seal-impression. The word Mehvi is written in big round letters, and the word *Allah Akbar* in small letters is transcribed on the proper name. The impression of this seal occurs on folio 1(*a*) of Makhzan-ul-Asrar.

Aurangzeb.—'Abu-al-Zafar Muhammad Muhi-ud-din Alamgir Badshah Ghazi.' This is a pear-shaped seal-impression, and is stamped on folio 1(*a*) of Makhzan-ul-Asrar, and 372(*b*) of Sikandar Namah.

Husain Quli Khan.—'Husain Quli Khan fidvi (devoted servant) of Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi.' He was a nobleman of Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi, and his seal contains the date 1132 A.H. The impression is stamped twice on folio 1(*a*) of Makhzan-ul-Asrar.

Syed Muizz Khan.—'Syed Muizz Khan fidvi (devoted servant) of Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi.' On this seal-impression the date is 1133 A.H., and it is on folio 1(*a*) of Makhzan-ul-Asrar.

Subject and Arrangement.—The five poetical works of Nizami, complete and grouped as Khamsah or 'Quintet', are arranged in the manuscript in the following order:—

(1) Makhzan-ul-Asrar, folios 1(*b*)–32(*a*).
(2) Khusrau and Shirin, folios 32(*b*)–112(*a*).

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(3) Laila and Majnun, folios 112(*b*)–171(*a*).
(4) Haft Paikar, folios 171(*b*)–273(*a*).
(5) Sikandar Namah. This poem is divided into two parts. First part of the book entitled 'Sharaf Namah', covers 273(*b*)–324(*a*) folios; and the second part entitled 'Iqbal Namah', 324(*b*)–372(*a*) folios.

Makhzan-ul-Asrar or Treasury of Mysteries, the first of the five poems begins with:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هست كليد در گنجِ حكيم

It contains 2,300 couplets, and is divided into 20 sections or *makalats*. It is mythical rather than a romance in character. All the makalats are being interspersed with short narratives illustrative of the maxims set forth in each *makala*. This poem was dedicated to Atabeg Ildighiz, and according to Bacher was published at the time of that prince's campaign against the King of Georgia in 1165-66 A.D. Nizami at that time had completed his twenty-fifth year.

Ildihgiz took no notice of this poem of Nizami, because of warfare. Nizami resolved to solitude instead of going to seek the favour of other princes. He now thought to write another poem on extensive lines. Firdausi's *Shah Namah* was his most favourite companion, and during hours of leisure, he much meditated on this work, and for the next poem, turned to this 'Storehouse' of material. This time he selected the love story of Khusrau Parviz, the Sassanian King, and Shirin, the princess of Armenia. This poem immortalized Nizami's fame. It is first master-piece of its kind. It has retained its supremacy unchallenged. Nizami received universal praises and presents from others, but not even an encouraging word from those three princes to whom he had dedicated this poem. Some years later, one of the three, named Kizil Arslan, invited Nizami to his court, received him with great honour and respect, and bestowed upon him two villages in recognition of his high talent and literary achievement. Nizami, soon tired of the court life, went back to his native place.

Khusrau and Shirin.—The poem Khusrau and Shirin, written in the year 1175-76 A.D., begins with:

خداوندا درِ توفيق بكشائی نظامی را رهِ تحقيق بنمائی

This poem contains 7,000 couplets and is one of the best known romantic poems. It is full of thrilling episodes, but Khusrau is not wholly sympathetic as a hero, he seems scarcely worthy of the noble natured Shirin. 'With its rich colour, its vein of extravagance and ready indulgence in the marvellous, it is truly a romantic poem.' In this poem, as already stated, Nizami followed Firdausi as regards matter and style. 'As in all his following epopees the subject was taken from what the pious Muslims call the time of "Heathendom", and it is a noteworthy fact that the once, so-devout Nizami never chose a strictly Muslim legend.' 'Nothing could prove better the complete revolution in his views, not only religious, but also on art. He felt no doubt that the object of epic poetry was not only to teach moral lessons or doctrines of faith, but to depict the good and bad tendencies of the human mind, the struggles and passions of man, and indeed in the whole range of Persian literature only Firdausi and Fakh-ud-din Asad Jorjani can compare with Nizami with wonderful delineation of character and the brilliant painting of human affections, especially of the joy and sorrows of a loving and beloved heart.'

Laila and Majnun.—The tale of Laila and Majnun begins with:

اے نامِ تو بهترين سر آغاز بے نامِ تو نام كئ كنم باز

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When Nizami withdrew to his rural seclusion from the court of Kizil Arslan, he received the request of King of Shirwan to compose another memorable romantic tale on the love of Laila and Majnun. Nizami accepted the princely demand, and composed the story of Laila and Majnun in 1188-89 A.D. This poem contains 4,500 couplets. It is sometimes called the 'Persian Romeo and Juliet', a pathetic and romantic story of the ideal love existing between the 'distraught Majnun and the beauteous Beduin maid, Laila'. It was the Arab story of two school children, 'an unhappy passion, in a world of rock and desert'. In this story, we pass from romance to tragedy. 'It is interspersed with episodes, but none of these leads us away from the central theme, the throbbing note of passion is muted from time to time, but it returns, it beats with ever-deeper and more haunting tone, it dominates from the opening scene to the child-lovers' mutual rapture to the last meeting in the desert and the last cry of Majnun upon Laila's grave. Their union was brought about in Paradise.' Nizami dedicated this poem to Sultan Abu-al-Muzaffar Shirwan Shah.

Haft Paikar.—Haft Paikar, or Seven Portraits or Bahram Namah, begins with:

اے جہان دیدہ بود خوش از تو هیچ بودی نبود پیش از تو

When Nizami had reached the age of 58, he wrote in 1198 A.D. his last poem, the Haft Paikar. In the manuscript under review, this poem is fourth in order of transcript. This is not one single narrative, but comprises seven tales related by the favourite wives of the Sassanian King Bahram Gur. It contains more than 5,000 verses. In this poem, Nizami returned once more from his 'excursion into the field of heroic deeds to his old favourite domain of romantic fiction and added a fresh leaf to the laurel crown of immortal fame with which the unanimous consent, of Eastern and Western critics has adorned his venerable head'. This poem deals with the legendary history of Bahram Gur, the Sassanian King. Many of his heroic stories have a historical basis, or at least response on a genuine and ancient tradition, and the title Bahram Namah better describes the nature and scope of the poem than that of Haft Paikar, which refers to one, though the chief, topic of the romance.

Sikandar Namah.—Three years after Laila Majnun's romance, Nizami composed Sikandar Namah. The poem consists of two distinct parts. A more heroic subject and the only one in which he made a certain attempt to rival Firdausi. The first or semi-historical part shows us Alexandar the Great as the conqueror of the world, while the second, of a more ethical tendency, describes him in the character of a prophet and philosopher, and narrates his second tour through the world and his adventures in the West, South, East and North. 'There are frequent sofic allegories and quite imbued with pantheistic ideas is, for instance, the final episode of the first part, the mysterious expedition of Alexander to the fountain of life in the land of darkness.'

Together these two poems comprise about 10,000 couplets, of which two-thirds belong to the first part, and one-third to the second part. The first is dedicated to Malik Nasrut-ud-din, and the second part to Malik Azzuddin.

The subject of Plates.—As already mentioned, there are 11 paintings in the manuscript, as illustrations of the text:—

(1) The first miniature depicts the incident of an old woman administering a rebuke to Sultan Sanjar that she has been robbed by a soldier. (Makhzan-ul-Asrar.)
(2) Shirin is bathing in a pool and Khusrau is catching sight of her. (Khusrau and Shirin.)
(3) Shirin is looking at the rock carving near Kirmanshah by Farhad, her admirer. (Khusrau and Shirin.)
(4) The return of Shapur to Khusrau. (Khusrau and Shirin.)

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(5) As children Laila and Majnun neglect their studies to devote their hearts to each other. (Laila and Majnun.)
(6) Naufal, the Arab Chieftain, champions in battle the cause of the love-distraught Majnun. (Laila and Majnun.)
(7) Laila and Majnun long separated, swoon when they meet. (Laila and Majnun.)
(8) Bahram Gur saves his crown by killing two lions. (Haft Paikar.)
(9) Bahram Gur visits the princess in the Torquoise Place on Wednesday. (Haft Paikar.)
(10) Death of Darius III in the presence of Alexander. (Sikandar Namah.)
(11) Alexander in the circle of sages. (Sikandar Namah.)

FAZAL AHMAD KHAN.

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REVIEWS

THE MAGADHAS IN ANCIENT INDIA. By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, D.Litt., Ph.D., M.A., B.L. Printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1946.

The author of this interesting treatise is well known for his studies in Ancient Indian History and Civilization. In particular, he has delved Pali and kindred literature to the root for many a rich gem and has already his *niche* in the temple of fame. His services in collecting materials for early Indian tribal history are inestimable. The present dissertation has for its theme the Magadhas—a people who played a conspicuous part in many eventful periods of Indian history, as the Romans did in the Mediterranean world. Dr. Law traces the history of this remarkable folk from the Vedic times to the Pāla period and the Khalji conquest, and traverses the entire field, taking note not only of dynastic vicissitudes but of topography, religious history, social and economic data, and educational activities in the great seats of learning at Nālandā, Uddandapura and Vikramaśilā. Two of the most interesting figures, towering above the rest, in the early annals of Magadha, are the Buddha and Aśoka—*Devānaṃpiya Piyadasi* as he is called in the inscriptions. The author has culled from literature much useful information about the Buddha and his Magadhan disciples, about holy nuns and pious *śreṣṭhins*, distinguished statesmen and an eminent physician, who were attracted by the magnetic personality of the reformer. He gives a vivid picture of the prosperous days when the sage of the Śākyas moved among the men of Magadha according to tradition. Incidentally, I may note that the epithet *Devānaṃpiya*, assumed by the most remarkable of the Magadhan rulers, recalls one of the most famous episodes of Babylonian antiquity—the age of Hammurabi, when the king, unlike his predecessors, called himself 'favourite of the gods' (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 511). Whether it is a mere parallelism or something more, I leave to the future historian.

There are of course some controversial points, some of which have been inserted in the foot-notes. With all this, the student of ancient Indian history will find the little volume both interesting and informing. The value of the treatise has been enhanced by a map of Magadha and many of the *Janapadas* with which it had relations in the days of yore.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

RASA-RATNA-PRADĪPIKĀ OF ALLARĀJA, critically edited for the first time by Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Published as Vol. 8 of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Series, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhaban, Bombay, 1945. Price Rs.2-12-0.

The *Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā* is an epitome of the *Rasa-śāstra* with particular reference to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. In this work we find *verbatim* reproductions of many passages of the *Daśa-rūpaka*. and even of its commentary *Avaloka*, often without acknowledgement. In the treatment of the subject-matter there is no originality. The first chapter serves the purpose of an introduction to the work; the second deals with Bhāva; the third with the Vibhāvas; the fourth with the Vyavicāribhāvas (*verbatim* copy from *Daśa-rūpaka*, iv. 7–33, and its commentary *Avaloka* of Dhanika); the fifth with the eight *Rasas* and their varieties and the sixth and last chapter with the inherent graces of women and the real nature of relation among *Rasa*, *Bhāva* and *Alaṃkāra*. The quotations are also stereotyped and hackneyed and may mostly be traced in well-known works on Rhetorics, *Chandas* as well as *Koṣakāvyas*, and to their original sources. The *Kārikās* composed by Allarāja also do not reflect much credit on their author. Thus we find that it is a good book for a beginner.

Dr. Dandekar has ably discussed the date of the author in the Introduction and the indices too are useful. A more comprehensive list of the tracings would have undoubtedly enhanced the value of the work. An Index of the *Kārikās* composed by Allarāja should also have been given. In page 52, Dr. Dandekar remarks in connection with the poet Bherījhāṅkāra or Bherī-bhāṅkāra, 'Nothing is known about the work of this author.' It should be noted that he is a noted poet among the compilers of Sanskrit anthologies and in this connection Dr. Dandekar's attention may be drawn to the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*, edited by me (pp. xcii–xcv) and also to my article *Saṃskṛta-kaviḥ Bherībhāṅkāraḥ* in the Journal of the Saṃskṛta Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, 1941, December. A work *Bherībhāṅkārīya-kāvya* is also known (Gustav Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS. in Private Libraries of Southern India, MS. No. 1296). The editor further mentions in connection with *Kavikaṃkaṇa* (p. 51)—'His works *Mṛgāṅka-śataka* and *Manovalambikā* are known from DC. xx. 8008.' The statement does not seem to be correct. The editor's attention is drawn to the *Padyaveṇī*, edited by me (Introduction, pp. 95-96). There are numerous references to and quotations from the writings of this poet in several Sanskrit anthologies. Scholars would

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only like to find many more references to and details about all the poets mentioned in pp. 51-52 of the work under review.

We may draw the attention of the editor to some of the minor errors which may be corrected in a subsequent edition, e.g. स्थायिभावा प्रकीर्तिताः (p. 4), एतेभ्यो करुणरसो (p. 7), दिग्मात्रं (p. 10).

The Sandhis in the verses *at least* should not have been ignored. The editor and publishers, however, deserve our best thanks for presenting a very useful edition of the work before the Sanskritists. The more we have such critical editions, the better for the scholars interested in the study of Sanskrit literature.

J. B. CHAUDHURI.

OBITUARY

I am shocked to have the sad news that my old teacher and *guru*, Professor Dr. Lucian Scherman, has passed away after a short illness at Hanson, Mass., near Boston, U.S.A., at the age of 81. For many years he has been Professor for Indic Studies at the University of Munich, Germany, lecturing mainly on Indian, Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese art, Indian Ethnology, Buddhism and Indian Philosophy. Under his direction the Museum for Ethnography, Munich, has become one of the finest collections of Asiatic art in Europe. As a Jew he was deprived of his position and robbed of all his possessions by the Nazis, but could manage to flee to the U.S.A. where he became an American citizen and lived there in intimate friendship with Dr. Coomaraswamy. I have lost in him one of my best friends.

H. GOETZ.

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